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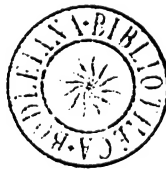
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VOL. III.

HERODOTUS,

WITH A

COMMENTARY BY THE REV. J. W. BLAKESLEY, B.D.

LONDON:

WHITTAKER AND CO. AVE MARIA LANE;

GEORGE BELL, FLEET STREET.

1854.



# HERODOTUS,

WITH

## A COMMENTARY

BY

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## INTRODUCTION.

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BEFORE commencing the study of any ancient book, a modern reader is naturally desirous of being made acquainted with whatever is known of the personal history of the author. In the case of Herodotus there is little information remaining to gratify this desire, and that little is of a doubtful character. The brief notice in *SUIDAS*, which attributes to him a prolonged residence in the island Samos, after expulsion, in the sequel of a political convulsion, from his native city Halicarnassus, might from its probability be received without any suspicion, if it were not combined with the assertion, that in Samos he cultivated the Ionian dialect, and there wrote his history. But the Ionian dialect was in fact the dialect of literature at the time, and, although Samos was one of the Ionian states of Asia, its language was quite a peculiar one, as Herodotus himself remarks<sup>1</sup>; and, indeed, the few characteristics of it which are recorded do not appear in any of the MSS of his work. Nevertheless, although we cannot accept any view which would connect his residence in Samos with the peculiarities of his language, there are indications in the course of his work that he was familiar with the island, and that some of his accounts of distant regions are derived from information furnished by the enterprising navigators whose home it was. Suidas goes on to say that after a prolonged stay there he returned to Halicarnassus, and assisted in the expulsion of the tyrant

<sup>1</sup> i. 142. The Samians said *Δελύσσος* and *Θελύσσος* instead of *Διδύσσος* and *Θεδύσσος*. *ETYMOLOGICUM MAGNUM*, p. 259. A reason for the anomalous character of the language may be found in the fortunes of the population. (See iii. 147. 149.)



Lygdamis (the author of his own banishment, and the murderer of his kinsman Panyasis, a soothsayer and epic poet). Perceiving himself, however, to be unpopular with his fellow-citizens, he joined as a volunteer the colony sent by the Athenians to Thurii in Italy, died there, and was buried in the agora. These insulated facts are at least conformable to the nature of the times in which Herodotus lived, and are confirmed in some degree by various passages in his writings. Some may perhaps trace the influence of his relative in the superstitious regard for omens and portents which shows itself continually, and may connect his residence in Samos with the frequent allusion to the mysteries and sacred legends<sup>1</sup>. It seems indisputable that some portions of the work which has come down to us must have been composed in the south of Italy; and there is at least a strong probability that a large part originally existed in an independent form. Of the celebrated story related by LUCIAN relative to the circumstances under which the whole was first produced, something will be said in the sequel.

But a far more important matter for the profitable study of this writer is to ascertain the peculiar circumstances of the time in which he lived, in their bearing upon literary productions of a similar nature to his own. No writer escapes the influences of his age, even under circumstances which give the freest scope to individual character. But this scope, under Hellenic modes of life, was narrowed to an almost infinitesimal limit. From his earliest childhood to the day of his death, the Greek lived entirely with others and for others. The traditions, social, political, and religious, in which he was brought up, became a part of himself. Originality, such as we see every day, and are accustomed to admire, would have been in his eyes an object almost of horror,—would indeed have been viewed very much in the same light as free-thinking at the present time. To suppose, therefore, that because an author displays evident marks of intelligence and sagacity, those qualities would exhibit themselves in the same *kind* of discrimination which we should look for in a writer on

<sup>1</sup> Samos was the mythical site of the marriage of Zeus and Here, the mysterious character of which passed into a proverb: *πάντα γυναῖκες ἴσαντι, καὶ ὡς Ζεὺς ἀγάγεθ' ἥραν*. THEOCRITUS, xv. 64. See the VENETIAN SCHOLIAST on *Iliad* xiv. 295:

οἶον ὅτε πρῶτιστον ἐμυσγίσθην φιλότῃτι  
εἰς εὐνὴν φοιτῶντε, φίλους λήθοντε τοκῆας.

similar subjects at this day, is to take up a ground which will necessarily distort our judgement both of his merits and defects,—a result which has certainly happened in the case of Herodotus. To make this point clearer it will be well to bestow some little consideration upon the other prose writers which preceded or immediately followed him, and to sketch in a rough outline the characteristics in which they resembled, and those in which they differed.

Fortunately, although nothing but a few fragments remain of these writers, we have the means of doing this. DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS, in two treatises which have come down to us, has given a masterly description of them in terms which seem almost enough in themselves to furnish posterity with a complete clue to the subject, and to prevent any one from entertaining those views which of late have acquired a great, though undeserved, popularity. “Not only the ancient historians,” says he in one place, “Eugeon of Samos, Deiochus of Proconnesus, Eudemus of Paros, Democles of Phigalea, and Hecatæus of Miletus, and also the Argive Acusilaus, the Lamp-sacene Charon, and the Chalcedonian Amelesagoras,—not only these, but also they who were very little more ancient than the Peloponnesian war, and came down to the time of Thucydides, such as Helanicus of Lesbos and Damastes of Sigeum, Xenomedes the Chian and Xanthus the Lydian, with many others, all resemble one another in the plan of their work and the selection of their subjects. Some of them recorded Hellenic stories, and some those of foreign parts; and these they did not think of connecting with one another, but distributed them by nations and cities, and went through the string of these independently of each other; adhering to one common principle, that whatever local traditions were preserved in the several places, and whatever writings were accessible to them in temples or elsewhere, *these they should publish in the form in which they got them* without addition or diminution. Among these materials existed legends which had obtained current belief in the lapse of time, and likewise stories of dramatic interest, in which a reader of the present day finds much to carp at<sup>3</sup>.” This topographical method retained so great a hold upon the minds of men, that POLYBIUS thinks it

<sup>3</sup> *De Thucydide judicium*, pp. 818, 9. The fragments which remain of these writers fully bear out the description of Dionysius.

necessary, nearly three hundred years after the latest of the writers mentioned by Dionysius, to apologize for not adopting it in his own work, although composed for an entirely different object from those of the logographers in question<sup>4</sup>.

When Dionysius, after the above description, proceeds to compare Herodotus with these writers, the distinction which he draws between them is nothing like that which modern critics have generally assumed. It points entirely to the superior artistical skill which our author displays in the choice of his subject and the manner of treating it. "He does not (says the critic) confine himself to the history of a single nation or a single state; no! he begins with the Lydian dynasty and comes down to the Persian war, including in one single narrative all the important transactions both of Greeks and barbarians that had occurred in the interval of two hundred and forty years<sup>5</sup>." But let us observe that there is nothing in the whole of the essay to give the slightest support to the modern assumption, that in point of critical sagacity, diligent investigation, and historical fidelity, Herodotus belongs to an entirely different class from his contemporaries and immediate predecessors. That he does exceed them in these respects is possible; but if the fact, it could scarcely be ascertained in any other way than by a careful comparison of his and their writings,—a comparison which the loss of the latter has put out of our power. If, indeed, we are to be at all guided by the chance expressions of those ancient writers, who had the means of instituting such a comparison, those expressions, so far as they go, are unfavourable to the modern view of the question. Herodotus and Hellanicus are coupled with one another by STRABO, in a very emphatic passage, in which we cannot doubt that he is expressing himself advisedly, and after well considering the facts of the case. "The ancient Greek historians (says he) gave the names of Scythians and Celto-scythians to all the northerns, while those who preceded them made a division, terming

<sup>4</sup> iii. 57. After giving his reasons for pursuing a different plan, he adds an illustration which shows the prevalence of the feeling in favour of the old one: *εἰ δέ τις πάντως ἐπιζητοῦσι κατὰ τόπον καὶ κατὰ μέρος τῶν τοιούτων ἀκούειν, ἴσως ἀγνοοῦσι παραπλήσιόν τι πάσχοντες τοῖς λίχνοις τῶν δειπνητῶν καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι πάντων ἀπογευόμενοι τῶν παρακειμένων, οὔτε κατὰ τὸ παρὸν οὔθενδς ἀληθινῶς ἀπολαύουσι τῶν βρωμάτων οὔτ' εἰς τὸ μέλλον ὠφέλιμον ἐξ αὐτῶν τὴν ἀνάδοσιν καὶ τροφήν κομίζονται.*

<sup>5</sup> *De Thucydide judicium*, p. 820.

such as lay above the Euxine, the Ister, and the Adriatic, *Hyperboreans*, and *Sauromatians*, and *Arimaspians*; while such as lay beyond the Caspians they called, one portion of them, *Sacians*, and another *Massagetes*, having in fact not a particle of certain information to give about them, although they do not scruple to relate a war between Cyrus and the *Massagetes*! In fact, neither on the subject of these tribes had any one ascertained any thing to be depended upon, nor was any great credit to be attached to the ancient part of the Persian and Median and Assyrian history, owing to the simplicity of the historians (τῶν συγγραφέων) and their fondness for legends (τὴν φιλομυθίαν). For seeing, as they did, professed legend writers (τοὺς φανερώς μυθογράφους) in great esteem, they thought that they would give a relish to their productions by relating, in the form of history, matters which they neither saw nor heard of, (at least from persons who they were satisfied were acquainted with what they related,) simply and solely because such matters would excite the satisfaction and wonder of the hearers. One has as much reason to put faith in Hesiod and Homer in their stories of the heroes, as upon Ctesias, Herodotus, and Hellanicus, and others of that stamp<sup>6</sup>."

THUCYDIDES, again, in a well-known passage, wherein he compares his own subject and the plan on which he has treated it with the writings of his predecessors or contemporaries, can hardly be doubted by an unprejudiced reader to refer to HERODOTUS<sup>7</sup>. If this be the case, our author must be considered as reckoned by the philosophical historian among the *logographers* of the time, with whom the principal object was to produce an agreeable narrative, consistent with itself, and sufficiently conformable to the opinions current among their hearers to be received without opposition by them. Such a narrative would not necessarily be false, but it would certainly not be founded on that kind of investigation which in modern times we are accustomed to consider essential to the character of an historian. The principle of discrimination exercised in combining materials would be one which an artist would adopt rather than a philosopher. The

<sup>6</sup> xi. c. 7, p. 424, ed. Tauchnitz. COLONEL RAWLINSON, on the other hand, opposes "authentic history such as it is related by Herodotus and Berosus" to "the romance of Xenophon or the fables of Ctesias." (*Athenæum of March 18th, 1854.*)

<sup>7</sup> i. 21. The arguments which have been brought against this opinion are remarked on in the notes on the several passages supposed to militate against it.

writer would probably abstain from the incorporation of stories which carried improbability on their very face, but he would be saved from this by the simple operation of his good taste; and the result would be, that his work might very well, when completed, present the appearance of a judgement in the selection of materials, which, in another age and under other conditions of society, would only arise from the exercise of a critical spirit. This is a point which it is important to keep in view, not only in weighing the authority to be attached to Thucydides's remark upon his illustrious contemporary, but also in estimating the value of the latter as an historical witness. By losing sight of it we convert, at the outset, into a direct censure of another what was only intended as an elucidation of the writer's own method; we suppose a rivalry where none either existed or could exist, any more than between a sculptor and a painter. And when we come to the perusal of Herodotus himself, we bring with us a fruitful source of erroneous judgement, by assuming in him qualities which he neither possessed nor claimed, which are foreign to the habits of his time, and would have hindered rather than furthered the execution of his real design.

A very different feeling from that which called forth the observations of Thucydides is shown in the attack upon Herodotus by one of the other writers with whom Strabo couples him. CTESIAS, a Cnidian physician, resided for seventeen years at the court of Artaxerxes Mnemon, and on his return to Greece produced a connected history of the Assyrian, Median, and Persian dynasties from the time of Ninus and Semiramis to the third year of the ninety-fifth Olympiad (B.C. 398). This work only remains in the scanty epitome made by PHOTIUS, afterwards elevated to the patriarchate of Constantinople, but the first twenty chapters of the second book of DIODORUS SICULUS, which contain the history of Semiramis, are undoubtedly taken from it<sup>1</sup>. In almost all the particulars of the Persian history it was

<sup>1</sup> An epitome of Ctesias (or, as Voss supposes, of the first twenty-three books of his work, excluding the last, which was on the subject of India) was made by PAMPHILA, a literary lady of Egyptian extraction, in the time of Nero. It was in three books, and it may be suspected that it was really from this work, and not from the original, that Photius's epitome was made. This will account for the extreme disproportion as well as meagreness of his performance. Omitting the first six books which contained the Assyrian and Median history prior to the time of Cyrus, he compresses

opposed to the account given by Herodotus, and the opposition seems to have been of a controversial character, for the writer did not scruple to apply the epithets of "liar" and "romancer" to his predecessor<sup>9</sup>. Nevertheless, harsh as these expressions read to us, a recollection of the notorious irascibility of the Greeks upon all subjects in which two different views could be taken, ought to check the haste with which some modern scholars have assumed, that if they refused to adopt Ctesias's judgement of Herodotus, they were bound in justice to the party accused to deny all credence to any statements of the accuser. Whatever may be the personal merits of the two parties, there is no antecedent improbability that the sources of information possessed by the Cnidian were very different in kind from those to which the Halicarnassian had access; and that the same historical fact would consequently appear in a very different light to the one and the other. Ctesias states the grounds of his information to have been his own personal observation, and the testimony of the Persians themselves, checked and arranged by a reference to the records of the royal chronicles. What the sources were from which Herodotus derived his information is a very difficult problem to determine; but whether better or worse than those to which his rival had access, it will appear that they were quite different; and consequently that all general assumptions as to the degree of weight to be given to either writer are premature, until an estimate has been formed (at any rate approximately) of the value of the materials at the command of each.

In order to attempt this, however, with any prospect of success, the first step to be taken is to get quit of all the associations which spring out of modern civilisation. Every one accustomed to the facilities which the present time offers, involuntarily attributes to any individual of the same social position with himself similar

the next twelve into fifteen columns, and the five following into three columns and a half, while the single book on India which succeeds takes up between nine and ten. For the prevalence of the practice of epitomising from epitomes see the introductory part of the *Life of Aristotle* in the *ENCYCLOPÆDIA METROPOLITANA*.

<sup>9</sup> ψεύστην αὐτὸν ἀπελέγχων ἐν πολλοῖς καὶ λογοποιὸν ἀποκαλῶν. (PHOTIUS, *Biblioth.* p. 35.) About the misapplication of the former epithet there will be little question; but the latter is applied by Herodotus himself to Hecateus (ii. 143; v. 36. 125), with whom he is united by ARRIAN under the same designation. (*Exped. Alex.* v. 6.)

methods of effecting any given purpose,—unconsciously forgetting the entirely different conditions of social existence which an interval of more than 2000 years implies. To visit personally all the scenes which he was going to describe; to collect materials (documentary or otherwise) upon the spot; to read all that others had written on the subject, and verify all points which might appear doubtful by a reference to other sources of information; to provide himself with the best maps, and correct these from time to time by independent observations; to determine every incident by a careful reference both to time and place; to make plans of interesting localities; and to bring home specimens, zoological, botanical, and mineral, for the behoof of those more learned in such lore than himself, would possibly have been the plan adopted by Herodotus had he lived in the nineteenth century after, instead of the fifth before, the commencement of the Christian era. Whether in this case his work would have been as entertaining a one as it is, or would have stood the same chance of surviving for some thousands of years, and being read by every succeeding generation with renewed delight, may be suffered to remain an unmooted point. It will be well, however, to consider some of the obvious obstacles which, he living at the time he did, existed to hinder his realisation of such an idea of a historian's duties as has just been sketched out.

First of all, the mere difficulties and dangers of locomotion were enormous. Until the time of Alexander the seas swarmed with pirates, and the land with banditti<sup>10</sup>. The only countries to which there is any satisfactory evidence of Greek visitors having resorted for the mere purpose of gratifying an intelligent curiosity, are Lydia (under the reign of Croesus) and Egypt, with both of which places there existed direct commercial relations of considerable importance. Where this was the case, the interest of the states whose revenue was increased by levying duties upon the merchants would induce them to render the access of foreigners something safer. But on the other hand, the very same interest would tend to confine traffic to *certain definite channels*, and to fetter it by arbitrary rules enforced in the most summary manner. The hardy Samian skipper with his cargo of Laconian marine dye, might, after creeping along the coast of Crete, take advantage of a favourable wind to run across to

<sup>10</sup> POLYBIUS, iii. 58, 59.



Cyrene; but if while doing this an easterly breeze should spring up and carry him out of his course, he would, unless preserved by the special favour of the gods, infallibly be sunk by the Carthaginian cruisers, or if spared, it would only be for the purpose of being carried into port and sold as a slave. It would avail him little to plead that he had been bound for a place with which the Carthaginians themselves carried on a commercial intercourse, that the deviation from his owners' instructions was quite involuntary on his part, that he should be extremely happy to exchange his cargo for a return freight of salt-fish from the curing-houses at Adryme<sup>11</sup>, or of negroes from the coffles with which he understood the Garamantes were every day expected in the town of the Lotus-eaters<sup>12</sup>; or, as his ship had suffered from stress of weather, that he would go back in ballast, and invest the proceeds of his outward cargo in a choice selection of carbuncles<sup>13</sup>, which would fetch a good price at Ephesus, to decorate the shrines of the great goddess Artemis withal. He would find, in such a case, that the advantages of an open trade were little appreciated by the merchant-princes he had to deal with. "Stranger," one of these might perhaps answer, in such counting-house Greek as he could muster, "we do business in a very different way. 'Tis very true, we drive a thriving trade with thy friends of Cyrene. That *silphium* of theirs always goes off well in the Campanian market; and I sent orders only yesterday to my agent at *the Stake*<sup>14</sup> to buy up as much as he could get. But should I deal with thee, what oath could we two take to make the bargain binding? And as for the Lotus-eaters and their slave-market, I rede thee lay an ox on thy tongue. My excellent friend Lars Perpenna, of the great house in Agylla, found his way there last summer, and by Moloch, he had a narrow escape of ending his days as a bailiff on Hamilcar's model farm. He protested indeed, that out at sea there was a tremendous north-wester, and that if he had not run under

<sup>11</sup> STRABO, xvii. 492.

<sup>12</sup> HERODOTUS, iv. 183.

<sup>13</sup> PLINY, *H. N.* xxxvii. 7.

<sup>14</sup> The *Stake* (Χράξ) was a place in the immediate neighbourhood of the *Altars of Philæus*, where a traffic (which in the time of the Ptolemies was contraband) used to be carried on between Carthaginians and Cyrenians, the former obtaining the syrup of *silphium* in exchange for wine. (STRABO, xvii. c. 3, p. 495.) But this traffic was carried on overland.

Fair Cape, he must have gone down : indeed he would have it that his ship had suffered so much he could not possibly get again to sea under a week ; but our commissioner told him roundly (and he was a man to keep his word) that, ready or not ready, if the craft did not clear out on the fifth day <sup>15</sup>, he would seize both her and her owner. In sooth, friend, I suspect that my gossip's north-wester blew very much in the same direction as thy south-easter, that is, to a good market where there were no port dues to pay. Thou hast doubtless heard of such a place as Sardinia? No! Nor Gades? No! I dare say not indeed! no more than a Cretan of wearing ship <sup>16</sup>!"

The Carthaginians, although the most striking examples of commercial monopolists in the time with which we are concerned, are by no means to be considered as alone in their practices. Several instances of the same habitual policy are pointed out in the notes of this edition ; and, in fact, it may be considered as a point established beyond all reasonable doubt, that piracy would be regularly practised by any one of the petty states of Hellas upon any other, *where no direct relations, sanctioned by a common religious bond, existed between the two*. The amount of risk to a traveller by sea arising out of this state of things appears vividly in the line of argument adopted by the orator ANDOCIDES, who is defending himself against the charge of having been concerned in the mutilation of the *Hermæ*, which caused so much excitement at Athens just before the fatal expedition to Sicily. He had left the city at the time, and been engaged for several years in commerce until his return and subsequent trial. His accuser, in reference to the dangers of this employment, had asserted that the gods had specially preserved him through them, destining him "to a drier death on shore" as the reward of his sacrilege. "What," he replies, "if the gods had deemed me guilty, would they not have revenged themselves upon me when they had got me involved in the extremest peril? for what human peril is greater than a sea voyage at a stormy time? Here they had life, limb, and fortune in their hands, and yet they saved me: why! they might have caused that not even my body should have obtained a grave! What! when there was war, and war-gallies and pirates

<sup>15</sup> POLYBIUS, iii. 22.

<sup>16</sup> See note 390 on iv. 151, and note 307 on v. 107.

covering the seas,—as numbers know to their cost, from being captured by them, and after losing their all ending their lives in slavery, —when too there was a barbarous seaboard on which numbers before now have been wrecked, and murdered after the most horrible tortures,—will you believe that the gods saved me through all these perils in order to make Cephisius, that vilest of Athenians (not that he is an Athenian as he professes), the minister of their vengeance on me<sup>17</sup> ? ”

We may, from what has been said, come without much hesitation to the conclusion, that admitting our author to have been as naturally inclined to travel as an Englishman of the present day, his means of gratifying this passion must have been very limited ;—that if he visited foreign parts, it will have been under the same circumstances as the travelling merchants of his day,—that his voyages will have been (except by accident) limited to the courses held by the trading vessels, and his travels by land to the great routes along which the commercial intercourse between distant countries was carried on ; for if travelling by sea was dangerous, far more so (POLYBIUS tells us) was travelling by land.

But even supposing the personal experiences of our author thus limited by the necessities of his time, it may be replied that the examples of the Parkes, Burckhardts, and Clappertons show how great an amount of knowledge may be acquired by a traveller in a *câra*van. Here, however, there is another abatement to be made. Modern travellers under such circumstances possess a power, which before the time of ERATOSTHENES, was quite out of the reach even of the most intelligent. They can determine the latitude, longitude, and height above the level of the sea, of any spot they please. But not one of these three particulars could be attempted by Herodotus, except in the very roughest manner. The spherical figure of the

<sup>17</sup> *De Mysteriis*, p. 18. He goes on to say presently : ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἡγούμαι χρήσιον νομίζειν τοὺς τοιοῦτους κινδύνους ἀνθρωπίνους, τοὺς δὲ κατὰ θάλατταν θεῖους.

ARISTOTLE allows his ideally brave man (τὸν ἀνδρείον) to be afraid of death out at sea, without forfeiting any portion of his claim to the character ; and in fact considers an entire absence of fear in such a case to indicate a habit of mind for which the Greek language possessed no expression : τῶν δ' ὑπερβαλλόντων τῇ ἀφοβίᾳ ἀνώνυμος· εἴη δ' ἂν τις μαινόμενος ἢ ἀνάληγτος, εἰ μὴδὲν φοβοῖτο, μήτε σεισμὸν μήτε τὰ κύματα, καθάπερ φασὶ τοὺς Κελτούς. (*Nicomach. Ethic.* ii. p. 1115.)

earth was a notion which certainly never entered his mind, and except on this assumption neither latitude nor longitude have any existence. The position of any one place on the surface of the earth can, in such a case, only be described by a reference to its bearing from some other. And in so assigning its bearing, we must not forget that our traveller has no compass, nay, that he has not even the rough means of orientation now possessed by every school-boy who knows how to find the pole-star. The *north* of Herodotus is the *quarter* from whence the cold Thracian winds blow. His *south* is the place of the sun when *sensibly* highest in the heaven (*μεσημβρία*), or the region from which the warm moist wind (*νότος*) comes. His *east* and *west* are the solstitial points of the rising and setting sun, without any definition whatever of the position from whence the phenomenon is observed <sup>18</sup>.

That this rough way of assigning positions, by their bearing upon other equally undefined points, was the ordinary method of our author, will appear quite plainly from an expression used by him in several passages, which has not been generally understood by the commentators, and which is unintelligible except on the supposition that he is defining the position of a spot by projecting it, as it were, upon the direction of the course which he is at the time pursuing, quite irrespectively of what that course may happen to be. For instance, in describing *Pteria*, the place where the first battle took place between the armies of Croesus and Cyrus, he says that it is *κατὰ Σινώπην πόλιν μάλιστά κη κεμένη* (i. 76). The defile where the ibises were said to watch for the winged snakes, is in Arabia *κατὰ Βουτοῦν πόλιν μάλιστά κη κείμενος* (ii. 75). The *Labyrinth* is said to be situated above the lake Mœris, and *κατὰ Κροκοδείλων καλεομένην πόλιν μάλιστά κη κείμενος* (ii. 148). Now one may assume, *à priori*, that this phrase is used in the same sense in all these passages, and in the second of them (see note 195 thereon) it is quite certain that the preposition conveys no sense of proximity, for the defile was far away from the city Buto. It can only be taken to mean "on the

<sup>18</sup> The variation of these points with the alteration of latitude is obvious to us. For instance, at *Cyzicus* the sun would rise nearly to the N.E. by E. of a spectator, when at *Syene* it would appear due E. There is no reason to suppose that, in the idea of Herodotus, these bearings differed in the least degree from one another.

same line with the city Buto," that is, that when a traveller passing up the Nile arrives at Buto, he is come "abreast of" the locality where the bones of the snakes are to be seen. Applying this sense to the other two passages, a satisfactory meaning will be obtained; but, if we come to consider the direction with reference to the points of the compass, we shall discover that in the first of the three cases the traveller must look *southwards* for the direction of Pteria, in the second *eastwards* for the defile in the Arabian mountains, and in the third *westwards* for the Labyrinth. In other words, the description is an appropriate one for a person carrying in his hand *an outline* of the south coast of the Euxine or of the banks of the Nile, and referring other sites which he has occasion to mention to some point on these<sup>19</sup>; but it is altogether unnatural for one who had before him any thing like a *map* in the modern sense of the word, that is, a representation of a large portion of the earth's surface on a fixed scale, wherein the several places should be noted, and their relative bearings laid down on one consistent plan.

That maps of this description existed in the time of Herodotus I will not absolutely deny; but that they were either common, or likely to be used by him, or, if they had been, that they possessed such a degree of accuracy as to contribute to the clearness of his views in combining the several portions of his own personal experience, appears to me very unlikely. The first person who ever attempted to construct any thing which could be so called, or indeed who paid any particular attention to the subject of geography, was the Milesian ANAXIMANDER, and perhaps we shall be near the truth in supposing that a brazen tablet, exhibiting the known earth according to his views of it, was set up in some public place at Miletus, and furnished Aristagoras with the information regarding the route to Susa which Herodotus makes him give. Anaximander was followed by HECATÆUS, who corrected his errors, partly, if not entirely, from his own personal experience as a traveller, and left behind him the memoir in which this was done,—a work which remained extant

<sup>19</sup> The coast outline which Democedes is described as having made for Darius is an example of such a chart; and the existing work under the name of SCYLAX is the mere description of such another. As for the Nile, most modern tourists up the Rhine or by the South Coast Railway in England, have bought, or been solicited to buy, a similar manual.

in the time of ERATOSTHENES<sup>20</sup>; but that copies of this production, or of any considerable portion of it, were in common circulation, there seems no reason whatever to suppose. If, indeed, it really was, as some have imagined, the basis of the brazen tablet which Aristagoras was said to have taken with him to Lacedæmon, it is plain that its utility as a guide can have been very small; for the Lacedæmonians, to whom it was exhibited, gathered from it no conception of the real distance of Susa from the coast, and unless Aristagoras had inadvertently answered their question truly, were in a fair way (according to Herodotus) of being duped by him. So far, therefore, as the evidence of this particular incident (on which much stress has been laid) goes, there is nothing whatever to difference the "map" of Aristagoras from those numerous γῆς περίοδοι which excite our author's contempt elsewhere, and consequently nothing to indicate the existence of charts constructed on such principles as to furnish a traveller with assistance in *disentangling the geography* of the country through which he might be passing.

But, in fact, the commercial importance of Miletus, its wealth, and the civilisation indicated by its contributions to the literature of the sixth and fifth centuries before the Christian era forbid us to rest satisfied with merely this negative result. Anaximander's name is brought into connexion with that of his countryman Thales, either as a scholar or an acquaintance; and his reputation as a physical philosopher was high throughout antiquity, worthless as his views appear to the superior enlightenment of modern times. It is difficult therefore to suppose, that a performance which even Eratosthenes thought

<sup>20</sup> Ἀναξίμανδρος ὁ Μιλήσιος, ἀκουστῆς Θαλέω, πρῶτος ἐτέλεισε τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐν πίνακι γράψαι, μεθ' ὃν Ἑκαταῖος ὁ Μιλήσιος, ἀνὴρ πολυπλάσις, διεκρίβωσεν, ὥστε θαυμασθῆναι τὸ πρᾶγμα. AGATHEMERUS (p. 2, ed. Hudson). Ἐρατοσθένους φησὶν Ἀναξίμανδρόν τε, Θαλοῦ γεγονότα γινώσκον καὶ πολίτην, καὶ Ἑκαταίων τὸν Μιλήσιον, τὸν μὲν ἐκδοῦναι πρῶτον γεωγραφικὸν πίνακα, τὸν δὲ Ἑκαταίων καταλιπεῖν γράμμα, πιστούμενον ἐκεῖνον εἶναι ἐκ τῆς ἑλλης αὐτοῦ γραφῆς. (STRABO, l. c. l, p. 10.) It is well to remark, that from the comparison of these two passages it follows, (1st) that Agathemerus's statement is, no less than Strabo's, originally derived from Eratosthenes; (2ndly) that what Hecataeus did was to correct Anaximander's tablet, not by producing a better, but by writing a *treatise* upon it; and (3rdly) that Anaximander's πίναξ was not accompanied by such a treatise, which, if it had been a portable map on vellum, it doubtless would have been. Consequently, it will most likely have been, as suggested in the text, a table in stone or metal, set up in some public place, as the nineteen-year cycle of Meton was some years afterwards at Athens. See p. 163, below.

worthy of honourable mention, can have possessed merely the merit of being the first rough attempt to convey an idea of the shape and bearings of the then known portions of the earth. Had it been nothing more than this, it must have been utterly valueless, if merely from the erroneous physical notions of its author. But it will assume a considerable value (although one of a very different kind from a modern chart) if we suppose that within such a rude outline as we have imagined there were drawn *the several inland routes, and the tracks of coast navigation*, by which the commerce of Miletus (then unquestionably the chief of the Hellenic trading communities) was accustomed to pass,—and that the different ports at which (if a navigator) the traveller would desire to touch, the landmarks for which he would have to look out, or (in the case of land routes) the stations where he might be able to rest, the rivers which he would have to cross, and the barriers where he would find tolls to pay, were noted down upon each of these. This information might be conveyed in such a tablet *without any adherence to an uniform scale*; because the distances, estimated in the way in which alone at that time it was possible to estimate them, would naturally be specified by the number of days' march or of hours' sail from one position to another. A tablet constructed on such a principle would be of the greatest use to the merchants who met on the exchange at Miletus; and *on this* its reputation would rest. To look at it in the usual manner as a step in the science of mathematical geography is (I conceive) not only to attribute to it a merit which it did not possess: it is really to distract our attention from those which it did. It must be regarded as resembling the PEUTINGER TABLE, *a general itinerary in a synoptical form*, conveying the aggregate information possessed by Greek merchants at the time, in a shape independent of any knowledge of the true figure and dimensions of the earth, and consequently subject to all the amount of error which ignorance of the elementary principles of mathematical geography necessarily involves. In this view of the subject, it is not difficult to understand, how the memoir of Hecataeus founded upon it should acquire the reputation it did. It no doubt consisted mainly in the verification and correction of the distances and bearings of the landmarks, with reference exclusively to travellers upon the routes. Thus the corrected itinerary, although of no pretension in itself to the merits of a *chart*, would become most inter-



esting to a scientific geographer like Eratosthenes, who having already, by independent methods, determined approximately the figure and magnitude of the earth, would find in it materials to fill up the correct outline which his superior knowledge had enabled him to sketch out.

HECATÆUS THE MILESIAN, whose name has been brought before our notice in connexion with the subject of this celebrated tablet, is also included in the list of ancient writers criticised by Dionysius of Halicarnassus in the way we have seen. Mention of him by name occurs in four passages in our MSS of Herodotus <sup>21</sup>, in the first three of which he is described by the title *ὁ λογοποιός*, a term which ARRIAN gives to both <sup>22</sup>. In the fourth passage he is called simply "the son of Hegesander," his father's name not having been mentioned in the other three, and a notice, apparently in his own words, of the conduct of the Pelasgians to their Athenian neighbours is inserted into our author's text <sup>23</sup>. This passage may possibly be a later introduction by the hand of an ancient editor, of whom there are traces in several other places <sup>24</sup>; but even if it be so, it is still not likely that Herodotus should have learnt what he says of Hecataeus without being acquainted with his works. In point of fact, Hecataeus is the only one of the numerous prose writers then extant who is mentioned by him by name. Now it is distinctly asserted, that in the second book of his work, a great deal has been taken from Hecataeus's *Periegesis*, even the very language having been only slightly changed, and as instances of this are cited the descriptions of the phoenix, the river-horse, and the mode of capturing the crocodile <sup>25</sup>. Yet, not only is there no indication on the part of Herodotus that he has there made any use of his predecessor's writings, but, if we turn to the passages thus particularised, we find what amounts to a profession that he is himself an eye-witness of what he is describing. The phoenix, he allows, he has not seen himself except in a painting, from the circumstance of its visiting the country only at rare intervals; from which statement one would naturally infer that he must have seen both the river-horse and the crocodile, the description of which

<sup>21</sup> ii. 143; v. 36. 125 (on which last passage see note 341); vi. 137.

<sup>22</sup> *Exped. Alexand.* v. 6.

<sup>23</sup> See note 305 on vi. 137.

<sup>24</sup> See note 432 on ii. 145; note 99 on iv. 32; note 236 on viii. 119.

<sup>25</sup> The descriptions are in §§ 68—73. See PORPHYRY quoted in note 183.

occurs in the next section. But the description is of such a kind as to make one absolutely certain that he neither saw them nor got his account direct from any one who had ;—so entirely erroneous are the particulars in matters which could not fail to strike the eye. And yet these descriptions occur in a part of the book for the superior accuracy of which he volunteers a pledge, studiously contrasting it in this respect with what he afterwards proceeds to relate<sup>26</sup>. Whether, therefore, we adopt the assertion of PORPHYRY, that the sections just referred to are really the work of Hecataeus, or reject it, the conclusion seems irresistible, that we have here an instance of the writer giving an account, as if on his own authority, of what he undoubtedly could not have seen<sup>27</sup>.

If now we set out with the impression, which some scholars appear to have derived from the study of Herodotus, that there is “observable, in every part of his history, a determination not to be responsible for any but ascertained facts ;” if we regard his intercourse with the Chaldean priests in Babylon as taking place while “engaged in collecting materials for his history of Assyria ;” and think of him as one who, after having “visited all the most remarkable parts of the world then known—Egypt, Syria, Palestine, Colchis, probably Babylon and Ecbatana, the northern parts of Africa, the shores of the Hellespont, the Euxine Sea, and Scythia, pursuing in all those countries his researches with unwearied industry,” . . . “again recommenced his researches and his travels with renovated ardour ; and, as he had before directed his attention more particularly to the nations and countries which acknowledged the supremacy of the Persian empire, so now travelled with the same patience of investigation over the various provinces of Greece, collecting the records of the most illustrious families of the different towns of any note,” we cannot help feeling not only surprised, but shocked, at such a manifestation of the real state of the case as appears in the passages just mentioned. If we are deter-

<sup>26</sup> *μήχι μὲν τούτου ὅψις τε ἐμὴ καὶ γνώμη καὶ ἱστορίη ταῦτα λέγουσά ἐστι· τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου, Αἰγυπτίους ἐρχομαι λόγους ἐρέων*, § 99, where see note 265.

<sup>27</sup> It has generally been assumed by the modern magnifiers of Herodotus's historical character, that when he uses the expression *μέχρις ἐμὲ ἔδω* or *ἐτι ἐς ἐμὲ ἔδω*, he is of course to be regarded as an eye-witness of the thing to which these words are applied. This rule, however, can hardly be applied to the “Forts of Darius” in Scythia (iv. 124), or, if applied, it must be at the expense of the writer's character as an observer. See notes 316 and 317, thereon.

mined to take up ground different from that on which the ancients uniformly took their stand in the criticism of our author, we must give up his character for veracity. Considered as a *logographer*, nothing can be said too highly in his praise. But then we must regard him as governed by the principles of a logographer, blending together into one mass the various materials which offered themselves to him, here the tale brought by some skipper of a merchant ship, there the story which beguiled the discomforts of the caravanseraï after the day's journey was over; often listening to the tale of the ἱεργίης of a temple, at another time hearing the details which some veteran sailor or septuagenarian hoplite poured out, of the doings at Salamis or Marathon. The local traditions which embodied in a mythical form the early history of the several states,—the popular poetry which embalmed the memory of the worthies of the past,—the peculiar customs prevailing at the religious festivals, to every one of which was attached some story to explain it,—would furnish a mass of materials not less valuable *for his purpose* than formal historical documents. Modern criticism is inclined to rate such sources of information very low; but in the days of Herodotus they found more favour, or perhaps we should rather say, more justice. At all events, if we are to be guided by the direct testimony of antiquity, confirmed by that indirect evidence which the remains of the early historians afford, we shall not set out on the assumption that Herodotus was guided by a modern spirit of criticism in the collection or the selection of his materials; but either be satisfied to enjoy his work as a composition of surpassing beauty and interest, reading it as a contemporary would have done; or else, if in accordance with the habits and tastes of the present day we look in it for materials from which to reconstruct the image of the past, we must be content patiently to trace the probable sources of each portion of it, to compare not merely Herodotus with Ctesias or Dinon (as one might Hallam with Lingard, or Southey with Butler), but both the one and the other with what we know from other sources to have actually taken place; not deciding between them on the simple estimate which we may form of their relative judgments, but testing the accounts of each by the analogy of other similar cases, and by their conformity with the known conditions of society. The notes with which this edition is furnished have been drawn up chiefly with the object of facilitating

this process. They are not, properly speaking, so much illustrations *of the text* of Herodotus, as illustrations, *through his text*, of the time in which he lived and the influences under which his work would necessarily be composed. The object has not been to palliate discrepancies, but by bringing them out into a strong light, to show distinctly the degree of historical assurance which exists on the points where they occur, and thus prepare the way for a due appreciation of all conflicting statements. In some cases I cherish the hope that the result of this method has been, to render possible a clearer view of important historical transactions than has yet been obtained<sup>22</sup>; and I have little doubt that a much richer harvest will be reaped by those who have leisure to follow it up.

It would, however, be a great error to dismiss the reader to the study of Herodotus, under an impression that because his materials are mainly of the kind just described, and combined with one another on a principle very different from that which a modern historian would adopt, his work is therefore at all deficient in historical value. The very phenomena discoverable in it, which take it out of the category of histories such as those of Tacitus or Thucydides, will (if we look at the matter aright) increase our conviction of the fidelity with which it reflects the current opinions, feelings, and habits of the time in which it was written. What the men of that day *believed* of the transactions of the generation which had preceded them, comes to us *in a scarcely altered shape*. A flood of barbarism had swept over Asia, and, after engulfing almost all the existing civilisation, had been rolled back again; so that when the survivors of the deluge began to lift up their heads, an entirely new order of things had sprung into existence, and of the old order only insulated relics remained, connected together and interpreted by the popular sentiments of the time. A generation before the battle of Salamis the coasts of Asia were full of flourishing commercial communities, small indeed as regards their territorial extent, but wealthy, enterprising, and skilled

<sup>22</sup> I would instance especially the nature of the revolution effected by Darius, as developed in the Excursus II. on Book iii. and the under-current of Achaean interests, which modified the whole foreign policy of Sparta before and during the Persian war, upon their finding an able and unscrupulous representative in a Heraclide king. See note 172 upon vi. 73, and the references therein; the following notes as far as 190; also notes 436, 437 on Book vii. and notes 18 and 34 on Book ix.

in arts and arms. The Homeric epics,—the lyric poetry, of which fragments alone have come down to us,—the numerous colonies which studded the shores of the Euxine,—the magnificent temples of Samos and Ephesus,—and the proverbial luxury of Ionia, constitute incontestable evidence of the extent which civilisation had reached among the Asiatic Hellenes. With their European brethren the case was widely different. That city, in which, before a century more had elapsed, were produced the dramas of Sophocles and the friezes of the Parthenon,—in which the oratory of “Olympian Pericles” swayed the wills of the assembled people like the nod of the omnipotent Zeus himself,—while, meantime, unprecedented national success had engendered the vision of universal sovereignty,—was, at the time when Croesus crossed the Halys, a humble member of the confederacy of which her military rival was the paramount head,—too feeble to dream of independent action,—without a written literature, unless we may give such a name to the productions of Solon,—and indebted for even the rudiments of cultivation to the dynasty whose name she afterwards proscribed<sup>29</sup>. History presents no instance of rapid development comparable to that of Athens during the latter half of the sixth and the former half of the fifth century before the Christian era; the nearest parallel perhaps is that of the Italian republics at the time of the revival of letters. But the calamity which had in its results awakened the latent energies of the countrymen of Themistocles, by merging all individual interests in the sense of one common danger and the sentiment of one common patriotism, and which, when it was at last repelled, left them no longer an aggregate of rival families, but an united people free by their own efforts, presenting to the world an example of the most heroic valour rewarded by the most dazzling success,—had overlaid and entirely extinguished the national life of the Asiatic states. Their whole population had been changed, and their national records were of course destroyed, when the temples in which they had been laid up were burnt and the endowments confiscated. Hence, when the ancient enemy was at last partially humbled, and some

<sup>29</sup> To the Pisistratids the Athenians were indebted not only for their first familiarisation with the Homeric poems,—an influence which may be compared, (looking at the matter merely in its intellectual bearings,) to the effect produced in England by the circulation through the press of the translation of the Bible,—but likewise for an introduction to the nobler forms of architecture.

of the exiles which remained alive had returned to their native land, a complete gap in the continuity of their history would exist, to be bridged over in the best way it might. Of the way, now, in which this problem was solved we have the picture in the work of Herodotus,—a far more valuable document, surely, from its exhibiting, in their genuine simplicity, the materials of the edifice, than would have been the case had the writer undertaken the duty of chipping and shaping these in order to produce a more symmetrical, and, what some may consider, a more historical appearance.

I will now proceed to point out some of the principal sources of Herodotus's materials, and give a brief sketch of their peculiar character, in order to make yet plainer the point of view from which, in my opinion, he must be criticised.

The most important of all must undoubtedly be reckoned the temples, especially those which were connected with periodical assemblages of the different members of the Hellenic race, such as those of Pytho and Olympia. The importance of these reunions is often but little appreciated, from the habit which prevails of regarding them exclusively under their religious aspect. No doubt the *national* feeling was fostered by that participation in common religious ceremonies which formed an essential part of the meeting; but this was not the original object of their institution, and would in a very slight degree be the case until after the occurrence of those great events which did, so to speak, create the nationality. There was no pan-hellenic spirit, in the proper sense of the word, before the Persian war. In the earlier times the prevailing bond of union was the principle of *confederation*, either for the purpose of mutual defence or for that of commercial advantage, and perhaps especially the latter. STRABO expresses as much in a word, when he says "that the panegyris is a commercial matter;" and the truth of the remark is confirmed by the circumstance, that as the lines of traffic altered with the political changes of the world, the temples which had been the seat of the principal assemblages lost their importance, sometimes recovering it again with the return of the original state of things<sup>20</sup>. And, in fact, the

<sup>20</sup> This was the case with Delos, which immediately after the Mithridatic war recovered its former importance, because Corinth, which for several hundred years had attracted the thorough traffic between Asia and Europe, had been destroyed by the Romans. The Delians were wise enough to assist the natural advantages of their situation

connexion between the temple and the fair is very easy to understand. One may at once see how, in early times, the respect due to the shrine of the god produced security to his worshippers; how deeds of violence and robbery, which the lax morality of the time would have let pass unrebuked in another place and at a different time, became sacrilege when perpetrated within the boundaries of the sacred territory, and before the expiration of the sacred truce. Within these limits the authority of the accredited ministers of the temple would be supreme, arising from the circumstance that they alone had the power of defining the rites and ceremonies which the stranger, who had entered the territory under the guardianship of the local deity, must perform in order to propitiate him<sup>21</sup>. This knowledge was considered a matter of the very highest importance; it was handed down traditionally from generation to generation, usually in certain families. No one would attempt either to question, or to share it; and as a necessary consequence, a yet further power would be grafted upon it,—that of determining what regulations should be observed by the visitors of the temple in their intercourse with each other during their stay in the sacred territory. All disputes between them would naturally fall under the jurisdiction of the acknowledged authorities of the place. In their capacity of *ἐξηγηταί*, these would be regarded as divinely accredited; and in such a case the decisions of equity would become invested with the awful character of a divine command. The obvious utility of enforcing such decisions would enlist on the side of the judges the sympathy and active support of all except the party against whom each particular decision was given; and thus insensibly would grow up a complete code of maxims relating to the intercourse of men with one another, the good sense of which would commend itself to the sober judgment of the calm, while the repute of their sacred origin would procure obedience to them even from the violent<sup>22</sup>. It is, however, now im-

by abstaining from levying port dues,—the earliest instance of an enlightened commercial policy which I know. (*Ἐκεῖσε γὰρ μετεχώρησαν οἱ ἔμποροι καὶ τῆς ἀτελείας τοῦ ἱεροῦ προκαλουμένης αὐτοῦς, καὶ τῆς εὐκαιρίας τοῦ λιμένος.* STRABO, x. c. 5, p. 388.)

<sup>21</sup> The well-known scene in SOPHOCLES'S *Œdipus Coloneus* will convey a lively notion of the effect of the *religio loci* in Pagan antiquity (vv. 117—257). See also vv. 465—492.

<sup>22</sup> Thus will be explained the origin of the old gnomic sentiments referred to in note 116 on i. 32.



portant to remember that such proceedings imply a *common religious belief*. The deity whose shrine was regarded in so sacred a light, and whose ministers were so revered as to render their authority paramount even in the decision of purely secular matters, was, of necessity, himself assumed to stand in a *special relation* to his worshippers, of a kind which demanded their respect, and at the same time justified them in expecting protection from him. In this necessity originated the early genealogies,—preserved in the poets but not invented by them,—connecting by lineal descent impersonations of the several tribes (i. e. their *eponyms*) with the tutelary deity who was the object of their united worship; and thus expressing to the multitude, not in an arbitrary form, but in the only language intelligible to an uncultivated age, their religious and ethnical history. The transition from the divine to the merely human was smoothed down by the employment of that machinery which the imagination so readily suggests to those who are open to the influences of nature. The stream, the mountain, and the forest were all invested with life. The foaming torrent had been a river-god, the spreading oak in the depth of the forest a melancholy maiden, the dancing brook some joyous daughter of an ancient chief whose charms had won for her the love of the local divinity, and who became by him the mother of a new race<sup>33</sup>. The dry genealogy thus acquired the colouring of

<sup>33</sup> Two exquisite sonnets of WORDSWORTH'S will show, better than a volume of dissertation, the part played by the fresh imagination of a highly organised race in the creation of their own mythology. One is the following:—

“ BROOK ! whose society the Poet seeks,  
Intent his wasted spirits to renew ;  
And whom the curious Painter doth pursue  
Through rocky passes, among flowery creeks,  
And track thee dancing down thy water-breaks ;  
If wish were mine some type of thee to view,  
Thee, and not thee thyself, I would not do  
Like Grecian Artists, give thee human cheeks,  
Channels for tears ; no Naiad should'st thou be,—  
Have neither limbs, feet, feathers, joints, nor hairs :  
*It seems th' Eternal Soul is clothed in thee*  
*With purer robes than those of flesh and blood,*  
*And hath bestowed on thee a better good ;*  
*Unwearied joy, and life without its cares.”*

The sympathy of the poet of nature revolts, as might have been expected, from the artistical polytheism of the classical period, and attaches itself to the feelings of an earlier age, when the instinctive sense of the beautiful (as strong then as ever after-

the poetical tale; upon the ancient pantheistic creed thus became grafted the varied forms which Hellenic polytheism afterwards assumed; and as the process went on, in accordance with a regular law, every addition to the original legend was stamped with the impress of the common habits of life and common modes of thought and feeling belonging to the time in which it was assimilated.

“ Thus every where to Truth Tradition clings,  
Or Fancy localises Powers we love :  
Were only History licensed to take note  
Of things gone by, her meagre monuments  
Would ill suffice for persons and events :  
There is an ampler page for man to quote,  
A readier book of manifold contents  
Studied alike in palace and in cot.”

WORDSWORTH.

While now the intercourse between different independent communities was very slight, and confined to those tribes whose traditions were identical, the historical and religious myths remained proportionally simple; but the case was altered when the extension of commerce brought distant cities into contact with one another. Some common religious bond was essential to the most ordinary mercantile transaction. Without it there could be no valid covenant, for no oath could be tendered which would bind the conscience of both the contracting parties; and without the sanction of an oath good faith was not to be looked for in early paganism. But this difficulty was soon removed where there existed any strong analogy between religious systems, or similarity between the rituals which embodied them. Nothing was easier, or in the feeling of those simple times more natural and proper, than to combine the two distinct creeds together by the aid of a fresh legend<sup>24</sup>. Thus the *Isis* of Egypt found an entrance, as *Io*, into the religious ideas of the worshippers of the

wards) had not yet been dissevered from a religious awe for the grand forms of nature, into which men chose rather to merge humanity, than detach them from the great Whole to which they belonged by isolated personifications.

The other sonnet is that on the monument commonly called Long Meg and her daughters, near the river Eden. (*Works*, vol. v. p. 249.) To these, the lines of SHELLEY on the Passage of the Apennines, printed among the Posthumous Poems in 1824, deserve well to be added. They might have been chanted under Mount Mænalus, three thousand years ago, as a part of some hymn to Demeter Achaia.

<sup>24</sup> See notes 164 and 366, on Book I., note 153 on Book II., and note 487 on Book VII.

Argive *Here*, as soon as commercial intercourse sprang up between the two countries. Thus, too, the cruel Tauric goddess was brought into connexion with the Artemis Limnæa of Lacedæmon, for the behoof of the merchants of Heraclea and Chersonesus, by help of the story of Iphigenia<sup>25</sup>. It is not of course to be supposed that these *supplementary legends* (as they may for distinction's sake be called) possessed at their first growth any thing like the symmetry or the richness with which their handling by the poets has invested them for us. In the dim twilight of the time in which they sprang up, their rude proportions excited no surprise; and it was not until an entirely different state of things had arisen, not until men's tastes had become more cultivated, their acquaintance with the world extended, and their understandings called into action, that a spirit of discrimination arose which rejected the food on which the early ages had been contentedly nourished, and demanded the artistic attractions which the lyrical and dramatic poets supplied. This being the only shape in which we are familiar with the Hellenic mythology, it requires some effort not to forget, that it only represents the original, somewhat as the fairy mythology of the *Midsummer Night's Dream* may represent the notions prevalent among the common people of England, on the subject of elves and fays, in the reigns of the Tudors. The myths of Hellas, as they grew up in the mountain village or the depths of the forest, were strange and outlandish even to the eye of an ancient mythographer<sup>26</sup>. It was enough at first if they answered the purpose for which they were produced, that of securing respect for the rude ordinances which were the earliest legal check to the ferocity of uncivilised men.

It is important above all things for understanding any question of mythology, to separate this *era of the natural growth of myths*, from those later periods in which their handling by poets and logographers produced a far greater luxuriance, although one of an entirely different kind, and also from that still later, when their arrangement by collectors had superinduced a semblance of chronological order. The genuine myth is not a fiction in the proper sense of the word; it

<sup>25</sup> See notes 279 and 280 on Book IV.

<sup>26</sup> HECATÆUS began his history with the words: τὰδε γράφω ὅς μοι ἀληθεία δοκεί: εἶναι· οἱ γὰρ Ἑλλήνων λόγοι πολλοί τε καὶ γελοῖοι, ὅς ἐμοὶ φαίνονται, εἶσιν. (fr. 332.)

was the only possible form for denoting the new phenomena which presented themselves, and demanded to be expressed. It bore an analogy to the common use of metaphorical language,—in which we apply to spiritual experiences language borrowed from the world of sense (as when we talk of being *prostrated* by a calamity),—or to the practice of children, who will continually speak of that which they are imagining as a transaction which is actually taking place, and who often become really alarmed at the terrors which in their play they create for themselves. The genuine myth therefore is in its essence a truth; for its form expresses the real social conditions of those periods of human existence during which it arises; and its preservation in an uncorrupted shape is the most valuable of all materials for the philosophical historian. There can be no greater confusion than to consider it as interchangeable with *fable*, unless it be the transplanting it into ages and conditions of society where none of the necessities which gave rise to it existed, and where it is scarcely less absurd to look for it than it would be to search for wild flowers among the pavement of Cheapside.

The first important step in the modification of the *myth* perhaps was taken by the officials of the temples themselves, in substituting the *hymn*, with its attractions of metre and music, for the ancient dry formula of invocation. The earliest hymn writers were doubtless themselves priests of the deity celebrated, and their first performances in all probability differed but little from the jejune genealogies to which they succeeded. Unfortunately the productions of Olen the Lycian, Pamphus the Athenian, and Musæus the Eleusinian (who belonged to this class, and are said to have lived before the time of Homer), are so utterly lost, that no direct notion can be formed of their nature; but a few lines which remain of a writer who lived at no great distance of time after the conquest of the Peloponnese, and who may be regarded as belonging to the next stage of advance, entirely go to confirm this view. They constitute a portion of the *ἕσμα προσόδιον*, or hymn in which the sacred procession saluted the Delian Apollo upon entering the walls of his temple. The hymn itself was written by EUMELUS OF CORINTH, a member of the illustrious house of the Bacchiads, for the Messenians on the first occasion of their participating in the festival; and if any opinion may be formed from the specimen which remains, it consisted of a

versified recitation of the genealogies through which the ethnical connexion of the Messenians with the other tribes that frequented the Delian panegyris was exhibited<sup>37</sup>. The fragment is thus given by TZETZES:

Ἄλλ' ὅτε δ' Αἰήτης καὶ Ἀλῶνις ἐξεγένοντο  
 Ἑλλίου τε καὶ Ἀντιόπης, τότε δ' ἔνδιχα χάρην  
 δάσσατο παῖσιν ἐοῖς Ὑπερίωνος ἀγλαὸς υἱός·  
 ἦν μὲν ἔναιεν Ἀσσωπὶς, τὴν πόρε διφ' Ἀλῶνι,  
 ἦν δ' Ἐφύρη κτεάτεσσ' Αἰήτη δῶκεν ἅπασαν·  
 Αἰήτης δ' ἔρ' ἐκὼν Βουνῷ παρέδωκε φυλάσσειν,  
 εἰσόκεν αὐτὸς ἀνὴρ εἰς ὕστερον αἰθῆς ἵκοιτο,  
 ἢ ἐξ αὐτοῖο τίς δδ' ἔρχετο [forte δδ' οἴχοιτ' εἰς] Κολχίδα γαῖαν.  
 (ad Lycophron. 174.)

From hymns of such a description as this must have been, the transition is scarcely perceptible to the poems of the so-called *Cycle*, which in fact may be regarded, in their origin, as founded upon

<sup>37</sup> The observations upon this writer by COLONEL MURE in his *History of Greek Literature* (iv. p. 62), are, in my opinion, singularly ill founded, and constitute a remarkable exception to the perspicacity which distinguishes the greater part of the work,—one for which the author deserves the thanks of all in this country who wish success to the study of the Hellenic literature. The *ἔσμα προσόδιον* was the only genuine work of Eumelus, and was a processional composed for a religious service. (PAUSANIAS, iv. 4. 1; iv. 33. 3.) It is therefore no warrant for coupling its author with “his fellow Dorian annalists of the same age.” Moreover, the Messenians for whose use it was composed, were a people in which the Dorian invaders had amalgamated with the primitive population on terms of equality, and where, after a revolution and counter-revolution, the old religion had recovered great force. (PAUSANIAS, iv. 3. 3–6.) The reigning dynasty ceased to be called Heraclides, and were called *Æpytides*. The Bacchiads of Corinth had likewise abandoned the name which distinguished the Dorian invaders. It is therefore scarcely possible to doubt that the hymn of Eumelus was composed in a friendly spirit to the conquered people, with whom the *Æpytides* and Bacchiads appear to have identified themselves as the Norman Plantagenets did with their English subjects. In this view, any commemoration of the victories of the Dorian invaders over the Achæans would have been religiously avoided. I cannot refrain from adding, that I suspect the “Sparto-Dorian” writers of Mure, such as Cinæthion (PAUSANIAS, ii. 3. 7), were really of the old blood, and should rather be described by the word “Achæo-Laconian.” I should believe them to have retained the greater civilisation of the Pelopid times, and to have employed it in the way in which the warlike Dorian invaders would most appreciate it, namely, in pedigree writing. The Lacedæmonian passion for this subject was remarkable in later days. PLATO makes Socrates ask Hippias the sophist respecting them: ἀλλὰ τί μὴν ἐστὶν ἡ ἡδέως σου ἀκροῶνται καὶ θαυνοῦσιν; αὐτὸς μοι εἰπέ, θειεῖθ' ἐγὼ οὐχ ἐβρίσκω, τοῦ ἡ ἀπάνεργα; περὶ τῶν γενῶν, ὃ Ζάκρτες, τῶν τε ἡρώων καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ τῶν κατοικήσεων, ὥς τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐκτίσθησαν αἱ πόλεις, καὶ συλλήβδην πάσης τῆς ἀρχαιολογίας ἥδιστα ἀκροῶνται, ὅστ' ἔγωγε δι' αὐτοὺς ἡνάγκασμαι ἐκμεταθῆναι τε καὶ μεμελετηθῆναι πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα. (*Hippias Major*, § 12.)

them. The Alexandrine grammarians who arranged these so as to constitute in themselves a complete collection of the Hellenic mythology, were guided entirely by a view to their fitness for mutual adaptation, so as to produce a consistent and continuous narrative; and in this they only carried out the principle upon which the several poets had acted in the composition of their own works. Hence it is that they are called *παραὶ ἱστορικοί*, and regarded as differing from the logographers who arose yet later, only by the circumstance of writing in metre<sup>28</sup>. Their poetical merits were perhaps small, but they left no current legend without finding a place for it somewhere or other. The description which MACROBIUS gives of one of them may serve for all. "Virgil," he says, "copied almost verbally his overthrow of Troy, with the story of Sinon and the wooden horse, and all the other contents of his second book, from *Pisander*, an author distinguished among the Greek poets by a work which, beginning with the nuptials of Jupiter and Juno, collects and reduces into one series all the historical incidents which occurred in the whole of the intervening ages, down to Pisander's own time, and produces a single body out of diverse insulated periods (*unum ex diversis hiatibus temporum corpus efficit*)"<sup>29</sup>.

It is obvious, however, that in a people endowed so universally as was the case with the Greeks, with a capacity for apprehending the beautiful in every possible form, mythical history, when once the influence of the artist began to be exercised upon it, would rapidly alter its character, and while it became fuller and richer, would at the same time become more nearly identical with simple fable. In the time of the Hellenic drama, the right of the poet to shape the legend he handled in any way most convenient to himself was not questioned; and the only obstacle to the most arbitrary treatment of the myths arose out of the circumstance, that, as in their main outline they were already familiar to every body, any extraordinary variation from this would have been detrimental to the artistic effect. The spectator, for instance, who sat down in the temple of Dionysus accustomed to think of Helen as having been carried off to Troy by her paramour, would have been (unless familiar with STESICHOBUS)

<sup>28</sup> STRABO, i. p. 34.

<sup>29</sup> *Saturnalia*, v. 2. Pisander was a native of Camirus, in the island Rhodes.

utterly puzzled as the curtain rose to find her in Egypt, possessed with the sentiments of a Penelope, and only enduring life in the hope of being ultimately enabled to disabuse her husband of a ten years' delusion, and recover her own character in the public opinion of Hellas. Accordingly EURIPIDES, whose career coincides with the time in which the desire for novelty had completely over-ridden all regard for the traditional method of treating mythical subjects, was compelled, in this as in many other instances, to resort to that peculiarity which drew upon him the ridicule of his comic contemporary, —to employ the first of his personages who appeared on the stage in explaining the particulars of the plot<sup>40</sup>. His predecessor SOPHOCLES, and ÆSCHYLUS indeed also, had introduced some variations into the currently received legends; in fact, slight variations could hardly fail to arise as soon as ever the imagination of the poet was brought to bear upon them; and these would insensibly increase without attracting especial notice until accidental circumstances directed attention to them<sup>41</sup>.

But although the early myths were much modified by their poetical handling as soon as they grew into any thing more than dry genealogies, the change thus produced in them was at any rate not of a kind to mask their original character, and to invest them with an undue historical credit in the eyes of posterity. It was otherwise, however, in their passage through the hands of the logographers, whose occupation it became to complete the work which the cyclical poets had begun, of collecting and arranging all the local legends into one consistent whole. When the several genealogies had once been combined, there was a strong temptation to pursue the task of arrangement yet further, and to link the whole together by a chronological system, of which the basis was the number of generations

<sup>40</sup> ARISTOPHANES makes him say of his own plan :

εἴτ' οὐκ ἐλήθουν ὃ τι τέχουμ', οὐδ' ἐμπεσὼν ἔφυγον,  
ἀλλ' οὐδὲν πρότεστα μὲν μοι τὸ γένος εἴη' ἂν εἰθὺς  
τοῦ δράματος.—(*Frogs*, 945.)

<sup>41</sup> Such, for instance, as the peculiarity of EURIPIDES's prologues; or the trenching upon the sacred traditions of a deity whose ritual was a secret one, as ÆSCHYLUS did when he made Artemis the daughter of Demeter, following, as Herodotus tells us (ii. 156), a Hellenized Egyptian legend. He was accused of revealing the doctrine of the mysteries, and pleaded in his defence that if he did so he did it in ignorance. (ARISTOTLE, *Nicom. Ethic.* p. 1111.)

which appeared to have elapsed<sup>42</sup>. This attempt seems to have been first systematically carried out by HELLANICUS, whose work or works differed from those of his predecessors by not being a mere topographical account of a single locality, but on the contrary including an extent of subject equal to that embraced by Herodotus. Still, however, unlike Herodotus, who weaves into one web the history of all the nations on which he touches, Hellanicus adopted what may be called a *topical* method, as is obvious from the titles under which he is quoted: *Attica*, *Persica*, *Troica*, and the like. The fragments which remain show that both mythical and historical stories were equally welcome to him; but his essential characteristic is the chronological attempt just referred to. This, in some respects, was not without a claim to a scientific character; for the foundation of it was the succession of the priestesses in the temple of Here between Argos and Mycenæ. So far back as these were entered in contemporaneous records, the register must have been a very valuable document; and from the circumstance of THUCYDIDES fixing the beginning of his history by stating that the attack on Plataea took place in the forty-eighth year of the priesthood of Chrysis<sup>43</sup>, one is led to believe that it may have furnished a better basis for an era than the registers of the victors either at Pythia and Olympia, or perhaps than any other then existing document. Nevertheless, even in the most recent times, Hellanicus's chronological arrangement was inaccurate<sup>44</sup>, and Thucydides mentions this as one of the reasons, which induced himself to give that brief summary which is the foundation of all the knowledge we possess, of the history of Greece between the Persian and Peloponnesian wars. How entirely sandy a foundation therefore must lie under such statements as that of the month and the day upon which Troy was taken, or of the year in which the nation of the Sicels migrated from the south of Italy to the island to which they gave their name<sup>45</sup>. Yet such a chronological thread as

<sup>42</sup> See the criticism proceeding upon this principle in ii. 44.

<sup>43</sup> ii. 2. It is to be observed, that although he dates this event by a reference to the archon at Athens, and to the ephor at Sparta, and likewise to two other incidents, the mention of the priestess of the Heraeum does not stand on the same footing; for Argos had nothing to do with the first act of the Peloponnesian war, and was not mixed up in it until after the successful issue of the diplomacy of Alcibiades.

<sup>44</sup> THUCYDIDES, i. 97.

<sup>45</sup> HELLANICUS, *ap. Euseb. Præp. Evang.* x. 12. (fr. 143, ed. Müller.) Müller



that of Hellanicus, however feeble, was convenient as a mere means of arrangement, and while regarded merely in this light, there was no reason that it should be abandoned. That it maintained its ground for this purpose, until the more comprehensive systems of Eratosthenes and Apollodorus threw it into the shade, can scarcely be doubted<sup>46</sup>.

The register of the priestesses of Here can only be considered as one document out of many of the same kind existing in Hellas. Wherever there was a temple endowed with a demesne, we may be perfectly sure that there was a muniment room. In some instances we know, and in others all analogy would lead us to presume, that the inferior service of a temple, and the cultivation of the neighbouring lands, was carried on by a population originally consisting of *hierodules*, belonging to the chapter of superior priests or (in the language of antiquity) to the deity to whom the temple was dedicated. As in the middle ages, so here, a transition would gradually take place from an absolutely servile condition to that of villenage. The supply of *attendants* would sometimes be partially renewed by the dedication of a portion of the captives taken when a town was stormed and destroyed, or by a votive offering of a similar description sent by some affiliated community<sup>47</sup>,—sometimes, too, it would be augmented by the helpless foundling picked up within the sacred precinct, and regarded by pagan humanity as possibly the offspring of the master of the temple<sup>48</sup>, or by the victim of individual oppres-

rightly holds that it is unquestionably Hellanicus who is described by DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS in the words *ὁ τὰς ἑπείας τὰς ἐν Ἀργεὶ καὶ τὰ καθ' ἑκάστην περὶθέρτα συνταγών*. (Gr. 53.)

<sup>46</sup> It is not to be assumed that because these Alexandrine scholars superseded their predecessors, and have continued, through Eusebius and others, to be the text-book of ancient chronography to the present day, that their methods were more critical; or that any greater dependance is to be placed upon the date of a professed historical transaction, antecedent to the period of contemporaneous records, because it found a place in their canons. The question, when reckoning backward once commenced, became only one of comprehensiveness and convenient arrangement; and if a myth was ever discarded, it was only from its being utterly unmanageable in combination with the rest.

<sup>47</sup> As was the case with the chorus in the *Phænissa* of EURIPIDES. See vv. 202—225.

<sup>48</sup> Ion is the mythical representative of this class of claimants upon human sympathy (see the whole chorus: EURIPIDES, *Ion*, vv. 82—183), just as Orestes is of the involuntary homicide.

sion, who was glad to exchange the service of a secular master for that lighter burden which a religious fraternity even in pagan times seemed to promise<sup>49</sup>; but the regular maintenance of the ritual and of the fabric required a substantial endowment, and as this could only be in land, the question would at once arise, how this land was to be made to yield its produce. Who was to plough and sow it if under tillage? who to feed the flocks and herds if it consisted of pasture? The original arrangement would doubtless be that which has been always found to prevail, where the conquest of a country by a warlike race has taken place under conditions of imperfect civilisation. The conquered people are, in such cases, compelled to maintain themselves and their conquerors by tilling the fields or herding the flocks of the latter, and they receive as their wages the permission to raise their own subsistence from a portion of the soil occupied by themselves. Such a state of things as this may be regarded as the normal type of pagan religious establishments. The temple, like its successor the abbey, commonly stood in the depth of a forest (the *répos* or *ager publicus*), whose solemn shades, unviolated by the axe, were the special haunt of the divinity. Round about were scattered the hamlets of the country people, serfs of the pagan chapter, but still under the guardianship of the deity to whom the land they tilled belonged, and participators in the ritual for the maintenance of which they paid a portion of their produce. Their condition was an enviable one as compared with the periæcian population of secular communities. If they furnished victims for the sacrifices, they partook of at least a portion of the flesh. They would have the privilege of hunting within the forest, and of taking the apples and chestnuts, and the windfalls of wood<sup>50</sup>. The periodical festivals brought many an Autolycus with his pack; and his arrival was the more welcome from his also bringing the news of what was going on in every place through which he had past. If perhaps he took advantage of the influence which plentiful potations from the great silver bowl—the grace-cup at the *Theophania*<sup>51</sup>—had exerted upon their brains, and made them give an undue price for their wives' scarlet mantles<sup>52</sup>, or

<sup>49</sup> See note 319 on ii. 113, below.

<sup>50</sup> See XENOPHON, *Anabasis*, v. 3. 6, *seq.*

<sup>51</sup> HERODOTUS, i. 51.

<sup>52</sup> *φοινικίδες καρδιακά*. ATHENÆUS, ii. p. 48.

some perfectly irresistible piece of carpet work<sup>53</sup>; they might console themselves with thinking that the royal present which the pedlar told them he heard was on its way from Sardis would more than make up the difference<sup>54</sup>. It was in the nature of things that a population of this kind should be a contented and thriving one; and if the votive offerings of devotees are to be regarded as one source of the wealth of the sacred communities, another no less important one is to be found in the security from rapine and violence which their religious character afforded to the cultivators of the soil. Some of the first-fruits of this would be the acquisition of a vested interest in their holdings, on condition of rendering the accustomed suit and service to the god. In the course of time special privileges would be granted to individuals, and the record of these 'copyholders' would be preserved in some form or other within the temple<sup>55</sup>. In it the names of the members of the chapter or of its officers, for the time being, would appear; and thus in the lapse of years materials would be formed for a kind of chronicle of the foundation. The skeleton of this would consist of a list of names derived from such sources as have been hinted, augmented by the ethnical and religious genealogies above mentioned, and, where there were public games, by the register of the victors; and in course of time would be enriched by an ample harvest of details supplied from the traditional stories which were attached to the various offerings accumulated in the treasury.

If, now, no violent revolutions had occurred after the first settlement of the several temples in Hellas, such local chronicles might have acquired considerable fulness<sup>56</sup>, and extending over a large

<sup>53</sup> ποικίλος μίσθλης Ἀθῆσιον καλὸν ἔργον. SAPPHO (ap. Scholiast. Aristoph. Pac. 1174).

<sup>54</sup> HERODOTUS, i. 54.

<sup>55</sup> Doubtless originally in stone, especially in European Greece, where writing materials appear to have been very little used in early times. In Asia the case was probably different, the employment of parchment being common there. The register of the victors in the Pythian games which ARISTOTLE made use of, was doubtless an inscription. (ap. Plutarch. Solon. § 11.)

<sup>56</sup> Two of the recent publications of the CAMDEN SOCIETY afford an excellent illustration of the nature of such compilations as those described in the text. The *Liber de antiquis legibus* contains a list of the mayors and sheriffs of the city of London from the first year of Richard I. (1188) to the second year of Edward I. (1274), together with an account of remarkable events which happened in their time of office. This portion of the work is written in Latin by the same hand; consequently, by some one who was living at the last date, and who therefore must have

space of time from the epoch of their first assuming the character of contemporary records, would have possessed great value as materials for genuine history". But the continual invasions of hostile tribes prevented this. It was not necessary for the conquerors to be of an altogether alien race, who would utterly destroy the temples of the conquered, as the Persians did those of the Hellenic cities in Asia. It would be enough to thoroughly unsettle the tenure of the society's property and to destroy the continuity of its history, if the hierarchy was changed and the care of the temple entrusted to families of the victorious tribe. Such would bring their own traditions with them, and even in the favourable case of an amalgamation of these with what they found, the old annals in their genuine form would be very unpalatable to the new comers. The acceptance of a current story of a kind to imply that the actual possessors of a shrine were intruders into it, would have been a glaring impiety according to ancient ways of thinking". After every such change, therefore, as is marked mythically by the introduction of a new deity with his appropriate legend, we must conceive the back history of the temple to be in a manner reconstructed, retaining only so much of its

taken the first portion of the period from some other authority. Accordingly, the earlier years are exceedingly meagre of incidents. But to the whole is prefixed a collection of stories bearing upon the yet more ancient English history, most of which are taken from William of Malmesbury. The *Peterborough Chronicle* commences in the year 1122, and the first ninety years are exceedingly scanty, containing only a few brief entries relating to public affairs. For the next sixty years it is more minute, and more obviously derived from sources of information peculiar to the abbey, and from the year 1273 it is a contemporaneous history, full and detailed, of the proceedings of the chapter during the next ten years. The original foundation of the abbey was nearly six hundred years before this time, but the edifice had been burnt by the Danes, and the new church was built by abbot John, whose death (in 1125) is one of the earliest events named in the chronicle.

<sup>57</sup> See the use which PLUTARCH makes of the Delphian Chronicle (*Solon*, § 11).

<sup>58</sup> Thus Clisthenes of Sicyon, who had confiscated the property of the Adrastus temple, was obliged as a necessary consequence to forbid the recitation of the *Thebais* and *Epigoni*. See note 99 on iv. 33, and note 172 on v. 67. The conquest of the Poseidon-worshippers of the acropolis at Athens by the Athene-worshippers of the Areopagus is, in the myth, very carefully masked. Theseus, although his pedigree betrays his connexion with Poseidon, is made to be himself the founder of Athene as the tutelary deity of the united city. The hostile inhabitants of the Areopagus are converted into Amazons, although Athene's early connexion with that locality is evinced by her establishment of the court there. And finally, the struggle takes the shape of an amicable rivalry between the two deities as to which shall produce the gift of greatest utility to their common protégés.

former contents as could be made to harmonise with the new régime.

It is not to be supposed, however, that chronicles, such as have been described, attracted any great attention. Even in the monastic establishments of the middle ages, the taste for compiling such works only existed in a very small number out of the multitude of their inmates. And in the religions of pagan antiquity,—at least those which chiefly prevailed at the time with which we are concerned,—it must be remembered that not the maceration of the body, but the development of its powers in vigour, not the contemplative life of the recluse, but the stirring energy of the warrior and statesman would be the object kept habitually in view. Apollo gave his advice upon schemes of conquest, or plans of colonisation which would involve conquest, more than upon any other subject; and if, in the 12th century among the monks of Peterborough or St. Edmund's Bury, we find that active business habits and a shrewd eye for the interests of the fraternity were much more generally appreciated than either ascetic piety or skill in letters, we may be sure that at Pytho or Olympia, at Calauræa or the Isthmus, in a climate where an indoor life is almost an unnatural one, and with a creed which aided instead of checking the animal impulses, clerkly propensities were very rare indeed. Not that the Greek was indifferent to the past time; quite the contrary, but he did not care to look at it as an antiquarian does. Nothing so welcome to him if addressed to his imagination,—in the solemn hymn before the altar of the deity,—or in the mythico-historical address to the multitude assembled in the panegyris. To these he would listen with his whole heart and soul; by the help of a memory unimpaired by reading he would carry them home bodily to his own town, and his wife would repeat them to her handmaidens plying the distaff in the gynæceum<sup>39</sup>, while the children

<sup>39</sup> The attendants on Creusa indicate very plainly what were the two great agencies for propagating in early times that which has been called philosophy teaching by examples.

οὐτ' ἐπὶ κερκίσιν οὔτε λόγους  
φάτιν διόν, εὐτυχίας μετέχειν  
θεόθεν τέκνα θνατοῖς.

(EURIPIDES, *Ion*, 506.)

Thus too the Athenian in the *Laws* of PLATO says: *νῦν οὖν πειθόμενοι τοῖς μύθοις, οὓς ἐκ νέων παίδων ἐτι ἐν γάλαξιν τρεφόμενοι τροφῶν τε ἤκουον καὶ μητέρων, οἷον ἐν*

sat by, suspending for a time the construction of toad-beetles from lime-tree bark, while they drank in the thrilling tale how Xanthus met his death by the sword of Melanthus as he looked round at the black shape which had come and stood behind him, or some equally stirring adventure. But it may be safely affirmed that the real early history of the Hellenic tribes would have been, without the intervention of poets or logographers, altogether unpalatable. The system secured by the factitious arrangements of the latter was the very least substitute which could be accepted, for the appeal to the fancy which the former had been accustomed to make.

Having thus traced up the mythico-historical traditions of early Greece to that stage in their growth at which they had acquired a definite shape, had become recognised in the common belief of several distinct communities, and been fixed by embodiment in poetry or poetical prose, we will turn our attention to a new modification which they would thenceforth receive. Let us suppose a colony sent out, and settled in the midst of a barbarous neighbourhood, such, for instance, as were the settlements on the southern coast of the Euxine. Here the emigrants would retain the traditions and the ritual which they carried with them, in a pure state. There would be none of that religious syncretism which was the necessary result of conquest, wherever a close affinity existed between the victors and the vanquished; for there would be no amalgamation of races whatever, any more than there was between the Portuguese settlers on the coast of Africa and the negroes which they found there. But now a phenomenon of a different kind would present itself. As in the earliest days, the natural features of a neighbourhood gave a specific form to the incidents with which the dry skeleton of the historical genealogy was enriched, so, after the full grown myth had been *fixed* by the poet or logographer, and transported by a colony from its original site to a foreign shore, was the new neighbourhood required to furnish visible objects illustrative of the imported legend. Hence the numberless *Nysas*, each the reputed nursing place of Dionysus,—hence the repe-

ἐκπαῖς μετὰ τε παιδιᾷς καὶ μετὰ σπουδῆς λεγομένων, καὶ μετὰ θυσιῶν ἐν εὐχαίς αὐτοὺς ἀκούοντες τε, καὶ ὅψεις δρῶντες ἐπομένως αὐτοῖς ἄς ἤδιστα ὃ γε νέος ὄρᾳ τε καὶ ἀκούει πραγματοποιέας, θυόωντων ἐν σπουδῇ τῶν αὐτῶν γονέων, ὅτερ αὐτῶν τε καὶ ἐκείνων ἐσπουδακόντων κ.τ.λ. (x. p. 887.) The *Meneæneus* gives a good idea of what the λόγος will have been in its full development.

tition of the rivers *Tritonis* and *Thermodon*,—hence the cave through which Heracles descended to Hades, shown at Heraclea on the Euxine as well as at Tænarum in Laconia, and many other similar cases. The feeling which occasioned these localisations is one not difficult to understand. It was not peculiar to the pagan mind, but exhibited itself, under similar conditions of civilisation, in the Christian practices of the middle ages. In the steep hills (sometimes artificial mounds), which under the name of *Gottesbergs* or *Calvaries* are found throughout continental Europe in the vicinity of the sites of ancient churches<sup>60</sup>, it is not difficult to recognise exactly the same principle of representation which prevailed in pagan antiquity;—a principle enforced by the necessities of the case. The heart of a German or Italian peasant of the 10th century would have been as dull to the simple *narrative* of events which took place at a distant place and remote time, as those of his pagan ancestors fifteen hundred years before. For him at all to enter into them, it was absolutely indispensable that they should be in a manner acted before his eyes. To regard such local representations as arbitrary fictions or priestly impostures, is just as unphilosophical a proceeding as the attempt to maintain them as if justified by historical facts<sup>61</sup>.

Finally, a yet different modification of traditions would take place when, in the course of time, circumstances led to the establishment of intercourse between two or more previously insulated offsets of a common stock, after the recollection of their common origin had passed away. It was an obvious step to account for the community of habits, and sometimes of language also, apparent in two such tribes, by the hypothesis of a direct migration of the ancestors of the one from the site occupied by the other. Thus the Tyrrhenes of Italy were represented as having come from Lydia, the Phrygians of Asia from Macedonia, the Minyæans of the western shore of the Peloponnese from Lemnos, and the numerous insulated spots where

<sup>60</sup> In Protestant countries these are naturally rarer than where the Roman Catholic creed prevails. Yet even in England there are not wanting instances of these sacred hills, although the spirit of the reformation would tend to obliterate all recollection of the purpose they served. The mound in the immediate neighbourhood of the close at Ely is no doubt such a one.

<sup>61</sup> The *Pilgrimage of Sir R. Guyfford in the Holy Land* (another of the CAMDEN SOCIETY'S publications) will serve to exemplify both this principle, and that of the supplementary legends spoken of above, p. xxix. See especially what is said of the "Ager Damascenus," p. 54.

traces of a Pelasgian population remained, were connected with one another by ascribing to that race habits of life of an altogether anomalous character<sup>61</sup>. The whole cycle of traditions upon which the story of the *Æneid* is founded is the combined product of this influence and of that other one which has last been noticed. The Homeric poems and the cyclics furnished the warp, the *ethnical affinity* of the Asiatic and Italian tribes supplied the woof, of that rich web of poetical history, which was appropriated by VIRGIL, worked up by him into a form adapted to the requirements of his time, and in that state consolidated for all future ages by the epic which has immortalised his name.

What has been said will perhaps be sufficient to guide the student to a right appreciation of the nature of the materials which lay ready to the hand of Herodotus; but a few words may still be desirable upon the principle of discrimination which he appears to have followed.

It has been pointed out above, how the temples, in the neighbourhood of which any periodically recurring assemblage was held, became, from the nature of the case, points of crystallisation for the history of the several communities which took part therein. When this had acquired any definite shape, it naturally would, together with the religious ritual and its explanatory traditions, be carried into any new locality to which the ancient shrine sent out its missionaries. Wherever there was a sanctuary of great reputation and extensive connexions, it would follow as a direct consequence, that its mythico-historical traditions would spread far and wide, and be in the main accepted over an area co-extensive with that of its religious authority. When, therefore, we find, as is sometimes the case, two distinct communities produced as evidence for a particular story, it must not be hastily inferred that the story is an historically true one in the shape in which the two acknowledge it; for the agreement may arise simply from the circumstance of the two frequenting a common shrine, from which the story originally emanated. Thus, for instance, it cannot be doubted that the Hellenium at Naucratis was the original source of many tales which might be current at Chios, Teos, Phocæa, Clazomenæ, Ialysus, Camirus, Lindus, Cnidus, Halicarnassus, Phaselis, and Mytilene<sup>62</sup>, or at any number of those towns; and the

<sup>61</sup> See notes 179 and 183 on Book I., and note 147 on Book VIII.

<sup>62</sup> These are the communities which formed a kind of corporation at Naucratis, and



apparent concurrence of testimony would in such a case, for the purposes for which a modern historian values it, be altogether imaginary. But, looking at the matter in the way in which it was viewed five hundred years before the Christian era, that concurrence would be extremely important. It would demonstrate that the story in question was a portion of the body of tradition received and delivered at the central shrine, and consequently would authenticate it with all persons in whose eyes that body of tradition possessed authority. There would not indeed be that kind of conviction which is sought for by the investigations of modern scholars, but the need of such a conviction was not felt. Accordingly we find Herodotus, in his most critical moods, testing the merits of any mythical story he heard simply by its conformity with some other to which he had attached credence<sup>61</sup>. To attribute extraordinary sagacity to him for bringing such stories to a test at all, is no more justifiable than to ascribe to him extraordinary credulity for not bringing them to a better one. He is to be regarded as a man of intelligence in his age, but not in advance of it to any appreciable extent.

The celebrated story told by LUCIAN, relative to an asserted recitation of the history before the assembled Greeks at Olympia, is so generally exploded at the present time, that it is hardly worth while to advert to it, except to remark that it so far conforms to all other ancient criticisms of our author, as to represent him in the light of an artist anxious to produce a work of beauty and general interest, and not in that of an antiquarian. In all its details the story is altogether out of keeping, both with the habits of the time and the appearances which are manifest in the work itself, as has been pointed out in several of the notes. But that portions of the work were read to an audience, not indeed as part of a solemn ceremony,

probably at one time monopolised the trade between Egypt and Greece. (Herod. ii. 178.) I am much inclined to suspect that Cos once stood in the list and completed the number of twelve.

<sup>61</sup> As, for instance, where he acquiesces with satisfaction in the hypothesis of a double Heracles, as a means of reconciling chronologically the story of the Thasian Heracles at Tyre with the common Heracles legend of European Hellas (ii. 44), and where he rejects the story of Rhodopis attached to the pyramid of Mycerinus, because the heroine of it cannot be brought into synchronism with the female of the same name whose offering existed at Delphi (ii. 134-5). In the former of these cases, his obvious uneasiness, lest he should inadvertently have been guilty of a piece of irreverence, is very curious and instructive. (§ 45, *ult.*)

but as the usual and natural mode of *publishing*, at an era when literature was addressed to the ear, is at least not improbable. In fact it seems far from unlikely that the original draft of the work contained only the last three books, and that of the remainder all the several parts were not added simultaneously. If we could be certain that any one of the MSS which exist represented the text as it was left by the author, only altered by the accidents consequent on transcription, this problem might be solved satisfactorily. This, however, is not the case. It was the practice with the booksellers under the Roman empire to make very considerable alterations in the books which they had transcribed, for the purpose of adding to their interest<sup>64</sup>; and there are several passages, especially in the first half of the work of Herodotus, of which it seems doubtful whether they are not notes, originally added for the purpose of illustration by some ancient editor, and afterwards incorporated with the text. Many of these, certainly, may be accounted for on the hypothesis that the author kept an interleaved copy of his book by him to the last, and from time to time inserted in this other incidents which came to his notice and seemed likely to enhance the value of the whole. But this explanation will scarcely suffice to explain all the phenomena of the kind referred to; besides which there is strong evidence of very considerable variation of the copies in early times. Two of the manuscripts which remain stand apart in a striking manner from the rest; and there formerly were copies which differed from any now in existence<sup>65</sup>. The uncertainty arising from these disturbing causes renders it next to impossible, from the present condition of Herodotus's history, to draw a *certain* conclusion as to the conditions under which it was originally composed. For instance, it has been sometimes assumed that descriptions implying personal knowledge of the object described prove beyond the possibility of question that the author must have *travelled* in the locality of which he is speaking; but in some cases the passages to which this character attaches

<sup>64</sup> Hence DIODORUS SICULUS gives a preliminary sketch of the arrangement of his own work, in order to protect himself from the operations of future bookmakers: τοὺς διασκευάζειν εἰσθότας τὰς βίβλους ἀποτρέψαι τοῦ λυμάλνεσθαι τὰς ἀλλοτρίας πραγματείας (i. 5).

<sup>65</sup> See note 332 on i. 93, and 333 on iv. 131. For the variations in the two existing MSS alluded to above (S and V), see the notes referred to in the Index under the head "Sancroft manuscript."

present the appearance of proceeding from an ancient editor, while in others the inexplicable silence upon topics which *must* have suggested themselves to an eye-witness compels the conclusion, that the writer has in those places adopted and embodied in his work the narrative of another party without changing the form of expression which the circumstances of that party might have rendered appropriate<sup>66</sup>. The way in which whole passages from preceding writers are said to have been tacitly appropriated has been mentioned above<sup>67</sup>. So far, therefore, from tracing out a map of the travels of Herodotus from the incidental notices which occur in his history of different places, some readers may be disposed to take an altogether different view of the case, and to regard the author as handling his subject in the manner of *De Foe*, being perhaps all the time a resident in Samos or Athens. But although this view has more plausibility than the modern notion which represents Herodotus as a critic and antiquarian, it seems incompatible with another phenomenon which is observable on an attentive perusal of his work, namely, the incorporation of heterogeneous traditions,—of which several examples have been pointed out in the notes,—and even more so with the adoption of minor details which are out of keeping with the main outlines of the narrative into which they are introduced<sup>68</sup>. Truth will, in this matter as in most others, probably lie between the extreme views. A candid reader who will read the history through, unhampered by any preconceived theory, simply putting himself in the position of a Greek of the fifth century before the Christian era, will probably not doubt that the author saw much with his own eyes, although perhaps he received more from the accounts of others; and while he will not feel surprised at the general assumption of the character of a narrator at first hand, he will not press this into a claim of extraordinary historical authority. The nearest parallel, perhaps, which can be adduced to the first six books, is to be found in the Travels of *MARCO POLO*, which in many respects present very curious analogies. Like the work of Herodotus, that book very early appeared in manuscripts which

<sup>66</sup> See notes 10, 58, and 84 on Book II., also note 68, below.

<sup>67</sup> Page xx. See also note 19 on Book II.

<sup>68</sup> The use, in different places, of different forms of the same name, as *Thyrea* and *Thyrea*, *Ladice* and *Laodice*, *Crathis* and *Crastis*, is another circumstance which indicates a diversity of sources, and is incompatible with the view alluded to.

differed from one another to a considerable extent, some betraying marks of excision, others of interpolation; in the latter case the additions being sometimes apparently contemporaneous with the traveller, sometimes demonstrably of later date. The narrative, too, as in the case of Herodotus, possesses in the main an unmistakeably truthful character, and yet does not change its form when passing from the region of personal experience to the narration of particulars which undoubtedly rested on hearsay.

The object of the commentary being, as I have stated above, not simply to elucidate the *text* of the author, I have freely made use of the stores which were at hand in the notes of Valcknaer, Wesseling, Schweighaeuser, and Larcher (of whose commentary I have used the English translation by Mr. Cooley), as well as of the labours of Heyne, Lobeck, Mueller, and others, without thinking it necessary to notice the circumstance in particular instances. In fact, the accumulations of those worthies have now so long formed a part of the elementary knowledge of every classical scholar, that the acknowledgement of the obligation in each particular case is scarcely possible, and serves no other purpose than that of distracting the reader of a note from the point to which it is especially wished to fix his attention. When we owe, as we do, our whole power of taking any thing like a wide view of classical antiquity to having mounted upon the shoulders of our fathers, it seems absurd to repeat our thanks for each particular feature of the landscape. On the other hand, I have been particularly careful when resorting to ancient writers for the purpose of illustration, to keep in the eye of the student their character and authority; and thus to save him, so far as possible, from falling into the common error of mechanically putting together materials of the most heterogeneous description, in the notion that he is thereby increasing his knowledge of ancient history. The collations of the manuscripts have been entirely taken on the authority of Professor Gaisford's arrangement of them, and his text, from the circumstance of its being very widely used, has been followed where the contrary fact is not notified. This remark, however, does not apply to changes in the punctuation, which has been freely altered, and a large proportion of the stops removed for the sake of perspicuity.

The following Table will explain the symbols by which the different manuscripts are denoted :—

A, B, C are three manuscripts in the Royal Library at Paris, collated by Wesseling.

a, b, c, d, e, f are six in the same, collated by Schweighaeuser. Of these, the first is of the 12th, the second of the 14th, and the third and fourth of the 15th century. The fifth is a mere fragment containing only i. 1—87, and the sixth contains mere *excerpta*. According to Schweighaeuser, A and c, B and b, and C and a, exhibit a striking agreement with one another.

M is a manuscript of the 10th century in the Medicean Library at Florence, collated by Gronovius.

P, a manuscript of the 12th century, collated by Wesseling.

F, a manuscript of the 10th century, formerly at Florence, collated by Schweighaeuser.

K, a fragmentary manuscript of the 12th century in the Cambridge University Library, collated by Wesseling.

S, a manuscript of the 12th century, formerly belonging to Archbishop Sancroft, now in the Library of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, collated by Wesseling and Gaisford.

V, a manuscript of the same age with S, with which it has a remarkable agreement, at Vienna, collated by Wesseling.

They may be divided into three classes, each representing, with more or fewer minor variations, a common ancestor, thus—

I. M, F, P, and the fragmentary K.

II. S and V.

III. A, C, a and c.

The rest, B, b, d, e, f are sporadic in their character. The second class appears to show more grammatical care on the part of the transcribers than the others, but the inconstancy of all is shown in several instances in the notes.

I will only further add, that the task of annotating having been diffused over a considerable time<sup>o</sup>, and performed in the short inter-

<sup>o</sup> Three of the Excursuses have already been read at the London Philological Society, and printed in the Society's Transactions.

vals which could be snatched from occupations of a different character, I fear there may be found some unnecessary repetitions, and probably not a few oversights which a continuous execution of the work would have prevented. These will, I hope, be judged with indulgence if I have at all succeeded in my main object,—that of illustrating, through the medium of the most fascinating of Greek prose writers, the habits and feelings of the time in which he lived, and awakening attention to the common motives of human action, exhibited in forms belonging to a state of things which has long since passed away.

*Ware Vicarage, Herts,  
April 7, 1854.*

# ἩΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ

## ἹΣΤΟΡΙΩΝ ΠΡΩΤΗ.

ΚΛΕΙΩ.

ἩΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ Ἀλικαρνασῆος ἱστορίας ἀπόδειξις ἥδε ὥς μήτε τὰ γενόμενα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων τῷ χρόνῳ ἐξίτηλα γένηται, μήτε ἔργα μεγάλα τε καὶ θαυμαστά<sup>1</sup>, τὰ μὲν Ἕλλησι τὰ δὲ βαρβάροις ἀποδειχθέντα, ἀκλεᾶ γένηται, τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ δι' ἣν αἰτίην<sup>2</sup> ἐπολέμησαν ἀλλήλοισι.

Περσέων μὲν νῦν οἱ λόγιοι<sup>3</sup> Φοίνικας αἰτίους φασὶ γενέσθαι<sup>1</sup> τῆς διαφορῆς. τούτους γὰρ, ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐρυθρῆς καλεομένης θαλάσσης ἀπικομένους ἐπὶ τήνδε τὴν θάλασσαν, καὶ οἰκήσαντας τοῦτον τὸν χώρον τὸν καὶ νῦν οἰκέουσι, αὐτίκα ναυτιλήσιν μακρῇσι ἐπιθέσθαι ἀπαγινόμεντας δὲ φορτία Αἰγύπτῳ τε καὶ Ἀσσύρια, τῇ τε ἄλλῃ [χώρῃ] ἐσαπικνέεσθαι καὶ δὴ καὶ<sup>4</sup> ἐς Ἀργος (τὸ δὲ

Persian accounts of the origin of the feud between Hellas and the East.

<sup>1</sup> Ἀλικαρνασῆος. Gaisford reads with the Medicæan MS (M) Ἀλικαρνησῆος. But the Sancroft MS (S), the Codex Passioneus (P), and three Parisian MSS, have the reading adopted in the text, which is confirmed by the Aldine edition and the citation of Demetrius Phalereus.

<sup>2</sup> ἀπόδειξις. So P S and the Vienna MS (V), and also the Parisian MSS (b d). Gaisford adopts the Ionic form ἀπόδειξις, and below ἀποδεχθέντα. But it appears possible that these few lines of preface were not a portion of the work in its original shape; and therefore, being sanctioned by good MSS, I have preferred the common forms.

<sup>3</sup> θαυμαστά. So S. Gaisford θαυμαστά.

<sup>4</sup> δι' ἣν αἰτίην. The narrative of the

historical causes of the war commences in v. 97.

<sup>5</sup> οἱ λόγιοι. "The story-tellers." The words λόγος and λόγιος in Herodotus are perfectly general in their application to all narratives, whether legendary or historical, oral or written. Thus he calls the natives of a particular portion of Egypt, who paid particular attention to the cultivation of their memory, λογιάται μακρῷ of all men with whom he has come into contact (ii. 77). Here, and also in ii. 3, oral narrative must be meant.

<sup>6</sup> καὶ δὴ καί. This, and καὶ δὴ, are expressions which Herodotus habitually uses to introduce that particular feature of a narrative which bears upon the purpose he has in hand. Here, for instance, he wanted to bring the Phœnicians to

Rape of Io  
by Phœ-  
nician  
traders.

"*Ἄργος τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον προείχε ἅπασι τῶν ἐν τῇ νῦν Ἑλλάδι καλεομένη χώρῃ*) ἀπικομένους δὲ τοὺς Φοίνικας ἐς δὴ τὸ Ἄργος τοῦτο διατίθεσθαι τὸν φόρτον πέμπτη δὲ ἡ ἑκτῇ ἡμέρῃ ἀπ' ἧς ἀπίκοντο, ἐξεμπολημένων σφί σχεδὸν πάντων, ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν γυναικάς ἄλλας τε πολλὰς καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως θυγατέρα· τὸ δὲ οἱ οὐνομα εἶναι, κατὰ τῶντὸ τὸ καὶ Ἑλληνες λέγουσι, Ἰοῦν τὴν Ἰνάχου· ταύτας στάσας κατὰ πρύμνην τῆς νεὸς ὠνέεσθαι τῶν φορτίων τῶν σφί ἦν θυμὸς μάλιστα· καὶ τοὺς Φοίνικας διακελευσαμένους ὀρμήσαι ἐπ' αὐτάς· τὰς μὲν δὴ πλεύνας τῶν γυναικῶν ἀποφυγέειν, τὴν δὲ Ἰοῦν σὺν ἄλλῃσι ἀρπασθῆναι· ἐσβαλομένους δὲ ἐς τὴν νέα οἴχεσθαι ἀποπλέοντας ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου.

- 2 Οὕτω μὲν Ἰοῦν ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἀπικέσθαι λέγουσι Πέρσαι<sup>8</sup>, οὐκ ὥς Ἑλληνες· καὶ τῶν ἀδικημάτων τοῦτο ἄρξαι πρῶτον μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, Ἑλλήνων τινὰς (οὐ γὰρ ἔχουσι τοῦνομα ἀπηγγέσθαι) φασὶ τῆς Φοινίκης ἐς Τύρον προσχόντας, ἀρπάσαι τοῦ βασιλέως τὴν θυγατέρα Εὐρώπην· (εἶσαν δ' ἂν οὗτοι Κρήτες<sup>10</sup>)· ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἴσα σφί πρὸς ἴσα γενέσθαι· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, Ἑλλήνας αἰτίους τῆς δευτέρας ἀδικίης γενέσθαι· καταπλώσαντας γὰρ μακρῇ νηὶ<sup>11</sup> ἐς Αἶαν τε τὴν Κολχίδα καὶ ἐπὶ Φᾶσιν ποταμὸν, ἐνθεύτεν, διαπρηξάμενους καὶ τὰλλα τῶν εἵνεκεν ἀπικάτο, ἀρπάσαι τοῦ βασιλέως τὴν

Retaliation  
by the rape  
of Europa.

New quar-  
rel begun  
by the  
Argonauts.

Argos, in order to connect their habits with the Hellenic legend of Io. Translate, "and, in fine, to Argos." The etymology of δὴ from ἥδη seems to furnish the best clue to its proper signification. The clause in which it occurs always contains a tacit reference to something previously related or understood to have happened. Thus, in the sentence next but one following, δὴ serves to direct the mind of the reader to what had just been said of Argos, the greatness of which was a part of the tradition. Translate, "Well, to this Argos the Phœnicians came, and set out their wares." So i. 9, ὁ μὲν δὴ τοιαῦτα λέγων ἀπεμάχετο, "well, he on his side by such-like arguments strove to get off." iv. 157: οὐ γὰρ δὴ σφας ἀπεί· ὁ θεὸς τῆς ἀποικίης, πρὶν δὴ ἀπίκωνται ἐς αὐτὴν τὴν Λιβύην, "for, after all, the god refused to release them from the undertaken settlement, until, hindrance or no hindrance, they got to Libya itself."

<sup>7</sup> κατὰ πρύμνην τῆς νεὸς. The vessel is supposed to be drawn up on the

beach with her head to sea, ready therefore to be at once run out.

<sup>8</sup> Πέρσαι. See note on § 95, ὡς ἂν Περσῶν μετεξέτεροι λέγουσι.

<sup>9</sup> βασιλέως. The MSS vary throughout between the forms βασιλέως, βασιλῆος, and βασιλῆος, in the most arbitrary manner. There being no means of discovering the law of their variation, it seems useless to weigh their testimony in each particular case.

<sup>10</sup> εἶσαν δ' ἂν οὗτοι Κρήτες. The Hellenic legends represented Europa as going from Phœnicia to Crete, and from Crete to Lycia (iv. 45). The tradition of which Herodotus is here speaking took no account of her after leaving Tyre. His inference proceeds from the habit of putting together independent myths in order to construct an historical narrative out of them.

<sup>11</sup> μακρῇ νηϊ. This feature in the narrative indicates that it was not for peaceable objects they went; as they sailed not in a merchant-vessel but a war-galley.



θυγατέρα Μήδειαν<sup>12</sup>. πέμψαντα δὲ τὸν Κόλλχον ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα<sup>13</sup> κήρυκα, αἰτέειν τε δίκας τῆς ἀρπαγῆς καὶ ἀπαιτέειν τὴν θυγατέρα· τοὺς δὲ ὑποκρίνασθαι, ὡς οὐδὲ ἐκείνοι Ἴους τῆς Ἀργεῖης ἔδοσαν σφι δίκας τῆς ἀρπαγῆς, οὐδὲ ὦν αὐτοὶ δώσειν ἐκείνοισι. Δευτέρῃ 3 δὲ λέγουσι γενεῇ<sup>14</sup> μετὰ ταῦτα Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Πιριάμου ἀκηκοῦτα ταῦτα, ἐβελῆσαι οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος δι' ἀρπαγῆς γενέσθαι γυναῖκα, ἐπιστάμενον πάντως ὅτι οὐ δώσει δίκας· οὐδὲ<sup>15</sup> γὰρ ἐκείνους διδόναι· οὕτω δὲ ἀρπάσαντος αὐτοῦ Ἑλένην, τοῖσι Ἕλλησι δόξαι πρῶτον πέμψαντας ἀγγέλους ἀπαιτέειν τε Ἑλένην καὶ δίκας τῆς ἀρπαγῆς αἰτέειν· τοὺς δὲ, προῖσχομένων ταῦτα<sup>16</sup>, προφέρειν σφι Μηδείης<sup>17</sup> τὴν ἀρπαγὴν· ὡς οὐ δόντες αὐτοὶ δίκας οὐδὲ ἐκδόντες ἀπαιτεύντων, βουλοιάτῳ σφι παρ' ἄλλων δίκας γίνεσθαι. Μέχρι μὲν ὦν τούτου 4 ἀρπαγὰς μούνας εἶναι παρ' ἁλλήλων· τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου, Ἕλληνας δὴ μεγάλως αἰτίους γενέσθαι προτέρους γὰρ ἄρξαι στρατεύεσθαι ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην ἢ σφέας ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην<sup>18</sup>. τὸ μὲν νυν ἀρπάζειν 5 γυναῖκας ἀνδρῶν ἀδίκων νομίζειν ἔργον εἶναι, τὸ δὲ ἀρπασθεῖσέων σπουδὴν ποιήσασθαι τιμωρέειν ἀνοήτων, [τὸ δὲ μηδεμίαν ὥρην ἔχειν ἀρπασθεῖσέων, σωφρόνων<sup>19</sup>.] δῆλα γὰρ δὴ ὅτι, εἰ μὴ αὐταὶ

Retaliation of Alexander, son of Priam.

Further step in aggression by the Hellenes, who come in force to Asia and over-

<sup>12</sup> Μήδειαν. The MSS have generally Μηδίνην, Gaisford Μηδείην.

<sup>13</sup> ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. The late growth of the legend in its present form shows itself from this expression. There was no collective *Hellas* at the time alluded to. THUCYDIDES (i. 3) remarks, that long after the Trojan war the name Hellenes, as designating the Hellenic race, was unknown to Homer; and it must be remembered that Thucydides did not confine his idea of the Homeric poems to the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.

<sup>14</sup> δευτέρῃ γενεῇ. This expression shows that "the Persians" received the legends of the Argonautic expedition, and of the Trojan war, as connected with one another, and forming parts of the same cycle, i. e. after they had been altered from their original form. See note 20, below.

<sup>15</sup> οὐδέ. Gaisford οὐτε.

<sup>16</sup> τοὺς δὲ, προῖσχομένων ταῦτα. "And that they (the Trojans, the countrymen of Alexander) on the (Hellenes) putting forward their claims." The familiarity of the legend justifies the laxity of the style.

<sup>17</sup> Μηδείης. Two of the MSS (S and V) retain here also the form Μηδίας.

But the others have the more common form.

<sup>18</sup> ἢ σφέας ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην. This expression also shows that the Persian statements which Herodotus is following are of a late growth, as no expedition whatever into Europe took place before that of Darius into Scythia. The rhetorical turn, too, which in the next sentence is given to the narrative, clearly manifests the influence of the sophists.

<sup>19</sup> τὸ δὲ μηδεμίαν . . . σωφρόνων. This clause is found in all the MSS; but it is difficult to conceive that it could have been the intention of the author, if it proceeded from his pen, to allow it to stand together with the preceding sentence, with which it is precisely identical in point of sense. If either of the two clauses be struck out, the rhetorical antithesis, which is obviously intended, is unimpaired. This is not the case, if both stand. It seems probable that here is an instance of a double reading introduced by the collation of two MSS, in the one of which the former clause was found, and in the other the latter. The former seems to have existed in the copy used by PLUTARCH (*De Malignitate Herodoti*, p. 856. F.).

throw the  
dynasty of  
Priam.

The capture  
of Ilium is  
the begin-  
ning of the  
eternal  
feud.

Different  
Phœnician  
legend of Io.

ἐβουλέατο, οὐκ ἂν ἠρπάζοντο. σφέας μὲν δὴ, τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας, λέγουσι Πέρσαι ἀρπαζομένων τῶν γυναικῶν λόγον οὐδένα ποιήσασθαι. Ἕλληνας δὲ Λακεδαιμονίης εἵνεκεν γυναικὸς στόλον μέγαν συναγείρει, καὶ ἔπειτα ἐλθόντας ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην τὴν Πριάμου δύναμιν κατελείν. ἀπὸ τούτου αἰεὶ ἡγήσασθαι τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν σφίσι εἶναι πολέμιον. τὴν γὰρ Ἀσίην<sup>20</sup> καὶ τὰ ἐνοικέοντα ἔθνεα βάρβαρα οἰκειεύνται οἱ Πέρσαι, τὴν δὲ Εὐρώπην καὶ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἡγνῆται κεχωρίσθαι.

- 5 Οὕτω μὲν λέγουσι<sup>21</sup> γενέσθαι, καὶ διὰ τὴν Ἰλίου ἄλωσιν εὐρίσκουσι σφίσι εἶναι τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς ἐχθρῆς τῆς ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας. περὶ δὲ τῆς Ἰοῦς οὐκ ὁμολογέουσι Πέρσῃσι οὕτω<sup>22</sup> Φοίνικες. οὗ γὰρ ἀρπαγῇ σφέας χρησαμένους λέγουσι ἀγαγεῖν αὐτὴν ἐς Αἴγυπτον, ἀλλ' ὥς ἐν τῷ Ἀργεῖ ἐμίσητο τῷ ναυκλήρῳ τῆς νεός<sup>23</sup>. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔμαθεν ἔγκυος εἶναι, αἰδεομένη τοὺς τοκέας οὕτω δὴ ἐβελοντὴν αὐτὴν τοῖσι Φοίνιξι συνεκπλώσαι, ὥς ἂν μὴ κατὰ δῆλος γέννηται. ταῦτα μὲν νυν Πέρσαι τε καὶ Φοίνικες λέγουσι· ἐγὼ δὲ περὶ μὲν τούτων οὐκ ἔρχομαι ἐρέων<sup>24</sup> ὥς οὕτως ἢ ἄλλως κως ταῦτα ἐγένετο· τὸν δὲ οἶδα αὐτὸς πρῶτον ὑπάρξαντα ἀδίκων ἔργων ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας τοῦτον σημῆνας, προβήσομαι ἐς τὸ πρόσω τοῦ λόγου ὁμοίως μικρά<sup>25</sup> καὶ μεγάλα ἄστεα ἀνθρώπων ἐπεξιών. τὰ γὰρ τὸ πάλα

<sup>20</sup> τὴν Ἀσίην . . . οἱ Πέρσαι. See, in illustration of this principle, the story of Artayctes (ix. 116). But this antithesis of Europe and Asia, as parallel to Hellenic and Barbarian, is doubtless later than the battle of Marathon. Before that time, or at least before the destruction of Miletus, the Hellenes of Asia were vastly more powerful than those of Europe. But after these had been crushed, and the check to the growth of Persia had been given by the Europeans, the vanity of the latter suggested such views as those which ÆSCHYLUS gives in the vision of Atossa (*Persæ*, 176—196), and which from that time forward passed current.

<sup>21</sup> οὕτω μὲν λέγουσι. Gaisford and the principal MSS insert Πέρσαι before λέγουσι.

<sup>22</sup> οὕτω, "exactly," "so as they put it, and not otherwise." Compare the use of the word in the next sentence, οὕτω δὴ ἐβελοντὴν, &c., "then, and not before, in fine, she voluntarily sailed off with the Phœnicians." This is the commonest

use of the word. It always contains a tacit reference to certain conditions; and may often be rendered by the English "then and not till then." i. 11, τότε μὲν δὴ οὕτως οὐδὲν δηλώσασα ἡσυχίην εἶχε, "well, at the time, she just as she was, gave no sign of observing, and kept still." ἢ αὐτὸν σὲ αὐτίκα οὕτω ἀποθήσκειν δεῖ, "or you yourself must die immediately, as you stand." CICERO (*Pro Sexto Roscio*, § xxvi. 71), of the punishment of parricides, which were sown up in a sack alive and thrown into a river, says: "Noluerunt feris corpus obicere, ne bestiis quoque quæ tantum scelus attigissent immmanioribus uteremur; non SIC nudos in flumen dejicere, ne quum delati essent in mare, ipsum polluerent."

<sup>23</sup> νεός. Most MSS. νηός. See note 9, above.

<sup>24</sup> οὐκ ἔρχομαι ἐρέων, "I do not mean to say."

<sup>25</sup> μικρά. Between the use of this form and σμικρά in Herodotus, the best principle of discrimination seems to be, that the former is to be retained when the pre-

μεγάλα ἦν, τὰ πολλὰ αὐτῶν σμικρὰ γέγονε· τὰ δὲ ἐπ' ἐμεῦ ἦν μεγάλη, πρότερον ἦν σμικρά· τὴν ἀνθρωπότην ὦν ἐπιστάμενος εἶδαι· μοιρῇ οὐδαμὰ ἐν τῷ τῷ μένουσαν, ἐπιμνήσομαι ἀμφοτέρων ὁμοίως.

Κροῖσος ἦν Λυδὸς μὲν γένος παῖς δὲ Ἀλυάττεω<sup>28</sup>, τύραννος δὲ 6  
ἐθνέων τῶν ἐντὸς Ἀλυσ<sup>27</sup> ποταμοῦ· ὃς ῥέων ἀπὸ μεσαμβρίας<sup>28</sup> μεταξὺ Σύρων\* καὶ Παφλαγόνων, ἐξίει<sup>29</sup> πρὸς βορρῇν ἄνεμον ἐς τὸν Εὐξείνου καλεόμενον πόντον· οὗτος ὁ Κροῖσος βαρβάρων πρῶτος τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν τοὺς μὲν κατεστρέψατο Ἑλλήνων ἐς φόρου ἀπαγωγῇ, τοὺς δὲ, φίλους προσεποιήσατο. (κατεστρέψατο μὲν Ἰωνὰς τε καὶ Αἰολέας, καὶ Δωριέας τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ φίλους δὲ προσεποιήσατο Λακεδαιμονίους.) πρὸ δὲ τῆς Κροίσου ἀρχῆς πάντες Ἕλληνες ἦσαν ἐλεύθεροι· τὸ γὰρ Κιμμερίων στράτευμα<sup>30</sup> τὸ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰωνίην ἀπικόμενον, Κροίσου ἐὼν πρεσβύτερον<sup>31</sup>, οὐ καταστροφή ἐγένετο τῶν πολλῶν, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς ἀρπαγῆ. Ἡ δὲ ἡγεμονία οὕτω περιήλθε, εὐόσα Ἡρακλειδῶν, ἐς τὸ γένος 7  
τὸ Κροίσου, καλεομένους δὲ Μερμνάδας. Ἦν Κανδαύλης, τὸν οἱ Ἕλληνες Μυρσίλον ὀνομάζουσι<sup>32</sup>, τύραννος Σαρδίων, ἀπόγονος δὲ Ἀλκαίου τοῦ Ἡρακλέος. Ἀγρων μὲν γὰρ ὁ Νίνου τοῦ Βήλου τοῦ Ἀλκαίου πρῶτος Ἡρακλειδῶν βασιλεὺς ἐγένετο Σαρδίων, Κανδαύλης δὲ ὁ Μύρσου ὑστάτος· οἱ δὲ πρότερον Ἀγρωνος βασιλεύσαντες ταύτης τῆς χώρας ἦσαν ἀπόγονοι Λυδοῦ τοῦ Ἀτυος· ἀπὸ τοῦ<sup>33</sup> ὁ δῆμος Λύδιος ἐκλήθη ὅ· πᾶς οὗτος, πρότερον Μῆγων καλεόμενος. παρὰ τούτων Ἡρακλεῖδαι ἐπιτραφέντες<sup>34</sup> ἔσχον

Croesus was the first barbarian monarch who entered into relations with the Hellenes.

First Lydian dynasty descended from Atys. Second dynasty, Heracleidae. Third dynasty, Mermnadae.

ceding word terminates with σ, and the latter in all other cases. The oldest MSS written in uncial characters rarely exhibit the division of words, and in such it is very common, where one word terminates with the same letter which begins the following one, to write the letter only once.

<sup>28</sup> Ἀλυάττεω. Gaisford Ἀλυαττίω.

<sup>27</sup> Ἄλυσ. The expression τῶν ἐντὸς Ἀλ. indicates that the tradition here followed was of Græco-Lydian origin. Like the phrase "Cis-alpine" by Italians, it would be used by persons who lived within the region which the Halys bounded. The origin of the tradition is still more closely determined by the expression Σύρων, which was the Hellenic name for the Cappadocians (see i. 72; v. 49).

<sup>28</sup> ῥέων ἀπὸ μεσαμβρίας. See note 243, below.

\* Σύρων. See note 242, below.

<sup>29</sup> ἐξίει. On this form, which is equivalent to ἐξίησι, see note 604, below.

<sup>30</sup> Κιμμερίων στράτευμα. See note 59, below.

<sup>31</sup> πρεσβύτερον, "earlier." A very rare use of the word. The nearest parallel to it is perhaps ii. 2, οὗτω συνεχώρησαν Αἰγύπτιοι . . . τοὺς ἑσθλὰς πρεσβυτέρους εἶναι ἐωντῶν.

<sup>32</sup> τὸν οἱ Ἕλληνες Μυρσίλον ὀνομάζουσι. What Herodotus probably means by this is, that the Hellenic genealogists identified the Mysilus of the Hellenic traditions with the Lydian Candaules. But Hecataeus gives Candaules as a name for Hermes or Heracles. See note on i. 13, οἱ τε τοῦ Γόγγυος στασιῶται.

<sup>33</sup> ἀπὸ τοῦ. Gaisford ἀπ' οὗ.

<sup>34</sup> ἐπιτραφέντες, "after having been constituted viceroys" (ἐπίτροποι = procuratores). See note on iii. 36, ἐπετρέψεν.

τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκ θεοπροπίου, ἐκ δούλης τε τῆς Ἰαρδάνου γεγονότες καὶ Ἡρακλέος, ἄρξαντες μὲν ἐπὶ δύο τε καὶ εἴκοσι γενεὰς ἀνδρῶν, ἔτα πέντε τε καὶ πεντακόσια, παῖς παρὰ πατρός ἐκδεκόμενος τὴν ἀρχὴν<sup>33</sup> μέχρι Κανδαύλεω τοῦ Μύρσου

8 Οὗτος δὴ ὦν ὁ Κανδαύλης ἠράσθη τῆς ἐωυτοῦ γυναικὸς ἔρασθεὶς δὲ, ἐνόμιζέ οἱ εἶναι γυναῖκα πολλὸν πασέων καλλίστην ὥστε δὲ ταῦτα νομίζων, ἦν γάρ οἱ τῶν αἰχμοφόρων Γύγης ὁ Δασκύλου ἀρεσκόμενος μάλιστα, τοῦτ' αὖ [τῷ Γύγῃ] καὶ τὰ σπουδαιότερα<sup>34</sup> τῶν πρηγμάτων ὑπερετίθετο ὁ Κανδαύλης, καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ εἶδος τῆς γυναικὸς ὑπερεπαινέων χρόνου δὲ οὐ πολλοῦ διελθόντος, (χρῆν γὰρ Κανδαύλῃ γενέσθαι κακῶς), ἔλεγε πρὸς τὸν Γύγην τοιαῦδε· "Γύγη, οὐ γάρ σε δοκέω πείθεσθαι μοι λέγοντι περὶ τοῦ εἶδους τῆς γυναικὸς (ὅτα γὰρ τυγχάνει ἀνθρώποισι ἔοντα ἀπιστότερα<sup>35</sup> ὀφθαλμῶν) ποῖεε ὅπως ἐκείνην θεήσεαι γυμνὴν" ὁ δὲ μέγα ἀμβώσας εἶπε· "Δέσποτα, τίνα λέγεις λόγον οὐκ ὑγιέα κελύων με δέσποιναν τὴν ἐμὴν θεήσασθαι γυμνὴν; ἅμα δὲ κιθῶνι ἐκδυομένῃ συνεκδύεται καὶ τὴν αἰδῶ γυνή. πάλαι δὲ τὰ καλὰ ἀνθρώποισι ἐξεύρηται<sup>36</sup>, ἐκ τῶν μανθάνειν δεῖ ἐν τοῖσι ἐν τῷδε ἐστὶ, σκοπέειν τινα τὰ ἐωυτοῦ· ἐγὼ δὲ πειθομαι ἐκείνην εἶναι πασέων γυναικῶν καλλίστην, καὶ σεο δέομαι μὴ δέεσθαι ἀνόμενον."

9 Ὁ μὲν δὴ<sup>37</sup> λέγων τοιαῦτα ἀπεμάχeto, ἀρρωδέων μὴ τι οἱ ἐξ αὐτέων γένηται κακόν<sup>38</sup>. ὁ δὲ ἀμείβετο τοῖσδε· "θάρσει Γύγη· καὶ

<sup>33</sup> παῖς παρὰ πατρός ἐκδεκόμενος τὴν ἀρχήν. Attempts have been made to reconcile this statement with probability, by interpreting it as merely meaning that the succession was on the hereditary principle. But nothing can be imagined more foreign to the habits of thought in the time of Herodotus than the interposition of such a remark would be. Hereditary succession was the rule in that time; and the long genealogy in a direct line presented to an uncritical age no difficulties whatever. Herodotus does not display the least surprise, on this account, at the hereditary succession of the Egyptian priests, which extended to 341 generations (ii. 143). The passages, ii. 65. 166, are no defence whatever for a loose interpretation of this one. The profession of arms was not hereditary in Hellas, and the priestly office only so in some cases.

<sup>34</sup> σπουδαιότερα. The MS S has this form, but A, B, and R that of σπου-

δαίτερα. See below, note on i. 133, σπουδαιότατα.

<sup>35</sup> ἀπιστότερα. Not "less persuasive," but "less trusted." The sentiment is the same as that expressed by SENECA (ep. vi.): *Homines amplius oculis quam auribus credunt*,—not that of HORACE (A. P. 180):

*Segnius irritant animos demissa per aures, Quam quæ sunt oculis subjecta fidelibus.* See, however, ix. 98.

<sup>36</sup> πάλαι τὰ καλὰ ἀνθρώποισι ἐξεύρηται. It belongs to the simplicity of an early age to represent the laws of nature as rules invented by sages. Thus SOPHOCLES (*Antig.* 456) says of the "unwritten and unchangeable laws of the gods:" οὐ γὰρ τι νῦν γε καχθὲς ἀλλ' αἰεὶ ποτε ζῆ ταῦτα, κοῦδὲς οἶδεν ἐξ ὅτου 'φάνη.

<sup>37</sup> ὁ μὲν δὴ. See note 6, above.

<sup>38</sup> μὴ τι οἱ ἐξ αὐτέων γένηται κακόν. According to the well-known rules as to the use of the subjunctive and optative

Traditional account of the rise of the Mermnadae on occasion of Candaules exhibiting his wife to Gyges in a state of nudity.

μη φοβεῦ μήτε ἐμέ, ὥς σεο πειρώμενον λόγον<sup>41</sup> τόνδε, μήτε  
 γυναῖκα τὴν ἐμήν, μή τι τοι ἐξ αὐτῆς γένηται βλάβος· ἀρχὴν<sup>42</sup>  
 γὰρ ἐγὼ μηχανήσομαι οὕτω, ὥστε μηδὲ μαθεῖν μιν ὀφθείσαν ὑπὸ  
 σεῦ· ἐγὼ γάρ σε ἐς τὸ οἶκημα ἐν τῷ κοιμώμεθα ὅπισθε τῆς ἀνοιγο-  
 μένης θύρης στήσω· μετὰ δ' ἐμὲ ἐσελθόντα παρέσται καὶ ἡ γυνή  
 ἡ ἐμή ἐς κοῖτον. κείμεναι δὲ ἀγχού τῆς ἐσόδου θρόνος· ἐπὶ τοῦτον  
 τῶν ἱματίων κατὰ ἐν ἑαστον ἐκδύνουσα θήσει<sup>43</sup>, καὶ κατ' ἡσυχίην  
 πολλὴν παρέξει τοι θεήσασθαι. ἐπεὰν δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ θρόνου στείλῃ  
 ἐπὶ τὴν εὐνὴν, κατὰ νότου τε αὐτῆς γένῃ, σοὶ μελέτω τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν  
 ὅπως μὴ σε δψεται ἰόντα διὰ θυρέων." Ὁ μὲν δὴ, ὥς οὐκ ἐδύνато 10  
 διαφυγεῖν, ἦν ἐτοιμος<sup>44</sup>. ὁ δὲ Κανδαύλης, ἐπεὶ ἐδόκεε ὥρῃ τῆς

after the conjunctions *ὅπως*, *ὅφρα*, *μή*, and *ὅνα*, we should expect here the optative *γένοιτο* instead of the subjunctive *γένηται*. But in fact the canons of Dawes and Monk, though applicable in the main, do not explain all the cases which occur. The subjunctive is appropriately used in the dependent clause, when the event expressed in that clause is regarded as either the probable or the direct result of a previous hypothesis; the optative, when the mere possibility or contingency of it is contemplated. The clause in the text should be rendered, "dreading *that* some mischief *would* come to him." If the optative had been used, the meaning would have been, "dreading lest some mischief *might* come to him." Gyges saw his own destruction as the direct and natural consequence of the transaction in which he was urged to take part. The following passage, which baffles the application of the formal rules, well illustrates the real principle which regulates the use of the two moods. EURIPIDES (*Hecub.* 1133, *seqq.*):

Ἔδισα μὴ σοὶ πολέμος λειφθεῖς ὁ παῖς  
 Τροίαν ἀβροίσκῃ καὶ ξυνοικίῃ πάλιν,  
 γνόντες δ' Ἀχαιοὶ ζῶντα Πριάμειδαν τινα,  
 Φρυγῶν ἐς αἶαν ἀδῖος ἄρειαν στόλον,  
 κἔπειτα Θρήκης πεδία τρίβοιεν τάδε  
 λεηλατοῦντες, κ.τ.λ.

"I dreaded that the boy *would* rebuild Troy [as a natural and direct consequence if he grew up to manhood]; and that, when the Achæans knew that one of the race of Priam was alive, they *might* again bring an armament into the land of the Phrygians," &c. This was a distant probability, contingent, first, on Polydo-

rus rebuilding Troy; secondly, on the Achæans hearing of this; thirdly, on their anger being rekindled at the news. That there should be no *exact* rule for determining when the subjunctive and when the optative should be used, arises from the circumstance that there is no formal limit between probability and possibility.

<sup>41</sup> *πειρώμενον λόγον*. Some MSS and Dionysius have *πειρώμενος λέγω λόγον*: others, *πειρώμενος* (or *πειρώμενον*) *λόγον*. It seems not improbable that the present variations have arisen from the combination of two readings, *μήτε ἐμὲ ὥς σεο πειρώμενος λέγω*, and *μήτε ὥς σεο πειρώμενον λόγον τόνδε*. See note 19, above.

<sup>42</sup> *ἀρχὴν*. This word used adverbially very nearly corresponds to the English phrase, "to begin with." It introduces a consideration which forecloses the question. Thus iii. 39: τῷ φίλῳ ἐφη χαριεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ἀποδιδούς τὰ λαβεῖ, ἢ ἀρχὴν μὴδὲ λαβών, "than if he had not taken them to begin with," in which case restoration would of course have been impossible.

<sup>43</sup> *ἐπὶ τοῦτον τῶν ἱματίων . . . θήσει*, "Upon this she will go and lay down each one of her garments as she pulls it off." The accusatives ἐν ἑαστον are not governed by the preposition κατὰ, but by the compound verb καταθήσει. The θρόνος was a high-backed arm-chair used with a footstool. In the ancient works of art, it is always appropriated to a deity or person of rank.

<sup>44</sup> *ἦν ἐτοιμος*. See note on i. 70. In the common dialect, the accent is on the antepenultimate syllable *ἐτοιμος*, but in Ionic and Doric the penultimate is circumflexed.

- κοίτης εἶναι, ἤγαγε τὸν Γύγεα ἐς τὸ οἶκημα· καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτίκα παρὴν καὶ ἡ γυνή· ἐσελθοῦσαν δὲ καὶ τιθεῖσαν τὰ εἴματα ἐθηεῖτο ὁ Γύγης· ὥς δὲ κατὰ νότου ἐγένετο ἰούσης τῆς γυναικὸς ἐς τὴν κοίτην, ὑπεκδύς ἐχώρει ἔξω· καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἐπορεύετο μιν ἐξίοντα, μαθοῦσα δὲ τὸ ποιηθὲν ἐκ τοῦ ἀνδρός, οὔτε ἀνέβωσεν αἰσχυνηθεῖσα οὔτε ἔδοξε μαθέειν, ἐν νόῳ ἔχουσα τίσεσθαι τὸν Κανδαύλεα· παρὰ γὰρ τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι, σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ παρὰ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι βαρβάροις,
- 11 καὶ ἄνδρα ὀφθῆναι γυμνὸν<sup>45</sup> ἐς αἰσχύνην μεγάλην φέρει. Τότε μὲν δὴ οὕτως<sup>46</sup> οὐδὲν δηλώσασα ἡσυχὴν εἶχε· ὥς δὲ ἡμέρη τάχιστα ἐγγέγονε, τῶν οἰκετῶν τοὺς μάλιστα ὥρα πιστοὺς ἔοντας ἐωυτῇ ἐτοίμους ποιησαμένη, ἐκάλεε τὸν Γύγεα· ὁ δὲ, οὐδὲν δοκέων αὐτὴν τῶν πρηχθέντων ἐπίστασθαι, ἦλθε καλεόμενος· ἐώθεε γὰρ καὶ πρόσθε, ὅκως ἢ βασιλεια καλέοι, φοιτᾶν ὥς δὲ ὁ Γύγης ἀπῆκετο, ἔλεγεν ἡ γυνὴ τάδε· “νῦν τοι δυοῖν ὁδοῖν παρεουσέων, Γύγι, δίδωμι αἴρεσιν, ὁκοτέρην βούλει τραπέσθαι· ἡ γὰρ Κανδαύλεα ἀποκτείνεις ἐμέ τε καὶ τὴν βασιλὴν ἔχε τὴν Λυδὸν, ἡ αὐτὸν σὲ αὐτίκα οὕτω ἀποθνήσκειν δεῖ· ὥς ἂν μὴ, πάντα πειθόμενος Κανδαύλῃ, τοῦ λοιποῦ Ἰῶης τὰ μὴ σε δεῖ. ἀλλ’ ἦτοι κείνόν γε τὸν ταῦτα βουλευσάντα δεῖ ἀπόλλυσθαι, ἡ σὲ τὸν ἐμέ γυμνὴν θηησάμενον καὶ ποιήσαντα οὐ νομιζόμενα.” ὁ δὲ Γύγης τέως μὲν ἀπεθώμαζε τὰ λεγόμενα· μετὰ δὲ, ἰκέτενε μὴ μιν ἀναγκαίῃ ἐνδεῖν<sup>47</sup> διακρίναι τοιαύτην αἴρεσιν· οὐκὼν δὴ ἔπειθε<sup>48</sup> ἀλλ’ ὥρα ἀναγκαίην ἀληθῶς προκειμένην, ἡ τὸν δεσπότεα ἀπολλύναι ἡ αὐτὸν ὑπ’ ἄλλων ἀπόλλυσθαι, αἰρέεται αὐτὸς περιεῖναι· ἐπειρώτα δὴ λέγων τάδε· “ἐπεὶ με ἀναγκάζεις δεσπότεα τὸν ἐμὸν κτείνειν, οὐκ ἐθέλοντα, φέρε ἀκούσω<sup>49</sup> τέφω καὶ τρόπῳ ἐπιχειρήσομεν αὐτῷ;” ἡ δὲ ὑπολαβοῦσα ἔφη, “ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μὲν χωρίου ἡ ὀρμὴ ἔσται ὅθεν περ καὶ ἐκείνος ἐμέ ἐπεδέξατο γυμνὴν ὑπνωμένον
- 12 δὲ ἡ ἐπιχείρησις ἔσται.” Ὡς δὲ ἤρτυσαν τὴν ἐπιβουλήν, νυκτὸς

<sup>45</sup> ἄνδρα ὀφθῆναι γυμνὸν ἐς αἰσχύνην μεγάλην φέρει. ΠΛΑΤΟ (Repub. v. p. 452) says that it is οὐ πολλὸς χρόνος ἐξ οὗ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐδόκει αἰσχρὰ εἶναι καὶ γέλοια ἅπερ νῦν τοῖς πολλοῖς τῶν βαρβάρων, γυμνοὺς ἄνδρας ὁράσθαι. He adds, that the Cretans were the first, and the Lacedæmonians the next, who introduced gymnastics. THUCYDIDES (i. 6), without mentioning the Cretans, speaks of the Lacedæmonians as the originators.

<sup>46</sup> οὕτως, “just as she was.” See note 32, above.

<sup>47</sup> ἀναγκαίῃ ἐνδεῖν. The same expression is used ix. 16: ἐπόμεθα ἀναγκαίῃ ἐνδεδεμένοι.

<sup>48</sup> οὐκὼν δὴ ἔπειθε, “in fine, as he failed in persuading.” For the peculiar use of the word οὐκὼν, see note on v. 92, ult.

<sup>49</sup> φέρε ἀκούσω, “come, let me hear.” For this use of the subjunctive, see MATTHEW, Gr. Gr. § 516.

γυνομένης, (οὐ γὰρ μετίετο ὁ Γύγης, οὐδέ οἱ ἦν ἀπαλλαγὴ οὐδέμια, ἀλλὰ ἔδεε ἢ αὐτὸν ἀπολωλέναι ἢ Κανδαύλῃα), εἶπετο ἐς τὸν θάλαμον τῇ γυναικί· καὶ μιν ἐκείνη, ἐγχειρίδιον δοῦσα, κατακρύπτει ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτὴν θύρην. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα, ἀναπαυομένου Κανδαύλῃα, ὑπεισδύς τε καὶ ἀποκτείνας αὐτὸν, ἔσχε καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὴν βασιλῆην Γύγης· (τοῦ καὶ<sup>50</sup> Ἀρχίλοχος ὁ Πάριος, κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον γενόμενος, ἐν ἰάμβῳ τριμέτρῳ<sup>51</sup> ἐπεμνήσθη.) Ἔσχε δὲ τὴν βασιλῆην καὶ ἐκρατύνθη ἐκ τοῦ ἐν 13 Δελφοῖσι χρηστηρίου<sup>52</sup>· ὥς γὰρ δὴ οἱ Λυδοὶ δευνὸν ἐποιοῦντο τὸ Κανδαύλῃα πάθος, καὶ ἐν ὅπλοισι ἦσαν, συνέβησαν ἐς τὸντὸ οἷ τε τοῦ Γύγῃα στασιῶται<sup>53</sup> καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ Λυδοί, ἦν μὲν δὴ τὸ χρηστήριον ἀνέλη μιν βασιλέα εἶναι Λυδῶν, τὸν δὲ<sup>54</sup> βασιλεύειν ἦν δὲ μὴ, ἀποδοῦναι ὀπίσω ἐς Ἡρακλείδῃα τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀνεῖλέ τε δὴ τὸ χρηστήριον καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν οὕτω Γύγης· τοσόνδε μέντοι εἶπε ἡ Πυθίη, ὥς Ἡρακλείδῃσι τίσις ἤξει ἐς τὸν πέμπτον ἀπόγονον Γύγῃα. τούτου τοῦ ἔπος Λυδοὶ τε καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς αὐτῶν λόγον οὐδένα ἐποιοῦντο, πρὶν δὴ ἐπετελέσθη.

Τὴν μὲν δὴ τυραννίδα οὕτω ἔσχον οἱ Μερμνάδαι, τοὺς Ἡρα- 14 κλείδῃα ἀπελόμενοι· Γύγης δὲ τυραννέσας ἀπέπεμψε ἀναθήματα ἐς Δελφούς· οὐκ ὀλίγα· ἀλλ' ὅσα μὲν ἀργύρου<sup>55</sup> ἀναθήματα ἔστι οἱ

Dynasty of the Mer-  
mnadæ re-  
cognized by  
the Del-  
phic oracle.

Succession  
of Lydia  
kings.

<sup>50</sup> τοῦ καὶ . . . ἐπεμνήσθη. Wesseling considers this sentence an interpolation, but on no sufficient ground.

<sup>51</sup> ἐν ἰάμβῳ τριμέτρῳ. Probably οὐ μοι τὰ Γύγῃα τοῦ πολυχρύσου μέλει, preserved by ARISTOTLE (*Rhet.* p. 1418, line 31).

<sup>52</sup> The account which PLATO (*Repub.* ii. p. 359) gives of the mode in which Gyges became king, by discovering a magic ring which rendered him invisible, and enabled him to murder the king of the country and occupy his place, has no pretension to a historical character; neither has the one in the text, except for the identification of Candaules with Myrsilus. Plato does not mention the name of the sovereign deposed. By Herodotus's statement at the end of § 13, it would seem that the story of Gyges formed in the Delphic traditions an integral part of that of Croesus. It will be observed, in the narrative of the Lydian dynasty, that no detailed account of any transaction occurs which is not connected with some offering to the Apollo temples either of Delphi or Branchidae.

<sup>53</sup> οἷ τε τοῦ Γύγῃα στασιῶται. This expression points to a different account of the fall of Candaules from the one followed by Herodotus. Perhaps it is that which furnishes the basis of Plutarch's story; for which see note on v. 119. Another tradition still makes Gyges son of Candaules the first king of the Lydians, and another an ἐγχώριος ἦρως. (*Schol. ad Il.* xx. 391.)

<sup>54</sup> τὸν δὲ, i. e. ἐκεῖνον δὲ. Gaisford reads τόνδε. See ii. 39: οἱ δὲ φέροντες . . . οἱ δὲ ἐκβάλλουσι.

<sup>55</sup> ἀλλ' ὅσα μὲν ἀργύρου ἐν Δελφοῖσι. This passage is variously explained; but its difficulty has mainly arisen from erroneous interpunctuation, a colon being placed after the word Δελφοῖσι. Hence the whole clause has been taken to be in opposition to the words οὐκ ὀλίγα, and to complete the opposition; and, consequently, ἔστι οἱ πλείστα to mean, "he has most of any person." But the opposition to the words οὐκ ὀλίγα is not completed until the reader comes to the word ἀνέθηκεν. Gyges is represented to have

Gyges the founder made offerings to the temple at Delphi;

πλείστα ἐν Δελφοῖσι, παρέξ δὲ τοῦ ἀργύρου, χρυσὸν ἄπλετον ἀνέθηκεν, ἄλλον τε καὶ (τοῦ μάλιστα μνήμην ἄξιον ἔχειν ἐστὶ) κρηττήρες οἱ ἀριθμὸν ἕξ χρύσειοι ἀνακέσται· ἐστᾶσι δὲ οὗτοι ἐν τῷ Κορινθίων θησαυρῷ, σταθμὸν ἔχοντες τριήκοντα τάλαντα· ἀληθείᾳ δὲ λόγῳ χρεωμένῳ<sup>56</sup> οὐ Κορινθίων τοῦ δημοσίου ἐστὶν ὁ θησαυρὸς ἀλλὰ Κυψέλου<sup>57</sup> τοῦ Ἡετίωνος. οὗτος δὲ ὁ Γύγης πρῶτος βαρβάρων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν ἐς Δελφούς ἀνέθηκε ἀναθήματα μετὰ Μίδην τὸν Γορδίεω, Φρυγίης βασιλέα· ἀνέθηκε γὰρ δὴ καὶ Μίδης τὸν βασιλῆϊον θρόνον ἐς τὸν προκατίζων ἐδίκασε, ἔοντα ἀξιοθέτητον κεῖται δὲ ὁ θρόνος οὗτος ἔνθα περ οἱ τοῦ Γύγῃ κρηττήρες. ὁ δὲ χρυσὸς οὗτος καὶ ὁ ἀργυρὸς τὸν ὁ Γύγης ἀνέθηκε, ὑπὸ Δελφῶν καλέσεται Γυγάδας ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀναθέντος ἐπωνυμίην. ἐσέβαλε μὲν νυν στρατιὴν καὶ οὗτος, ἐπεὶ τε ἥρξε, ἕς τε Μίλητον καὶ ἐς Σμύρνην, καὶ Κολοφῶνος τὸ ἄστυ εἶλε. ἀλλ' οὐδὲν γὰρ μέγα ἔργον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἄλλο ἐγένετο βασιλεύσαντος δυὼν δέοντα τεσσαεράκοντα

invaded Miletus and Smyrna, and took Colophon; reigned thirty-eight years.

15

Ards took Priene, and invaded Miletus. In his reign the Cimmerian invasion occurred.

ἕτεα, τοῦτον μὲν παρήσομεν τοσαῦτα ἐπιμνησθέντες, Ἀρδύος δὲ τοῦ Γύγῃ μετὰ Γύγην βασιλεύσαντος μνήμην ποιήσομαι· οὗτος δὲ Πιρηνέας τε εἶλε, ἐς Μίλητόν τε ἐσέβαλε· ἐπὶ τούτου τε τυραννεύοντος<sup>58</sup> Σαρδίων, Κιμμέριοι ἕξ ἠβέων ὑπὸ Σκυθέων τῶν Νομάδων ἐξαναστάντες, ἀπικέατο ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, καὶ Σάρδις πλὴν τῆς ἀκροπόλεως εἶλον<sup>59</sup>.

16

Ἀρδύος δὲ βασιλεύσαντος ἐνὸς δέοντα πεντήκοντα ἕτεα ἔξε-

made many offerings of silver, but to have been chiefly distinguished by those of gold. The whole passage may be thus translated: "But Gyges, after becoming sovereign, sent off presents to Delphi, not few in number; on the contrary, among the offerings which are of silver he has very many at Delphi, but over and above the silver he presented an immense quantity of gold: among the rest—an offering which deserves especial mention—there are bowls, six in number, made of gold, standing as his" (*ἀνακέσται οἱ*). Herodotus seems to have been puzzled by the place where these were, and hence to have changed the form of the sentence, which in its normal form would have run, *κρηττήρας ἕξ χρυσεύς*, into one less decisively expressing who the donor was.

<sup>56</sup> ἀληθείᾳ λόγῳ χρεωμένῳ. Compare i. 30: τῷ ἔοντι χρυσάμενος. i. 116: τῇ ἀληθείᾳ χρεώμενος.

<sup>57</sup> Κυψέλου. The history of Cypselus

is put into the mouth of a Corinthian by Herodotus, v. 92.

<sup>58</sup> ἐπὶ τούτου τυραννεύοντος. STRABO (in several places) says that the Cimmerian invasion in question was considered to have taken place in the time of Homer, or a little earlier. But from one passage (i. c. 2, p. 31) it is clear that this synchronism was due to the calculations of the chronologists. See note on iv. 11.

<sup>59</sup> Σάρδις πλὴν τῆς ἀκροπόλεως εἶλον. CALLISTHENES (*ap. Strabon.* xiii. c. 4) related that Sardis was taken three times: first by the Cimmerians, secondly by the Treri and Lycians, and thirdly by Cyrus. The second of these is entirely unnoticed by Herodotus. CALLINUS, the elegiac poet, spoke of the Cimmerian expedition as one against the Ἡσιονεῖς, by which the antiquaries of Strabo's time considered him to mean those tribes who dwelt Ἀσίῳ ἐν λειμῶνι, i. e. the valley of the lower Cayster.



δέξατο Σαρδυνάττης<sup>60</sup> ὁ Ἄρδνος, καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν ἕτεα δυνώδεκα· He reigned  
 Σαρδυνάττειω δὲ Ἀλυνάττης. οὗτος δὲ Κναξάρη τε τῷ Δηϊόκωω forty-nine  
 ἀπογόνῳ ἐπολέμησε<sup>61</sup> καὶ Μήδοισιν· Κιμμερίου τε ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας years.  
 ἐξήλασε· Σμύρνην τε τὴν ἀπὸ Κολοφώνος κτισθεῖσαν εἶλε<sup>62</sup>. ἐς Sardyalles  
 Κλαζομενάς τε ἐσέβαλε· ἀπὸ μὲν νυν τούτων οὐκ ὡς ἤθελε ἀπ- reigned  
 ἤλλαξε, ἀλλὰ προσπαίσας μεγάλως· ἄλλα δὲ ἔργα ἀπεδέξατο twelve  
 ἑὼν ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ ἀξιαπηγητότατα τάδε· Ἐπολέμησε Μιλησίοισι, Halyattes  
 17 made war  
 παραδεξάμενος τὸν πόλεμον παρὰ τοῦ πατρός. ἐπελαύνων γὰρ against  
 ἐπολιόρκειε τὴν Μίλητον τρόπῳ τοιῷδε· ὅκως μὲν εἴη ἐν τῇ γῇ καρ- Cyaxares  
 πὸς ἀδρός, τηλικαῦτα ἐσέβαλλε τὴν στρατιήν· ἐστρατεύετο δὲ and the  
 ὑπὸ συρήγων τε καὶ πηκτιδίων, καὶ αὐλοῦ γυναικείου τε καὶ ἀν- Medes, ex-  
 δρητοῦ<sup>63</sup>. ὡς δὲ ἐς τὴν Μιλησίην ἀπίκοντο, οἰκήματα μὲν τὰ ἐπὶ pelled the  
 τῶν ἀγρῶν οὔτε κατέβαλλε οὔτε ἐνεπίμπρη οὔτε θύρας ἀπέσπα, Cimmerians  
 ἔα δὲ κατὰ χώραν ἐστάμεναι· ὁ δὲ τά τε δένδρεα καὶ τὸν καρπὸν from Asia,  
 τὸν ἐν τῇ γῇ ὅκως διαφθείρειε, ἀπαλλάσσετο ὀπίσω· τῆς γὰρ took Smyr-  
 θαλάσσης οἱ Μιλήσιοι ἐπεκράτεον<sup>64</sup>, ὥστε ἐπέδρης μὴ εἶναι ἔργον na, and in-  
 18 vaded  
 Clazomenae.  
 His war  
 with  
 Miletus

<sup>60</sup> Σαρδυνάττης. This form of the name (which seems undoubtedly the true one, being connected with Σάρδης as Ἀλυνάττης is with Ἄλυσ, and both in the Lydian language being probably significant), was recovered by Mr. Long from a MS. in the British Museum. Gaisford has throughout Σαδυνάττης. See note on i. 22, Σαρδηνός.

<sup>61</sup> Κναξάρη . . . . ἐπολέμησε. The origin and duration of this war is given by Herodotus below, §§ 73, 74.

<sup>62</sup> Σμύρνην ἀπὸ Κολοφώνος κτισθεῖσαν εἶλε. For the various accounts of Smyrna, antecedently to this calamity, see note on i. 150. STRABO says, that after the Lydians pulled down the town the people lived scattered in hamlets (καμηδόν) for nearly 400 years, until Antigonos, and afterwards Lysimachus, built the modern city, about two miles from the site of the ancient one (xiv. p. 183).

<sup>63</sup> καὶ αὐλοῦ γυναικείου τε καὶ ἀνδρητοῦ. GELLIIUS (N. A. i. 11) makes use of this passage to show the barbaric luxury of the Lydian monarchs, who even on their military expeditions carried female flute-players with them. In objection to this interpretation of the passage, it has been maintained that the αὐλὸς γυναικίῳ does not here mean a flute blown by a female performer, but a flute with a high pitch, resembling that of a female voice. It

has been suggested that the αὐλὸς ἀνδρ. and αὐλὸς γυν. correspond to the *tibia dextra* and *tibia sinistra* of the Roman double pipe, and also to the *bass* and *treble clefs* in modern harmonies. But there is no sufficient ground to suppose that in the time of Herodotus the musical scale extended over more than eleven notes at the very utmost; so that, if the hypothesis relative to the different pitches of the male and female flute be founded in fact, the difference cannot have been so great as is supposed. But it seems more likely that αὐλὸς γυν. does in this passage mean a flute blown by a female performer. The fact of Halyattes' army being thus attended, in all probability rests upon the interpretation by a Milesian cicerone of the friezes which existed in the temples of Assesus built by him. These temples were traditionally connected with the termination of the war and the formation of an alliance, no doubt cemented by religious ceremonies, in which the several rituals of the deities worshipped by the contracting parties would be embodied and symbolically represented by performers on their appropriate instruments. See the note on i. 60, *φλαυον εἰς τὸ ἐστυν*.

<sup>64</sup> τῆς γὰρ θαλάσσης οἱ Μιλήσιοι ἐπεκράτεον. The great naval power of Miletus may be gathered from the number

18

lasts for  
eleven  
years,

the Miletians being  
assisted only  
by the  
Chians;  
is ended by  
his forming

19

τῇ στρατιῇ τὰς δὲ οἰκίας οὐ κατέβαλλε ὁ Λυδὸς τῶνδε εἵνεκα, δίκως ἔχοιεν ἐνθευτεν ὀρμεώμενοι τὴν γῆν σπεῖρειν τε καὶ ἐργάζεσθαι οἱ Μιλήσιοι, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐκείνων ἐργαζομένων ἔχοι τι καὶ σῖνεσθαι ἐσβάλλων. Ταῦτα ποιεῶν ἐπολέμει ἕτεα ἔνδεκα ἐν τοῖσι τρώματα μεγάλα διφάσια Μιλησίων ἐγένετο, ἐν τε Διμενητῶ<sup>65</sup> χώρης τῆς σφετέρης μαχεσαμένων, καὶ ἐν Μαϊάνδρου πεδίῳ. (τὰ μὲν νυν ἕξ ἕτεα τῶν ἔνδεκα Σαρδυάτης ὁ Ἄρδυος ἐτι Λυδῶν ἦρχε, ὁ καὶ ἐσβαλὼν τηνικαῦτα ἐς τὴν Μιλησίην τὴν στρατιήν Σαρδυάτης<sup>66</sup> γὰρ οὗτος καὶ ὁ τὸν πόλεμον ἦν συνάψας τὰ δὲ πέντε τῶν ἐτέων τὰ ἐπόμενα τοῖσι ἕξ Ἀλυάτης ὁ Σαρδυάττεω ἐπολέμει, δς παραδεξάμενος, ὡς καὶ πρότερόν μοι δεδήλωται, παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς τὸν πόλεμον προσείχε ἐντεταμένως.) τοῖσι δὲ Μιλησίοις οὐδαμὸι Ἰώνων τὸν πόλεμον τοῦτον συνεπελάφρυνον, ὅτι μὴ Χίοι μῦνοι. οὔτοι δὲ τὸ ὁμοῖον ἀνταποδιδόντες ἐτιμώρεον καὶ γὰρ δὴ πρότερον οἱ Μιλήσιοι τοῖσι Χίοις τὸν πρὸς Ἐρυθραίους πόλεμον<sup>67</sup> συνδιήνεκαν. Τῷ δὲ δυοδεκάτῳ ἔτει λήτου

of the colonies which sprang from her. The whole of the Euxine and the Propontis was full of them; and they were not confined to them. *PLINY* calls Miletus, *Ioniae caput . . . super octoginta urbium per cuncta maria genitrix* (*N. H.* v. 21). Among them may be enumerated the islands Icarus and Lerus, in the Aegean; Apollonia, Odessus, and Mesembria, on the coast of the Euxine, between Salmydessus and the mouth of the Ister; Istropolis, within the Ister; Abydos, Arisba, and Scepsis, in the Thracian; Artace, Lampsacus, and Cysicus, on the Propontis; Sinope, on the south coast of the Euxine; and Dioscurias, on the river Anthemus, in the extreme east of the same sea. It also possessed a temple at Naucratis in Egypt (*H.* 178). The proverb, *πάσαι πόλεις ἦσαν ἄλκιμοι Μιλήσιοι*, was current at Athens in the time of *ARISTOPHANES* (*Plut.* 1076). Many different accounts of its origin are given (which are collected by *ERASMUS* in his *Adagia*), but there seems no reason to look for any special cause of the outgrowth of such a sentiment, beyond the fact that Miletus furnished far the most familiar instance of departed greatness to a Hellenic observer. It may be observed that some of the eighty towns referred to by *Pliny* were mere factories, such as those with which the Carthaginians co-

vered the north coast of Africa. An example of these was Thynias, which was an outlying dependency of Apollonia, and probably a factory for the purpose of salting the tunny-fish (*θύνηος*), the staple of those parts. It was, perhaps, from its supremacy over its dependencies that Miletus was once called Ἀνακτορία (*PAUSANIAS*, vii. 2, 6), although in after-times this name was derived as usual from an autochthonous king, *Anax*.

<sup>65</sup> Διμενητῶ. *M. F.* ἐν Διμενητῶ, which, perhaps, is equivalent to Ἐλλιμενητῶ written in the old manner.

<sup>66</sup> Σαρδυάτης. Geisford here, as elsewhere, Σαρδύτης. See note 69, above.

<sup>67</sup> πρὸς Ἐρυθραίους πόλεμον. Of this war, both the date and the occasion can only be matter of conjecture. It probably grew out of the rival mercantile interests of the two cities, Chios and Erythrae, which, especially in the early times, when piratical and commercial undertakings were not strictly defined, continually led to collision. Perhaps this particular war in its consequences may have produced the similarity of dialect between Chios and Erythrae, which *Herodotus* remarks (*i.* 142). If Erythrae was overwhelmed by its rival, probably there would be a considerable settlement of the victors in its territory, enough to

ἐμπιπραμένου ὑπὸ τῆς στρατιῆς, συνηκίχθη τι τοῖονδε γενέσθαι an alliance with Mile-  
 πρήγμα· ὡς ἄφθη τάχιστα τὸ λήϊον ἀνέμφ βιώμενον, ἄλφατο νηοῦ tus, and  
 Ἀθηναίης ἐπὶ κλήσιν Ἀσσησίης· ἀφθεῖς δὲ ὁ νηὸς κατεκαύθη· building a  
 καὶ τὸ παραντῖκα μὲν λόγος οὐδεὶς ἐγένετο· μετὰ δὲ, τῆς στρα- temple to  
 τιῆς ἀπικομένης ἐς Σάρδεις, ἐνόσησε ὁ Ἀλυάττης· μακροτέρης δέ Athene at  
 οἱ γενομένης τῆς νούσου, πέμπει ἐς Δελφούς θεοπρόπους, εἴτε δὴ Assesus.  
 συμβουλευσαντός τευ εἴτε καὶ αὐτῷ ἔδοξε πέμψαντα τὸν θεὸν  
 ἐπείρεσθαι περὶ τῆς νούσου· τοῖσι δὲ ἡ Πυθίη ἀπικομένοισι ἐς  
 Δελφούς οὐκ ἔφη χρήσειν, πρὶν ἢ τὸν νηὸν τῆς Ἀθηναίης ἀνορ-  
 θάσωσι<sup>68</sup>, τὸν ἐνέπρησαν χάρις τῆς Μιλήσιης ἐν Ἀσσησῷ. 20  
 Δελφῶν<sup>69</sup> οἶδα ἐγὼ οὕτω ἀκούσας γενέσθαι. Μιλήσιοι δὲ τὰδε  
 προστιθεῖσι<sup>70</sup> ταύτοις· Περίανδρον τὸν Κυνφύλου, ἑὸντα Θρα- Milesian  
 συβούλῳ τῷ τότε Μιλήτου τυραννεύοντι<sup>71</sup>· ξείνον ἐς τὰ μάλιστα, story of Pe-  
 πυθόμενον τὸ χρηστήριον τὸ τῷ Ἀλυάττῃ γινόμενον πέμψαντα riander and  
 ἄγγελον κατεῖπεῖν, ὅπως ἂν τι προειδὼς πρὸς τὸ παρεὸν βου- Thrasylu-  
 λεύηται. Μιλήσιοι μὲν νυν οὕτω λέγουσι γενέσθαι. Ἀλυάττης 21 lus, tyrant of  
 δὲ, ὥς οἱ ταῦτα ἐξαγγέλθη, αὐτῖκα ἔπεμπε κήρυκα ἐς Μίλητον, Miletus,  
 βουλόμενος σπουδὰς ποιήσασθαι Θρασυβούλῳ τε καὶ Μιλησίοις and the  
 χρόνον ὅσον ἂν τὸν νηὸν οἰκοδομή· ὁ μὲν δὴ ἀπόστολος ἐς τὴν stragem of  
 Μίλητον ἦε<sup>72</sup>. Θρασύβουλος δὲ σαφῶς προπεπυσμένος πάντα the latter.  
 λόγον καὶ εἰδὼς τὰ Ἀλυάττης μέλλοι ποιήσειν, μηχανᾶται τοιαύδε  
 ὅσος ἦν ἐν τῷ ἄστει σίτος καὶ ἑωυτοῦ καὶ ἰδιωτικὸς τοῦτον πάντα  
 συγκομίσας ἐς τὴν ἀγορὴν, προεῖπε Μιλησίοις, ἐπεὰν αὐτὸς  
 σημήνῃ, τότε πίνειν τε πάντας καὶ κώμῳ χρέεσθαι<sup>73</sup> ἐς ἀλλήλους.

modify the language considerably. This war was not the only case in which the Milesians stood apart from the rest of the Ionians. See note on § 141, πλὴν Μιλησίων.

<sup>68</sup> ἀνορθώσωσι. Gaisford ἀνορθώσουσι. But the best MSS. confirm the reading in the text.

<sup>69</sup> Δελφῶν. See note on i. 25.

<sup>70</sup> προστιθεῖσι. The form προστιθέασι would be more in accordance with the use of Herodotus, but it seems rash to alter the text against the authority of the whole of the MSS.

<sup>71</sup> τῷ τότε Μιλήτου τυραννεύοντι. ARISTOTLE (*Polit.* v. p. 1306, A, line 17) gives Miletus as an instance of a democracy being converted into a tyranny from the extent of the powers given to the Pry-

tanls. He also remarks that in the ancient Republics, of which Miletus is an example, the tyrants almost always became so from demagogues, but demagogues who were successful, not as orators, but as commanders.

<sup>72</sup> ἦε. Gaisford ἦν. Herodotus is accustomed to use either the simple form ἦε, from εἶναι, or the compound παρήν, from εἶναι, with the preposition ἐς followed by an accusative case. Thus i. 113: ἦε ἐς πάλιν ὁ βουκόλος, and i. 9: παρ-έσται ἡ γυνὴ ἢ ἐμὴ ἐς κοῖτον. The passage, v. 38, δεύτερα αὐτὸς ἐς Λακεδαιμόνα τρήρει ἀπόστολος ἐγένετο is no parallel case to Gaisford's text here; for ἀπόστολος ἐγένετο is equivalent to ἀπεστέλλετο, and is put in a corresponding regimen.

<sup>73</sup> κώμῳ χρέεσθαι. These words are

- 22 Ταῦτα δὲ ἐποίεε τε καὶ προαγόρευε Θρασύβουλος τῶνδε εἵνεκεν, ὅπως ἂν δὴ ὁ κήρυξ ὁ Σαρδιηνὸς<sup>14</sup> ἰδῶν τε σωρὸν μέγαν σίτου κεχυμένον καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐν εὐπαθειῇσι ἑόντας, ἀγγείλῃ 'Αλυάττῃ' τὰ δὴ καὶ ἐγένετο· ὡς γὰρ δὴ ἰδῶν τε ἐκείνα ὁ κήρυξ καὶ εἴπας πρὸς Θρασύβουλον τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ Αἰδοῦ ἀπῆλθε ἐς τὰς Σάρδεις, ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, δι' οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐγένετο ἢ διαλλαγή· ἐλπίζων γὰρ ὁ 'Αλυάττης σιτοδητὴν τε εἶναι ἰσχυρὴν ἐν τῇ Μιλήτῳ καὶ τὸν λεῶν τετρῦσθαι ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον κακοῦ, ἤκουε τοῦ κήρυκος νοστήσαντος ἐκ τῆς Μιλήτου τοὺς ἐναντίους λόγους ἢ ὡς αὐτὸς κατεδόκεε· μετὰ δὲ, ἥ τε διαλλαγή σφι ἐγένετο, ἐπ' ᾧ τε ξείνους ἀλλήλοισι εἶναι καὶ ξυμμάχους· καὶ δύο τε ἀντὶ ἐνὸς νηὸς τῇ 'Αθηναίῃ ἐκδοδόμησε ὁ 'Αλυάττης ἐν τῇ 'Ασσησῷ, αὐτὸς τε ἐκ τῆς νούσου ἀνέστη. κατὰ μὲν τὸν πρὸς Μιλησίους τε καὶ Θρασύβουλον πόλεμον 'Αλυάττῃ ὦδε ἔσχε.

- 23 Περιάνδρος δὲ ἦν Κυψέλου παῖς, οὗτος ὁ τῷ Θρασυβούλῳ τὸ χρηστήριον μηνύσας. ἐτυράννευε δὲ ὁ Περιάνδρος Κορίνθου. τῷ δὴ λέγουσι Κορίνθιοι (ὁμολογέουσι δέ σφι Λέσβιοι) ἐν τῷ βίῳ θάυμα μέγιστον παραστήναι, 'Αρίονα τὸν Μηθυμναῖον ἐπὶ δελφίνος ἐξενηχθέντα ἐπὶ Ταίναρον, ἑόντα κιθααρῶδον τῶν τότε ἑόντων οὐδενὸς δεύτερον, καὶ διθύραμβον πρῶτον ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν ποιήσαντά<sup>15</sup> τε καὶ ὀνομάσαντα

The story of Arion and the dolphin which was current among the Corinthians and Lesbians.

equivalent to *κομᾶζειν*, to join in a dachanalian procession. Thus THEOCRITUS says, *κομᾶσθω ποτὶ τὰν 'Αμαρυλλίδα* (iii. 1), and Dionysus is himself called *κομαστός* by ARISTOPHANES (*Nub.* 606). The original idea of the Hellenic *κῶμος* and the Latin *comessatio* was, that it was a procession of the deity accompanied by his votaries. It was not confined to the Dionysus-worship, although the predominance of this and its adaptation to carnival-like processions gradually narrowed the meaning of the term. PLUTARCH (*Vit. Ant.* § 26), describing the voyage of Cleopatra down the Cydnus, says, *κατέκειτο ὑπὸ σκιάδι χρυσόσπαστω, κεκοσμημένῃ γραφικῶς ὥσπερ 'Αφροδίτη, . . καὶ τις λόγος ἐχώρει διὰ πάντων, ὡς ἡ 'Αφροδίτη κωμάσοι παρὰ τὸν Διόνυσον.*

<sup>14</sup> Σαρδιηνός. S Σαρδύτιος, as from a substantive form Σάρδης. See note 66 above.

<sup>15</sup> διθύραμβον πρῶτον ἀνθρώπων ποιή-

σαντα. HELLANICUS and DICÆARCHUS (*ap. Schol. Aristoph. Av.* 1403) likewise attributed the invention of the dithyramb to Arion. But little more seems to follow from this, than that they followed the same local traditions in this matter which Herodotus does. Wherever there was Dionysus-worship carried to any ritualistic perfection, there no doubt it was a popular belief that the invention took place; and it would be attributed to the most celebrated musician with whom they might be familiar. Thus ANTIPATER and EUPHORION ascribed the invention to Lasus at Hermione (*Schol. ad Aristoph. Av.* l. c.). PINDAR, in three different passages, placed it at Thebes, Corinth, and Naxos (*Schol. ad Pind. Olymp.* xiii. 25). As to the dithyramb itself, it was a poem relating to the birth of Dionysus. (PLATO, *Legg.* iii. p. 700: καὶ ἄλλοι, Διονύσου γένεσις, ὅμαι, διθύραμβος λεγόμενος), mimetically rehearsed by performers habited as satyrs. SUIDAS (*εὐ*

καὶ διδάξαντα<sup>16</sup> ἐν Κορίνθῳ τοῦτον τὸν Ἀρίονα λέγουσι, τὸν 24  
πολλὸν τοῦ χρόνου διατρίβοντα παρὰ Περιάνδρῳ, ἐπιθυμήσαι  
πλῶσαι ἐς Ἰταλίην τε καὶ Σικελίην ἐργασάμενον δὲ χρήματα  
μεγάλα θελῆσαι ὀπίσω ἐς Κόρινθον ἀπικέσθαι ὁρμᾶσθαι μὲν νην  
ἐκ Τάραντος, πιστεύοντα δὲ οὐδαμοῖσι μᾶλλον ἢ Κορινθίοισι,  
μισθώσασθαι πλοῖον ἀνδρῶν Κορινθίων τοὺς δὲ ἐν τῷ πελάγῳ  
ἐπιβουλεύειν τὸν Ἀρίονα ἐκβαλόντας ἔχειν τὰ χρήματα· τὸν δὲ  
συνέντα τοῦτο<sup>17</sup> λίσσεσθαι, χρήματα μὲν σφι προϊέοντα, ψυχὴν δὲ  
παραιτέομενον οὐκ ὄντων δὴ πείθειν αὐτὸν τοῦτοισι· ἀλλὰ κελεύειν  
τοὺς πορθμέας ἢ αὐτὸν διαχρᾶσθαι<sup>18</sup> μιν ὡς ἂν ταφῆς ἐν γῇ τύχη,  
ἢ ἐκπηδᾶν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν τὴν ταχίστην ἀπειληθέντα<sup>19</sup> δὲ τὸν  
Ἀρίονα ἐς ἀπορίην, παραιτήσασθαι, ἐπειδὴ σφι οὕτω δοκεῖοι,  
περιιδέειν αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ σκευῇ πάσῃ<sup>20</sup> στάντα ἐν τοῖσι ἐδωλοῖσι

Arion was the inventor, namer, and first teacher of the dithyramb at Corinth.

v. Ἀρίων) . . . λέγεται . . . πρῶτος χορὸν στήσαι καὶ διθύραμβον ᾄσαι καὶ ὀνομάσαι τὸ ᾄδόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ χοροῦ, καὶ Σατύρους εἰσενεγκεῖν ἔμμετρα λέγοντας. Precisely parallel was the ritual of the Curetes, in which they mimetically represented the birth of Zeus. STRABO expressly compares the relation in which they stand to the deity as his πρόπολοι with that of the satyrs to Dionysus; and describes their proceedings, that they exhibit μῦθον τὸν περὶ τῆς τοῦ Διὸς γενέσεως, ἐν ᾧ τὸν μὲν Κρόνον εἰσάγουσιν εἰθισμένον καταπίνειν τὰ τέκνα ἀπὸ τῆς γενέσεως εὐθύς· τὴν δὲ Πέαν πειρωμένην ἐπικρύπτεσθαι τὰς ὁδούς, καὶ τὸ γεννηθὲν βρέφος ἐκποδὸν ποιεῖν πρὸς δὲ τοῦτο συνεργοὺς λαβεῖν τοὺς Κουρήτας κ.τ.λ. (X. p. 359, ed. Lips.) But as it was "the jolly god" (as Dryden calls him), "the intoxicator," to whom the dithyramb was sung, it was proper that both the poetry and the music should be of an orgiastic character. Hence, in the well-known fragment, ACHILLOCHUS professes to lead off the dithyramb ὄνῳ συγκεραννωθεὶς φρένας: and the very name of the performance (about which so much has been written, and so unsatisfactorily) was, it can hardly be doubted, a Hellenic form of an Ægyptian word, ΤΙΤΗΛΑΜΒΟΣ (= *furorem movens*), an epithet of Dionysus, with reference to his operations. See JACOBS, *Questiones Sophocleæ*, vol. i. pp. 82, 83.

<sup>16</sup> διδάξαντα. See note on vi. 21.

<sup>17</sup> συνέντα τοῦτο. See note 80.

<sup>18</sup> διαχρᾶσθαι. Herodotus uses the word καταχρῆσθαι in the same sense, i. 82.

<sup>19</sup> ἀπειληθέντα. See BUTTMANN (*Lexilogus*, v. εἰλεῖν).

<sup>20</sup> ἐν τῇ σκευῇ πάσῃ. This was equivalent to placing himself under the protection of Apollo. The kernel of the whole story is the sacred character of the bard, who is represented in it as always under the eye of his patron deity. The narrative of HYGINUS (xciv.) brings out the features which show this more fully. The servants of Arion conspire with the crew to kill him; but Apollo appears to him in a dream, and bids him put on his sacred garb and wreath, and trust himself to the aid which will appear to him. These are the dolphins. In his haste to get away when brought to shore at Corinth, Arion neglects to thrust his bearer back into the sea, and the fish accordingly perishes. The king of the country buries it, and, when the sailors appear, forces them to swear to the truth of their statement on the dolphin's tomb, in which Arion has been concealed. On his appearing, they confess their guilt by their confusion, and are punished by crucifixion. Apollo places both Arion and the dolphin among the constellations. The last part of this legend is doubtless later than the Alexandrine times; but the former portion has every mark of antiquity, and is a complete parallel to the well-known story of Ibycus and his cranes, the scene of which also is laid at Corinth.

αείσαι· αείσας δὲ ὑπεδέκετο ἑαυτὸν κατεργάσασθαι· καὶ τοῖσι ἐσελθεῖν γὰρ ἡδονὴν εἰ μέλλοιεν ἀκούσεσθαι τοῦ ἀρίστου ἀνθρώπων αἰοῦδου, ἀναχωρήσαι ἐκ τῆς πρύμνης ἐς μέσσην νῆα· τὸν δὲ ἐνδύντα τε πᾶσαν τὴν σκευὴν καὶ λαβόντα τὴν κιθάρην, στάντα ἐν τοῖσι ἐδωλλοῖσι διεξελθεῖν νόμον τὸν ὄρθιον<sup>81</sup>. τελευτῶντος δὲ τοῦ νόμου, ρίψαι μιν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἑαυτὸν ὡς εἶχε σὺν τῇ σκευῇ πάσῃ καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀποπλέειν ἐς Κόρινθον τὸν δὲ, δελφίνα λέγουσι ὑπολαβόντα ἐξενεῖκαι ἐπὶ Ταῖναρον ἀποβάαντα δὲ αὐτὸν χωρέειν ἐς Κόρινθον σὺν τῇ σκευῇ<sup>82</sup> καὶ ἀπικόμενον ἀπηγγέσθαι πᾶν τὸ γεγονός· Περιάνδρον δὲ ὑπὸ ἀπιστίας Ἀρίονα μὲν ἐν φυλακῇ ἔχειν οὐδαμῇ μετιέντα, ἀνακῶς δὲ ἔχειν<sup>83</sup> τῶν πορθμέων ὡς δὲ ἄρα παρῆναι αὐτοὺς, κληθέντας ἰστορέεσθαι εἰ τι λέγοιεν περὶ Ἀρίονος· φαμένων δὲ ἐκείνων ὡς εἶη τε σῶς περὶ Ἰταλίην, καὶ μιν εὖ πρήσσοντα λίποιεν ἐν Τάραντι, ἐπιφανῆναί σφι<sup>84</sup> τὸν Ἀρίονα ὥσπερ ἔχων ἐξεπήδησε· καὶ τοὺς, ἐκπλαγέντας οὐκ ἔχειν ἔτι ἐλεγχομένους ἀρνέεσθαι· ταῦτα μὲν νυν Κορίνθιοι τε καὶ Λέσβιοι λέγουσι καὶ Ἀρίονός ἐστι ἀνάθημα<sup>85</sup>· χάλκεον οὐ μέγα ἐπὶ Ταυνάρφ, ἐπὶ δελφίνος ἐπέων ἄνθρωπος.

25 Ἀλυάττης δὲ ὁ Λυδὸς τὸν πρὸς Μιλησίους πόλεμον διενείκας,

<sup>81</sup> νόμον τὸν ὄρθιον, "the réveillé." The use of the article points to a well-known air (or, more properly, chant), one of the forms of the "Doric mode." The same air is meant in *Æsch. Pers.* 389: ὄρθιον ἀντηλάλαξεν ἡχώ. See Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Latin Antiquities, under the word *Music*, p. 628, and that of Biography and Mythology, under the word *Terpander*.

<sup>82</sup> σὺν τῇ σκευῇ. See note 80.

<sup>83</sup> ἀνακῶς ἔχειν. See note on viii. 108.

<sup>84</sup> ἐπιφανῆναί σφι. This sudden apparition of Arion in his sacred garb is an essential part of the original story. Hence the legend which, under the influence of the monument at Tarentum, made him land there, is obliged to make him travel all through Peloponnese σὺν τῇ σκευῇ, and on arriving at Corinth be kept in custody by Periander.

<sup>85</sup> Ἀρίονος ἀνάθημα, "an offering set up by Arion." In the time of PAUSANIAS (iii. 25, 7) the human figure was said to be that of Arion himself. With regard to the group, it has been considered with great probability to have been really set up in commemoration of the

colony sent out from Lacedæmon to Tarentum under Phalantus, which sailed from Tænarum. It appears in the Tarentine coins and the Methymnean also, and symbolically represents an Achaean-Dorian colony sent out by sea, the dolphin being the representative of Poseidon, the citharist of Apollo the Dorian deity (see note on viii. 41). In the temple at Delphi there was a figure group placed there by the Tarentines in commemoration of a victory gained by them over their barbarous neighbours the Peucetians. Among the combatants were Taras, the eponymous hero of Tarentum, and Phalantus, and "not far from the latter" (says PAUSANIAS, x. 13. 10) "Phalantus's dolphin; for, before he went to Italy, Phalantus was shipwrecked in the Crissæan sea, and they say he was carried by a dolphin to shore." A similar tradition with regard to the body of Melicerta existed at the Isthmus of Corinth. It was said to have been brought thither by a dolphin, and buried by Sisyphus, who instituted the Isthmian games at the tomb in honour of Melicerta, under the name of Palæmon (PAUSAN. ii. 1, 3).

μετέπειτα τελευτᾷ, βασιλεύσας ἕτεα ἑπτὰ καὶ πενήντα. ἂν-  
 ἔθηκε δὲ ἐκφυγὼν τὴν νοῦσον, δεύτερος οὗτος τῆς οἰκίης ταύτης ἐς  
 Δελφοὺς κρητήρᾳ<sup>56</sup> τε ἀργύρεον μέγα καὶ ὑποκρητηρίδιον σιδή-  
 ρεον κολλητὸν, θέης ἄξιον διὰ πάντων τῶν ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἀναθη-  
 μάτων, Γλαύκου τοῦ Χίου ποίημα<sup>57</sup>. ὃς μόνος δὴ πάντων ἀνθρώ-  
 πων σιδήρου κόλλησιν ἐξεύρε.

Τελευτήσαντος δὲ Ἀλυάττεω ἐξεδέξατο τὴν βασιλὴν Κροῖσος 26  
 ὁ Ἀλυάττεω, ἑτέων ἥων ἡλικίην πέντε καὶ τριήκοντα· ὃς δὴ Ἑλλή-  
 νων πρῶτοις ἐπεθήκατο Ἐφεσίοισι. ἔνθα δὴ οἱ Ἐφέσιοι<sup>58</sup> πο-  
 λιорκούμενοι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ἀνέθεσαν τὴν πόλιν τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι ἐξ-  
 ἄφαντες ἐκ τοῦ νηοῦ σχοινίον ἐς τὸ τεῖχος· ἔστι δὲ μεταξὺ τῆς τε  
 παλαιῆς πόλιος<sup>59</sup> ἢ τότε ἐπολιорκέετο καὶ τοῦ νηοῦ, ἑπτὰ στάδιοι.  
 πρῶτοις μὲν δὴ τούτοις ἐπεχείρησε ὁ Κροῖσος· μετὰ δὲ, ἐν μέρει  
 ἐκάστοις Ἰώνων τε καὶ Αἰολέων, ἄλλοις ἄλλας αἰτίας ἐπιφέρων·  
 τῶν μὲν ἐδύνατο μέζοντας παρευρίσκειν, μέζονα ἐπαιτιώμενος, τοῖσι  
 δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ φαῦλα ἐπιφέρων. Ὡς δὲ ἄρα οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ Ἑλ- 27  
 ληνες κατεστράφατο ἐς φόρου ἀπαγωγὴν, τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ἐπενόεε νέας  
 ποιησάμενος ἐπιχειρέειν τοῖσι νησιώτησι· ἐόντων δὲ οἱ πάντων  
 is deterred from attack-  
 ing the

<sup>56</sup> ἐς Δελφοὺς κρητήρᾳ. The comparison of this passage with that in i. 20, Δελφῶν οἶδα ἐγὼ οὕτω ἀκούσας γενέσθαι, seems to show plainly that the story of Halyattes's campaigns against Miletus rests on the traditional narrative of a Delphic cicerone.

<sup>57</sup> Γλαύκου τοῦ Χίου ποίημα. This artist is placed by the chronologers at latest in B.C. 677. See SILLIG (*Catalogus Artificum* v. *Glaucus*). The statement of Herodotus may be reconciled with this date, and with the chronology commonly assigned to Halyattes, by supposing the pedestal here spoken of to have been made before the reign of Halyattes, and to have come into that monarch's possession. But it is perhaps more natural to suppose that the Delphians of Herodotus's time attributed the work to Glaucus from his great reputation as an artist. The expression, ἡ Γλαύκου τέχνη, was in the time of PLATO (*Phædon*. § 132) a proverbial one, applied to every thing requiring an extraordinary amount of skill. See note on i. 51. PAUSANIAS (x. 16, 1) describes the work in question. It appears to have been a hollow truncated pyramid, of which the sides were composed of strips of iron, that apparently wound obliquely up from the

bottom to the top (like the reliefs on the column of Trajan). On this fillet were various figures; among others, insects and plants (HIEGESANDER *ap. Athenæum*, v. p. 210) in relief, not attached by any mechanical means, such as pins, but soldered in, so that the whole formed one solid mass, although the figures had been wrought separately.

<sup>58</sup> ὃς δὴ Ἑλλήνων . . . ἔνθα δὴ οἱ Ἐφέσιοι. The particle δὴ serves here the purpose of *insulating* the attention of the reader, and directing it to the Ephesians among all the other people, and, as regards the Ephesians themselves, to the particular fact of their dedicating themselves formally to Artemis by the device related. See the note 6, above. It will be observed that, of the whole conquest of the Asiatic Greeks by Croesus, this is the *only detail* mentioned. This fact is scarcely an exception to the remark in note 52 on i. 13, if it be taken to be a part of the general history of Croesus, the whole of which seems evidently to proceed from a Delphic source. But at any rate it is a temple tradition. See note on § 92, τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Ἰσμενίῳ.

<sup>59</sup> τῆς παλαιῆς πόλιος. See note on i. 150, ὅδε ἀπέβαλον.

islanders by a saying of one of the Seven Sages,

ἐτοίμων ἐς τὴν ναυπηγίην, οἱ μὲν Βίαντα<sup>20</sup> λέγουσι τὸν Πριηνέα ἀπικόμενον ἐς Σάρδεις οἱ δὲ Πιττακὸν τὸν Μυτιληναῖον, εἰρομένου Κροίσου εἰ τι εἴη νεώτερον περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, εἰπόντα τάδε καταπαῦσαι τὴν ναυπηγίην “ὦ βασιλεῦ, νησιῶται ἵππον συνώνονται μυρίην, ἐς Σάρδεις τε καὶ ἐπὶ σέ ἔχοντες ἐν νῶ στρατεύεσθαι”. Κροῖσον δὲ ἐλπίσαντα λέγειν ἐκείνουν ἀληθέα εἰπεῖν “αἱ γὰρ τοῦτο θεοὶ ποιήσειαν ἐπὶ νόον νησιώτῃσι, ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ Λυδῶν παῖδας σὺν ἵπποισι<sup>21</sup>.” τὸν δὲ, ὑπολαβόντα φάναι “ὦ βασιλεῦ, προθύμως μοι φαίνεαι εὐξασθαι νησιώτας ἵππευομένους λαβεῖν ἐν ἡπείρῳ, οἰκόντα ἐλπίζων νησιώτας” δὲ τί δοκέεις [εὐχεσθαι] ἄλλο, [ἦ,] ἐπεὶ τε τάχιστα ἐπύθοντό σε μέλλοντα ἐπὶ σφίσι ναυπηγέεσθαι νέας, λαβεῖν ἀρώμενοι Λυδοὺς ἐν θαλάσῃ, ἵνα ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ οἰκημένων Ἑλλήνων τίσωνται σε, τοὺς σὺ δουλώσας ἔχεις<sup>22</sup>;” κάρτα τε ἡσθῆναι Κροῖσον τῷ ἐπιλόγῳ, καὶ οἱ (προσφυέως γὰρ δόξαι λέγειν) πειθόμενον παύσασθαι τῆς ναυπηγίης· καὶ οὕτω τοῖσι τὰς νήσους οἰκημένοισι Ἴωσι ξεινίην συνθήκατο.

and makes an alliance with such of them as are Ionians.

## 28

Extent of the Lydian empire.

Χρόνου δὲ ἐπιγυνομένου, καὶ κατεστραμμένων σχεδὸν πάντων τῶν ἐντὸς Ἀλφειοῦ ποταμοῦ οἰκημένων· πλὴν γὰρ Κιλικίων καὶ Λυκίων, τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας ὑπ’ ἐαυτῷ εἶχε καταστρεφάμενος ὁ

<sup>20</sup> οἱ μὲν Βίαντα . . . οἱ δὲ Πιττακὸν τὸν Μυτιληναῖον. See note on ii. 160, ἐπὶ τοῦτον δὴ τὸν Ψάμμιν.

<sup>21</sup> ἐπὶ Λυδῶν παῖδας σὺν ἵπποισι. The cavalry was the strong arm of the Lydians at this time (see i. 79). Hence the Lydians and Cilicians, the nature of whose country was unfavourable to cavalry operations, alone of all the nations of Lower Asia escaped being subdued by them (i. 28). HOMER gives the epithet ἵπποκορυσταὶ to the Mæonians (*Il.* x. 431), who were identical with the Lydians. See i. 7, above.

<sup>22</sup> νησιώτας . . . δουλώσας ἔχεις. This passage is an extremely obscure one, and no attempts which have been made to explain it, or to emend it without violent change, appear satisfactory. The reading ἀρώμενοι rests on too strong MSS authority to be rejected. ἀρᾶσθαι would give a very good sense and a construction without any harshness; but it is difficult to conceive that in this case any copyist should have altered it into ἀρώμενοι. The most plausible change which I can suggest is to strike out the words

εὐχεσθαι and ἦ. The words τί δοκέεις ἄλλο refer to οἰκόντα ἐλπίζων, and the whole sentence with the above omissions may be thus rendered: “and what else do you think that the islanders look for” [other than what is likely to happen, viz. the utter annihilation of Croesus’s fleet] “the instant they heard that you were going to build a fleet to attack them,—with their ardent wishes that they might only fall in with Lydians afloat, to requite you on behalf of the Hellenic settlers on the main, whom you have enslaved?” If the text originally ran thus, a copyist may have added ἢ εὐχεσθαι in the margin, imagining that this, and not ἢ οἰκόντα ἐλπίζων, was the ellipse to be supplied, and thus possibly the words may have crept into the text.

<sup>23</sup> δουλώσας ἔχεις. On this combination of the aorist participle with the verb ἔχω, see ΜΑΤΤΗΙÆ (*Gr. Gr.* § 559). It may be remarked that in it appears the first germ of the idiom common to all modern languages, of using the verb which signifies “to have” as an auxiliary.



Κροῖσος· εἰσὶ δὲ οἶδε, Λυδοὶ<sup>94</sup>, Φρύγες, Μυσοὶ, Μαριανδυνοὶ, Χάλυβες, Παφλαγόνες, Θρήκες, οἱ Θυνοὶ τε καὶ Βιθυνοὶ, Κᾶρες, Ἰωνες, Δωριεῖς, Αἰολεῖς, Πάμφυλοι· κατεστραμμένων δὲ τούτων, 29 καὶ προσεπιτωμένων Κροίσου Λυδοῖσι, ἀπικνέονται ἐς Σάρδις ἄκμαζούσας πλοῦτ' ἄλλοι τε οἱ πάντες ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος σοφισταὶ<sup>95</sup>, οἱ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἐτύγγαλλον ἔοντες, ὥς ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ἀπικνέοιτο, καὶ δὴ καὶ Σόλων<sup>96</sup> ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος, ὃς Ἀθηναίοισι νόμους κελεύσας ποιήσας, ἀπεδήμησε ἕτεα δέκα κατὰ θεωρίης πρόφασιν ἐκπλώσας, ἵνα δὴ μή τινα τῶν νόμων ἀναγκασθῇ λύσαι τῶν ἔθετο<sup>97</sup>. αὐτοὶ γὰρ οὐκ οἶοι τε ἦσαν αὐτὸ ποιῆσαι Ἀθηναῖον· ὀρκίοισι γὰρ μεγάλοισι κατείχοντο, δέκα ἕτεα χρῆσθαι νόμοισι τοὺς ἄν σφι Σόλων θῇται. Αὐτῶν δὴ ὧν τούτων καὶ τῆς θεωρίης ἐκδημήσας ὁ Σόλων 30

<sup>94</sup> Λυδοί. It appears strange that this nation should be included among the number of those who had been *subdued* by Croesus, as they constituted his hereditary subjects. This difficulty may be got over by supposing that the catalogue of the whole of the subjects of the Lydian monarchy is intended to be given. But the details of this list present considerable difficulty. The *Chalybes* do not fall within the limit of the Halys. And from the geographical position of *Pamphylia* it is difficult to suppose that it can have been subdued, while both *Lycia* and *Cilicia* remained independent. Is it possible that we have here a list of the nations of which the traffic passed through Sardis, and that the transit-dues were, in an Asiatic monarchy, represented as tribute? If so, the steel-manufactures from the *Chalybes* would account for that tribe being enumerated among the dependencies. It will be observed that *Pamphylia* stand in the list after the Hellenic tribes. In the army of Xerxes they were armed in the Hellenic fashion (vii. 91), a circumstance which seems to indicate considerable commercial intercourse with Hellenic traders, even if they were not themselves partially hellenized.

<sup>95</sup> σοφισταί, "sages;" the original sense of the word, in which Herodotus always employs it. See note 99, below, for the staple of their "wisdom."

<sup>96</sup> καὶ δὴ καὶ Σόλων. Considerable pains have been taken by chronologers to get over the difficulty occasioned in the arrangement of their dates by this reputed conversation of Solon with Croesus. PLU-

TARCH (*Solon*. § 27) speaks of those who on this score had considered the story as fictitious. He adds: ἐγὼ δὲ λόγον ἔνδοξον οὕτω καὶ τοσοῦτους μάρτυρας ἔχοντα καὶ—ὃ μείζον ἐστὶ—πρέποντα τῷ Σόλωνος ἡθεῖ, καὶ τῆς ἐκείνου μεγαλοφροσύνης καὶ σοφίας ἄξιον οὐ μοι δοκῶ προήσεσθαι χρονικοῖς τισὶ λεγομένοις κανόσιν, οὐς μυρρίοι διορθοῦντες ἄχρι σήμερον εἰς οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ὁμολογούμενον δύναται καταστήσαι τὰς ἀντιλογίας. It is quite certain that the same sense of ethopoeic propriety which prevailed with Plutarch exercised very many times more influence in the time of Herodotus, and if taken into account by commentators would save much trouble incurred in the vain attempt to give historical exactness to statements where a historical exactness was never contemplated.

<sup>97</sup> τῶν ἔθετο. This expression (as also θῆται in the next sentence) is considered to be a violation of the rule that *θεῖναι νόμον* is the proper phrase in the case of a legislator who frames a law, and *θέσθαι νόμον* in that of the people which accepts and ratifies it. But the exception is more apparent than real. If Solon had been framer of a constitution for another state than the one of which he himself was a citizen, the middle voice would have been undoubtedly inappropriate. But the reverse is suggested by its use on this occasion. The historian sinks the fact of Solon having originated the code in that of his having, as one of the people, put himself under it, and therefore says, not "framed," but "got passed."

<sup>98</sup> καὶ δὴ καὶ. See note 6, above.

His conver-  
sation with  
Croesus.

εἵνεκεν, ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἀπῖκετο παρὰ Ἀμασιν, καὶ δὴ καὶ" ἐς Σάρδεις παρὰ Κροῖσον ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐξεπῖλκετο ἐν τοῖσι βασιλεῦσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ Κροίσου μετὰ δὲ, ἡμέρῃ τρίτῃ ἢ τετάρτῃ, κελεύσαντος Κροίσου, τὸν Σόλωνα θεράποντες περιῆγον κατὰ τοὺς θησαυροὺς, καὶ ἐπεδείκνυσαν πάντα ἔοντα μεγάλα τε καὶ δλβια· θεησάμενον δέ μιν τὰ πάντα καὶ σκεψάμενον, ὥς οἱ κατὰ καιρὸν ἦν, εἶρετο ὁ Κροῖσος τάδε· "ξεῖνε Ἀθηναίε, παρ' ἡμέας γὰρ περὶ σέο λόγος ἀπῖκται πολλὸς, καὶ σοφίης εἵνεκεν τῆς σῆς" καὶ πλάνης, ὥς φιλοσοφῶν γῆν πολλὴν θεωρίας εἵνεκεν ἐπελήλυθας· νῦν ὦν ἡμερος ἐπέεισθαί μοι ἐπῆλθε, εἴ τινα ἤδη πάντων εἶδες ὀλβιώτατον;" ὁ μὲν ἐλπίζων εἶναι ἀνθρώπων ὀλβιώτατος, ταῦτα ἐπειρώτα· Σόλων δὲ οὐδὲν ὑποθαπείσας ἀλλὰ τῷ ἔοντι χρησάμενος, λέγει· "ὦ βασιλεῦ, Τέλλον Ἀθηναῖον" ἀποθωνύμασας δὲ Κροῖσος τὸ λεχθὲν, εἶρετο ἐπιστρεφέως<sup>100</sup>. "κοίη"<sup>101</sup> δὴ κρίνεις Τέλλον εἶναι ὀλβιώτατον;" ὁ δὲ εἶπε· "Τέλλω, τοῦτο μὲν, τῆς πόλιος εὐηκούσης, παῖδες ἦσαν καλοὶ τε κάγαθοι, καὶ σφί εἶδε ἅπασι τέκνα ἐκγονόμενα καὶ πάντα παραμεινάντα· τοῦτο δὲ, τοῦ βίου εὐηκοντι<sup>102</sup>, ὥς τὰ παρ' ἡμῖν<sup>103</sup>, τελευτὴ τοῦ βίου λαμπροτάτῃ ἐπεγένετο· γενομένης γὰρ Ἀθηναίοισι μάχης πρὸς τοὺς ἀστυγείτονας ἐν Ἐλευσίνι<sup>104</sup>, βοηθήσας καὶ τροπὴν ποιήσας τῶν πολεμίων,

He thinks  
Tellus, the  
Athenian,  
the most  
prosperous  
man;

<sup>100</sup> σοφίης τῆς σῆς. The quality which is denoted by this word, from which, as implying its possession, the word σοφιστής was derived, is well described by a passage in PLUTARCH (*Themist.* § 2), who, speaking of Mnesiphilus the Phrearian, from whom Themistocles derived much instruction, describes him as οὐτε ῥήτορος οὐτος οὐτε τῶν φυσικῶν κληθέντων φιλοσόφων, ἀλλὰ τὴν τότε καλουμένην σοφίαν, οὖσαν δὲ δεινότητα πολιτικὴν καὶ δραστήριον σύνεσιν, ἐπιτήδευμα πεπονημένον, καὶ διασφύοντος ὥστερ αἵρεσιν ἐκ διαδοχῆς ἀπὸ Σόλωνος ἦν οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα δικανικαῖς μίλωνες τέχναις καὶ μεταγαγόντες ἀπὸ τῶν πράξεων τὴν ἄσκασιν ἐπὶ τοὺς λόγους σοφιστὰι προσηγορεύθησαν. This is almost exactly what ARISTOTLE (*Nicom. Ethic.* vi. p. 1140, v. line 5) defines φρόνησις to be, viz. ἕξις ἀληθὴς μετὰ λόγου πρακτικῇ περὶ τὰ ἀνθρώπων ἀγαθὰ. Accordingly he considers φρόνησις to be the especial quality of the statesman. See below, note on ii. 49, σοφιστὰι.

<sup>100</sup> εἶρετο ἐπιστρεφέως, "took him up

shortly with the question." See note on viii. 62, λέγων μᾶλλον ἐπεστραμμένα.

<sup>101</sup> κοίη. Understand ὀφ, "on what sort of principle."

<sup>102</sup> τοῦ βίου εὐηκοντι. Compare viii. 111, ὅτι θεῶν χρηστῶν εὐηκοίεν.

<sup>103</sup> ὥς τὰ παρ' ἡμῖν, "as fortunes go with us," the standard of wealth being very different in Lydia.

<sup>104</sup> πρὸς τοὺς ἀστυγείτονας ἐν Ἐλευσίνι. It seems quite a gratuitous supposition that the battle here spoken of must have been against the Megarians, merely because the time in which Athens and Eleusis were rival neighbours lies far back in antiquity. There is no question that at one time there was hostility between them; and probably border feuds continued long after a union had been partially cemented. The Tellus of the story may really have been slain in one of these. But it is quite plain that, of the tale which Herodotus relates, the personal distinctions of the individual concerned must have constituted the main thread. The barrow near Athens gave a locality for his death;

ἀπέθανε κάλλιστα· καὶ μιν Ἀθηναῖοι δημοσίῃ τε ἔθαψαν αὐτοῦ τῆπερ ἔπεσε, καὶ ἐτίμησαν μεγάλως.”

Ὡς δὲ τὰ κατὰ τὸν Τέλλον<sup>106</sup> προετρέψατο ὁ Σόλων τὸν 31  
Κροῖσον εἰπας πολλά τε καὶ ὄλβια, ἐπειρώτα τίνα δεύτερον μετ’ and next to  
ἐκείνουν ἴδοι; δοκέων πάγχυ δευτερεῖα γῶν οἴσσεσθαι, ὁ δὲ εἶπε puts Cleobis  
“Κλέοβίῳ τε καὶ Βίτωνι· τοῦτοισι γάρ, ἐοῦσι γένος Ἀργεῖοισι, of Argos.  
βίος τε ἀρκέων ὑπὴν καὶ πρὸς τούτῳ ῥώμῃ σώματος τοιήδε  
ἀεθλοφόροι τε ἀμφοτέροι ὁμοίως ἦσαν, καὶ δὴ καὶ λέγεται ὅδε  
ὁ λόγος· ἐούσης ὀρτῆς τῇ Ἥρῃ τοῖσι Ἀργεῖοισι, ἔδεε πάντως τὴν  
μητέρα αὐτῶν ζεύγεϊ κομισθῆναι ἐς τὸ ἱρόν· οἱ δὲ σφι βόες ἐκ τοῦ  
ἀγροῦ οὐ παρεγίνοντο ἐν ὥρῃ· ἐκκλησιόμενοι δὲ τῇ ὥρῃ<sup>107</sup> οἱ νεηνίαι,  
ὑποδύντες αὐτοὶ ὑπὸ τὴν ζεύγλῃν εἰλκον τὴν ἄμαξαν, ἐπὶ τῆς  
ἀμάξης δὲ σφι ὄχετο ἡ μήτηρ· σταδίου δὲ πέντε καὶ τεσσαρά-  
κοντα διακομίσαντες ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὸ ἱρόν· ταῦτα δὲ σφι ποιήσασι  
καὶ ὀφθεῖσι ὑπὸ τῆς πανηγύριος τελευτῇ τοῦ βίου ἀρίστη ἐπεγέ-  
νετο· διέδεξέ τε ἐν τοῦτοισι ὁ θεὸς, ὥς ἄμεινον εἴη ἀνθρώπῳ τε-  
θνάναι μᾶλλον ἢ ζῶειν<sup>107</sup>. Ἀργεῖοι μὲν γὰρ περιστάntες ἐμακά-  
ριζον τῶν νεηνιέων τὴν ῥώμην· αἱ δὲ Ἀργεῖαι τὴν μητέρα αὐτῶν,  
οἷων τέκνων ἐκύρησε· ἡ δὲ μήτηρ περιχαρὴς ἐούσα τῷ τε ἔργῳ καὶ  
τῇ φήμῃ, στᾶσα ἀντίον τοῦ ἀγάλματος εὐχετο Κλέοβί<sup>108</sup> τε καὶ  
Βίτωνι, τοῖσι ἐωυτῆς τέκνοισι, οἳ μιν ἐτίμησαν· μεγάλως, δοῦναι  
τὴν θεὸν τὸ ἀνθρώπῳ τυχεῖν ἀριστόν ἐστι· μετὰ ταύτην δὲ τὴν  
εὐχὴν, ὥς ἔθυσάν τε καὶ εὐωχήθησαν, κατακοιμηθέντες ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ  
ἱρῷ οἱ νεηνίαι οὐκέτι ἀνέστησαν, ἀλλ’ ἐν τέλει τούτῳ ἔσχοντο·  
Ἀργεῖοι δὲ σφῶν εἰκόνας ποιησάμενοι ἀνέθεσαν ἐς Δελφοὺς<sup>109</sup>,  
ὥς ἀνδρῶν ἀρίστων γενομένων.”

but who the ἀστυγείτορες may have been which he repulsed was a very unimportant matter.

<sup>106</sup> τὰ κατὰ τὸν Τέλλον, “Tellus and his story.”

<sup>107</sup> ἐκκλησιόμενοι δὲ τῇ ὥρῃ, “under necessity in the matter of the time,” literally, “shut out from other courses.” Herodotus uses the word ἐξέργεσθαι in the same manner, vii. 139: ἐνθαυτα ἀναγκαίῃ ἐξέργομαι γνάμην ἀποδέξασθαι ἐπιφθονον; ix. 111: ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου ἐξεργάμενος.

<sup>107</sup> τεθνάναι μᾶλλον ἢ ζῶειν. PINDAR in a work now lost (see PLUTARCH, *Consolati. ad Apollon.* p. 109) related

that Trophonius and Agamedes, who were the builders of the pentathalon adytum in the Delphic temple (ΣΤΕΡΕ. BYZANT. v. Δελφοί), requested a reward from the deity. He told them that he would give them one in seven days’ time, and in the mean time desired them to indulge in festivity. On the seventh night they went to bed, and never woke again. The ethopoeic identity of this legend with that given by Herodotus is patent. See note 116, below.

<sup>108</sup> Κλέοβι. See note 132, below.

<sup>109</sup> ἀνέθεσαν ἐς Δελφοὺς. The statues were probably of brass. In the temple of Apollo Lycius at Argos there was a group in marble, apparently a bas-relief,

32  
Croesus is  
offended,  
and Solon  
urges the  
uncertainty  
of human  
prosperity.

Σόλων μὲν δὴ εὐδαιμονίης δευτερεῖα ἔνεμε τούτοισι. Κροῖσος δὲ σπερχθεὶς εἶπε “ὦ ξεῖνε Ἀθηναῖε, ἡ δὲ ἡμετέρη εὐδαιμονίη οὕτω τοι ἀπέρριπται ἐς τὸ μηδὲν, ὥστε οὐδὲ ἰδιωτέων ἀνδρῶν ἀξιούς ἡμέας ἐποίησας;” ὁ δὲ εἶπε “ὦ Κροῖσε, ἐπιστάμενόν με τὸ θεῖον πᾶν ἔδν φθονερόν τε καὶ ταραχώδες<sup>110</sup>, ἐπειρωτᾶς ἀνθρωπῶν πρηγμάτων περί; ἐν γὰρ τῷ μακρῷ χρόνῳ<sup>111</sup> πολλὰ μὲν ἐστὶ ἰδέειν τὰ μὴ τις ἐθέλει, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ παθέειν. ἐς γὰρ ἐβδομήκοντα ἔτεα οὖρον τῆς ζῆς ἀνθρώπων προτίθην· οὗτοι ἐόντες ἐνιαυτοὶ ἐβδομήκοντα, παρέχονται ἡμέρας διηκοσίας καὶ πεντακισχιλίας καὶ δισμυρίας [ἐμβολῆμον μηνὸς μὴ γινωμένου. εἰ δὲ δὴ ἐθέλῃσει τοῦτερον τῶν ἐτέων μηνὶ μακρότερον γίνεσθαι, ἵνα δὴ αἱ ὥραι συμβαίνωσι παραγινόμεναι ἐς τὸ δέον, μήνες μὲν παρὰ τὰ ἐβδομήκοντα ἔτεα οἱ ἐμβολῆμοι γίνονται τρήκοντα πέντε· ἡμέραι δὲ ἐκ τῶν μηνῶν τούτων, χίλιναι πεντήκοντα<sup>112</sup>.] τούτέων [τῶν ἀπασέων ἡμερέων, τῶν ἐς τὰ ἐβδομήκοντα ἔτεα ἐουσέων πεντήκοντα καὶ διηκοσίων καὶ ἑξακισχιλιέων καὶ δισμυριέων], ἡ ἐτέρη αὐτέων τῇ ἐτέρῃ ἡμέρῃ τὸ παράπαν οὐδὲν ὁμοῖον προσάγει

representing the same subject, and including the car with the priestess in it (PAUSANIAS, ii. 20, 5). But in the time of Solon no statues existed in any other material than wood or hammered metal. In illustration of the accuracy of temple traditions respecting statues, it may be instructive to observe on the present occasion that, in this same temple of the Lycian Apollo at Argos, there was a figure of a man (said to be Biton) carrying a bull on his shoulders, and, according to the fiction of LYCEAS of Naucratis, this commemorated a feat of Biton's in carrying a bull from Argos to Nemea on the occasion of a feast to Zeus. But, in the time of PAUSANIAS, the Argives themselves took a very different view of the matter, and burnt fire before the figure, which they professed to represent Phoroneus, who in the Argive traditions took the place of Prometheus as the bestower of that element upon mankind (ii. 19, 5).

<sup>110</sup> τὸ θεῖον πᾶν ἔδν φθονερόν τε καὶ ταραχώδες. See note on iii. 40.

<sup>111</sup> ἐν τῷ μακρῷ χρόνῳ, “in the long-run.” Compare SOPH. *Ajac.* 646:

ἅπανθ' ὁ μακρὸς κἀναρίθμητος χρόνος  
φύει τ' ἔδηλα καὶ φανέτα κρύπτεται.

<sup>112</sup> It is agreed on all hands that this

computation of time by Solon is utterly erroneous; but whether this arises from a corruption of the MSS, or from a misunderstanding on the part of Herodotus, is not clear. The former hypothesis is rendered more probable by the circumstance, that PLUTARCH, in the tract *De Malignitate Herodoti*, does not censure this most patent error. It seems not unlikely that the difficulty mainly arises from the incorporation into the text of a marginal calculation made by an ignorant reader, who, being forgetful of the fact that Herodotus here (as he does in iii. 90, and as he praises the Egyptians for doing in ii. 4) makes the year to consist of 360 days, and, knowing the practice of the Athenians to correct their year (which was a lunar one) by the interpolation of a supplementary month, wrote in the margin the part which has been printed between brackets. This supposition is strengthened by the clause, ἵνα δὴ αἱ ὥραι συμβαίνωσι παραγινόμεναι ἐς τὸ δέον: for the intercalary month, which did effect this end in the Athenian calendar, would only increase the divergency if interpolated as the text requires. For a full explanation of the necessity of an intercalary month and of its operation, see Excursus at the end of this book.

πρήγμα. οὐτω ὦν, ὦ Κροῖσε, πᾶν ἐστὶ ἄνθρωπος συμφορῇ. ἐμοὶ δὲ σὺ καὶ πλουτέειν μὲν μέγα φαίνεαι, καὶ βασιλεὺς εἶναι πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων· ἐκεῖνο δὲ τὸ εἶρεό με, οὐκω σε ἐγὼ λέγω, πρὶν ἂν τελευτήσαντα καλῶς τὸν αἰῶνα πύθωμαι. οὐ γάρ τοι ὁ μέγα πλούσιος<sup>113</sup> μᾶλλον τοῦ ἐπ' ἡμέρην ἔχοντος ὀλβιώτερός ἐστι, εἰ μὴ οἱ τύχῃ ἐπίσποιτο, πάντα καλὰ ἔχοντα τελευτῆσαι εὖ τὸν βίον. πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ ζάπλουτοι ἀνθρώπων ἀνὸλβιοὶ εἰσι· πολλοὶ δὲ μετρίως ἔχοντες βίου εὐτυχέες· ὁ μὲν δὴ μέγα πλούσιος, ἀνὸλβιος δὲ, δυοῖσι προέχει τοῦ εὐτυχέος μούνοισι· οὗτος δὲ τοῦ πλουσίου καὶ ἀνολβίου πολλοῖσι· ὁ μὲν ἐπιθυμῆν ἐκτελέσαι καὶ αἴτην μεγάλῃν προσπεσοῦσαν ἐνείκαι δυνατώτερος· ὁ δὲ τοισίδε προέχει ἐκείνου αἴτην μὲν καὶ ἐπιθυμῆν οὐκ ὁμοίως δυνατὸς ἐκείνῳ ἐνείκαι, ταῦτα δὲ ἡ εὐτυχίῃ οἱ ἀπερύκει· ἀπῆρος δὲ ἐστὶ, ἄνουςος, ἀπαθὴς κακῶν, εὔπαις, εὐειδής· εἰ δὲ πρὸς τοῦτοισι ἔτι τελευτήσῃ τὸν βίον εὖ, οὗτος ἐκείνος τὸν σὺ ζητεῖς ὀλβιος κεκλήσθαι ἄξιός ἐστι· πρὶν δ' ἂν τελευτήσῃ, ἐπισχέειν, μηδὲ καλέειν κω ὀλβιον ἀλλ' εὐτυχέα<sup>114</sup>. τὰ πάντα μὲν νῦν ταῦτα συλλαβεῖν ἄνθρωπον εὐντα ἀδύνατόν ἐστι, ὥσπερ χώρῃ οὐδεμία καταρκέει πάντα ἐωντῇ παρέχουσα, ἀλλὰ ἄλλο μὲν ἔχει ἐτέρου δὲ ἐπιδέεται· ἡ δὲ ἂν τὰ πλείστα ἔχῃ, ἀρίστη αὕτη· ὥς δὲ καὶ ἀνθρώπου σῶμα ἐν οὐδὲν αὐταρκές ἐστι· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔχει, ἄλλου δὲ ἐνδεές ἐστι· ὃς δ' ἂν αὐτῶν πλείστα ἔχων διατελέῃ, καὶ ἔπειτα τελευτήσῃ εὐχαρίστως τὸν βίον, οὗτος παρ' ἐμοὶ<sup>115</sup> τὸ οὖνομα

<sup>113</sup> οὐ γάρ τοι ὁ μέγα πλούσιος. The remainder of Solon's speech shows strikingly the influence exerted by the sophistical ἐπιτελείς which began to be so fashionable in the time of our author. It is a washy essay on the contrast between the πλούσιος and the εὐτυχής, and might have proceeded from the mouth of Protagoras, or Hippias, or any other of the μεριμνηταὶ λόγων alluded to by Euripides in the passage quoted in the next note. A similar sophistical performance in the character of Croesus may be seen in iii. § 36. The words which PLATO puts into the mouth of Hippias, the celebrated sophist, admirably describe the type of that style of composition: καὶ ναὶ μὰ Δί', ὦ Ζῶκράτες, περὶ γε ἐπιτελευμάτων καλῶν ἡ χρὴ τὸν νέον ἐπιτελεῖν, ἐστὶ μοι περὶ αὐτῶν πάγκαλος λόγος συγκείμενος, καὶ ἄλλως εὖ διακείμενος καὶ τοῖς ὀνόμασι.

πρόσχημα δέ μοι ἐστὶ καὶ ἀρχὴ τοῖδ' ἐστὶς τοῦ λόγου· ἐπειδὴ ἡ Τροία ἦλω, λέγει ὁ λόγος ὅτι Νεοπτόλεμος Νέστορα ἔρωτο ποῖά ἐστι καλὰ ἐπιτελευμάτα, ἃ ἂν τις ἐπιτελεύσας νέος ὦν εὐδοκίματος γένοιτο; μετὰ ταῦτα δὴ λέγων ἐστὶν ὁ Νέστωρ καὶ ὑποτιθέμενος αὐτῷ πάμπολλα νόμιμα καὶ πάγκαλα. (Hipp. Maj. p. 286.)

<sup>114</sup> 26. ἀλλ' εὐτυχέα. Compare EUSEB. Med. 1225:

τὰ θνητὰ δ' οὐ νῦν πρῶτον ἡγήομαι σκιάν. οὐδ' ἂν τρέσας εἴποιμι τοὺς σοφοὺς βροτῶν δοκοῦντας εἶναι καὶ μεριμνητὰς λόγων, τοὺς τοὺς μεγίστην μαρίαν ὀφλισκάνειν· θνητῶν γὰρ οὐδεὶς ὅστιν εὐδαίμων ἀνὴρ· ὄλβου δ' ἐπιβρύεντος εὐτυχέστερος ἄλλου γένοιτ' ἂν ἄλλος, εὐδαίμων δ' ἂν οὐ.

<sup>115</sup> παρ' ἐμοί, "in my judgment." Compare iii. 160, παρὰ Δαρεῖφ κριτῇ.

τοῦτο, ὃ βασιλεῦ, δίκαιός ἐστι φέρεσθαι. σκοπέειν δὲ χρή παν-  
 τὸς χρήματος τὴν τελευτήν<sup>116</sup> κῆ ἀποβήσεται πολλοῖσι γὰρ δὴ  
 33 ὑποδέξας ἄλβον ὁ θεὸς, προορίζους ἀνέτρεψε." Ταῦτα λέγων τῷ  
 Κροίσῳ οὐ κως οὔτε ἐχαρίζετο, οὔτε λόγου μιν ποιησάμενος οὐδε-  
 νὸς ἀποπέμπεται, κάρτα δόξας ἀμαθέα<sup>117</sup> εἶναι, ὃς τὰ παρῶντα  
 ἀγαθὰ μετεῖς τὴν τελευτὴν παντὸς χρήματος ὁρᾶν ἐκέλευε.

He is sent  
 away in dis-  
 favour.

34 Μετὰ δὲ Σόλωνα οἰχόμενον<sup>118</sup>, ἔλαβε ἐκ θεοῦ νέμεσις μεγάλη  
 Κροίσον (ὡς εἰκάσαι, ὅτι ἐνόμισε ἐωντὸν εἶναι ἀνθρώπων ἀπάν-  
 των ὀλβιώτατον) αὐτίκα δὲ οἱ εὖδοντι ἐπέστη δνειρος, ὃς οἱ τὴν  
 ἀληθειὴν ἔφαυε τῶν μελλόντων γενέσθαι κακῶν κατὰ τὸν παῖδα.  
 ἦσαν δὲ τῷ Κροίσῳ δύο παῖδες, τῶν οὐτερος μὲν διέφθαρτο, (ἦν γὰρ  
 δὴ κωφός<sup>119</sup>), ὁ δὲ ἕτερος τῶν ἡλικίων μακρῷ τὰ πάντα πρῶτος

Croesus  
 dreams that  
 his son will  
 be slain by  
 a pointed  
 weapon;

<sup>116</sup> σκοπέειν δὲ χρή παντὸς χρήματος τὴν τελευτήν. This is the most general form of the celebrated ethical sentiment attributed to Solon, which in its more practical shape forms the beginning of one of Sophocles's plays (*Trachiniae*) and the end of another (*Edipus Tyrannus*). It has been supposed that the historian actually derived the sentiment from the writings of the poet; and, if there were no alternative between adopting this view and accepting this narrative in the text as a faithful historical record, the supposition would certainly be the more tolerable of the two courses. But there can be little doubt that gnomic sentiments of this kind had been the common property of the Hellenic people for two or three centuries before the Peloponnesian war. They were attributed in common belief to one or other of the wise politicians who had gained reputation as σοφοί; and sometimes transmitted through the medium of fables (*ἀπόλογοι*), sometimes embodied in narratives of which the *dramatis personae* were historical or mythological personages. See note 107, above. Some of them were inscribed in the vestibule of the temple at Delphi. Two of them, Μῆδ' ἐγὼν and Γῶδ' ἰσθύνον, are mentioned by PLATO (*Protag.* p. 342), who says, half in jest, that the so-called Seven Sages contributed each one as an offering to the god. Another favourite method of giving them publicity was to inscribe them on the Hermæ, which were placed in the streets. Thus we have μῆμα τὸδ' Ἰσθύνον στείχε δίκαια φρονῶν and μῆμα τὸδ' Ἰσθύνον μὴ φίλον ἔξαιντα. Aristotle made a collection of

these proverbs, which is unfortunately lost. He is said to have regarded them as fragmentary remains of ancient wisdom that had been swept away in the great revolutions of the human species, and as owing their own preservation to their brevity and pregnancy. See the note on § 155.

<sup>117</sup> ἀμαθέα. Gaisford and one MS (S) ἀμαθής. The sentence is a very obscure one from the confusion of the construction, if it be not corrupt. The subject of ἐχαρίζετο is Solon; that of ἀποπέμπεται, Croesus. The middle form implies a neglect on the part of the monarch, "has him sent away."

<sup>118</sup> μετὰ Σόλωνα οἰχόμενον. See note on ii. 147, and note 127, below.

<sup>119</sup> ἦν γὰρ δὴ κωφός. The rule has been laid down by EUSTATHIUS that by the word κωφός the early Greek writers understood a *dumb* person only, but that the later applied it also to denote a *deaf* one. Herodotus would be an exception to this rule, if the words διεφθαρμένον τὴν ἀκοήν (which occur below, § 38) are genuine. But it seems not improbable that they are an interpretation by a commentator who took the word κωφός in this place to mean *deaf*. It is quite clear from the story of the son miraculously speaking (i. 85) that it was his *dumbness* which was his characteristic in the story concerning him. No doubt he might have been *deaf* too, as total deafness, when congenital, almost invariably produces dumbness. But the rule of Eustathius seems to be only so far well founded, that in the early times κωφός expressed that deficiency of per-

οὐνομα δέ οἱ ἦν Ἄτυς· τοῦτον δὴ ὦν τὸν Ἄτυν σημαίνει τῷ Κροίσῳ ὁ δνείρος, ὡς ἀπολέει μιν αἰχμῇ σιδηρῇ βληθέντα· ὁ δὲ ἐπεὶ τε ἐξεγέρθη καὶ ἐνωτῷ λόγον ἔδωκε, καταρραδῆσας τὸν δνείρον, ἄγεται μὲν τῷ παιδὶ γυναικα· ἐωθότα δὲ στρατηγέειν μιν τῶν Δυδῶν οὐδαμῇ ἔτι ἐπὶ τοιοῦτο πρῆγμα ἐξέπεμπε· ἀκόντια δὲ καὶ δοράτια καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα πάντα τοῖσι χρέονται ἐς πόλεμον ἄνθρωποι, ἐκ τῶν ἀνδρεῶνων ἐκκομίσας ἐς τοὺς θαλάμους συνένησε, μή τι οἱ<sup>130</sup> κρεμάνεον τῷ παιδὶ ἐμπέση. Ἐχοντος δὲ οἱ ἐν χειρὶ 35 τοῦ παιδὸς τὸν γάμον, ἀπικνέεται ἐς τὰς Σάρδεις ἀνὴρ συμφορῇ ἔχόμενος καὶ οὐ καθαρὸς χεῖρας ἔων<sup>131</sup>, Φρυξὲ μὲν γενεῇ, γένεος

takes measures to prevent the misfortune.

Adrastus arrives at Sardia.

ception which is exhibited by those who are both deaf and dumb, ἀνεταίσθησια. (See *Etymologicum Magnum*, v. κωφός). As dumbness is the most observable phenomenon arising out of this condition, the term at first always referred to this. Afterwards, when the want of perception came to be resolved into its component parts, κωφός was applied to the one or the other defect, because both were included in its original meaning of "senseless."

<sup>130</sup> οἱ. The so-called pleonastic use of the pronoun may be expressed by the familiar English, "lest he should have any thing hanging up fall upon the lad."

<sup>131</sup> συμφορῇ ἔχόμενος καὶ οὐ καθαρὸς χεῖρας ἔων. These words describe the case of a person who had committed an involuntary homicide, and in consequence was a proper subject for the process of purification and ultimate restoration to his civil rights; which would not be the case with a wilful murderer. The idea which formed the foundation of the whole ceremonial, was, that the blood of the slain man clave to the hand of the slayer (μύσος), bringing a curse both upon himself and all who should hold any converse with him. The term which technically expressed this condition was παλαμναῖος. Supposing the homicide to be of a kind falling short of wilful murder, the criminal betook himself to a neighbouring country and applied for protection, not merely as an ordinary suppliant (ἱκέτης), but as one seeking purification (προστροπαῖος). As converse with him would convey the contagion of his guilt, he uttered no words, but entered the house carrying an olive-branch tied with a fillet of wool, and took up his station at the hearth in silence. If the host chose

to comply with the mute request, he was said to compassionate him (αἰδεῖσθαι), but the two held no communication with one another until purification had taken place. The guest had food served to him at a separate table, and ate it in silence. Orestes (who is the mythological representative of a παλαμναῖος) thus describes his reception at Athens:—

οἱ δ' ἔσχον αἰδῶ ξένια μονοτράπεζά μοι παρῆσχον, ὅκων ὄντες ἐν ταῖσι στέγαι, σιγῇ δ' ἐτεκμήναντ' ἀπόφθεγκτόν μ', ὥπως δαυτὸς γενόμεν πάματος τ' αὐτῶν δίχα·

πὰρ γὰρ ἑλεγγεῖαι μὲν ξένους οὐκ ἤλουν, ἤλουν δὲ σιγῇ καθόκουσιν οὐκ εἰδέναι, μέγα στενάζων, ὄνρεκ' ἦν μητρὸς φονεὺς.

EURIPIDES, *Iph. Taur.* 949, seqq.

But after his purification, when he appears at Athens before the statue of Athene (*Æsch. Eumenid.* 445) seeking for further protection, the ban has been removed, and, although still a ἱκέτης, he says of himself:—

οὐκ εἰμι προστροπαῖος, οὐδ' ἔχει μύσος πρὸς χειρὶ τῇ· μὴ τὸ σὺν ἐφημένη βρέτας· τεκμήριον δὲ τῶνδ' εἰ σοὶ λέξω μέγα· ἔσθ' ἂν πρὸς ἀνδρὸς αἵματος καθαρσίου σφαγαὶ καθαυμένησι νεοθήλου βοτοῦ. πάλαι πρὸς ἄλλοις ταῦτ' ἀφιερύμεθα οἴκοισι καὶ βοτοῖσι καὶ βοτοῖς πόροισι.

The form of purification was for the suppliant to stand upon the fleece of a black sheep. A jet of blood from a young sucking-pig was made to fall upon his hand, and this was washed off into the fleece by a stream of water poured upon it. This symbolized the removal of blood-guiltiness, and the fleece with the blood (λόματα) was buried in the earth. Müller (by whom this subject was first thoroughly

δὲ τοῦ βασιλῆων παρελθὼν δὲ οὗτος ἐς τὰ Κροίσου οἰκία, κατὰ νόμους τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους καθαρσίῳ ἐδέετο κυρῆσαι· Κροῖσος δὲ μιν ἐκάθηρε (ἔστι δὲ παραπλησίη ἡ κάθαρσις τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι καὶ τοῖσι "Ἑλλησι") ἐπεὶ τε δὲ τὰ νομιζόμενα ἐποίησε ὁ Κροῖσος, ἐπυνθά-  
νετο ὁκόθεν τε καὶ τίς εἴη<sup>123</sup>, λέγων τάδε "ὦνθρωπε, τίς τε ἐὼν καὶ  
κόθεν τῆς Φρυγίης ἦκων ἐπίστιος ἐμοὶ ἐγένεο; τίνα τε ἀνδρῶν ἢ  
γυναικῶν ἐφόνευσας;" ὁ δὲ ἀμείβετο "ὦ βασιλεῦ, Γορδῖεω μὲν  
τοῦ Μιδεῶ εἰμι παῖς, οὐνομάζομαι δὲ Ἀδρηστος· φονεύσας δὲ ἀδελ-  
φεὸν ἐμεωυτοῦ ἀέκων, πάρειμι ἐξεληλαμένος τε ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ  
ἐστερημένος πάντων." Κροῖσος δὲ μιν ἀμείβετο τοῖσδε "ἀν-  
δρῶν τε φίλων τυγχάνεις ἔκγονος ἐὼν, καὶ ἐλλήλυθας ἐς φίλους·  
ἔνθα ἀμνηχανήσεις χρήματος οὐδενὸς μένων ἐν ἡμετέρῳ<sup>124</sup>. συμ-  
φορὴν δὲ ταύτην ὡς κουφότατα φέρων κερδανέεις πλείστον." ὁ  
μὲν δὴ δίαίταν εἶχε ἐν Κροίσου.

36

The Mysians apply for aid against a wild boar, which lays waste their fields.

Ἐν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ, ἐν τῷ Μυσίῳ Οὐλύμπῳ<sup>124</sup> σὺς  
χρήμα γίνεται μέγα· ὀρμεώμενος δὲ οὗτος ἐκ τοῦ οὐρεος τούτου τὰ  
τῶν Μυσῶν ἔργα διαφθείρεσκε· πολλὰκι δὲ οἱ Μυσοὶ ἐπ' αὐτὸν  
ἐξεληθόντες, ποιεέσκον μὲν οὐδὲν κακὸν, ἔπασχον δὲ πρὸς αὐτοῦ·  
τέλος δὲ, ἀπικόμενοι παρὰ τὸν Κροῖσον τῶν Μυσῶν ἄγγελοι ἔλε-  
γον τάδε "ὦ βασιλεῦ, υἱὸς χρήμα μέγιστον ἀνεφάνη ἡμῖν ἐν τῇ  
χώρῃ, ὃς τὰ ἔργα διαφθείρει· τοῦτον προθυμεόμενοι ἐλέειν οὐ  
δυνάμεθα· νῦν ὦν προσδεόμεθά σε, τὸν παῖδα καὶ λογάδας  
νεηνίας καὶ κύνας συμπέμψαι ἡμῖν, ὡς ἂν μιν ἐξέλωμεν ἐκ τῆς  
χώρης." οἱ μὲν δὴ τούτων ἐδέοντο· Κροῖσος δὲ μνημονεύων τοῦ  
ὀνείρου τὰ ἔπεα ἔλεγέ σφι τάδε "παῖδός μὲν πέρι τοῦ ἐμοῦ μὴ  
μνησθῆτε ἔτι· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ὑμῖν συμπέμψαιμι· νεόγαμός τε γάρ  
ἐστι, καὶ ταῦτά οἱ νῦν μέλει· Λυδῶν μέντοι λογάδας καὶ τὸ  
κυνηγέσιον πᾶν συμπέμψω, καὶ διακελεύσομαι τοῖσι ἰούσι, εἶναι

elucidated, in his edition of the *Eumenides* shows very clearly that the whole proceeding is one grafted on to the old Pelasgian worship of Demeter Krinys. A very beautiful description of the purification of Jason and Medea after the slaughter of Absyrtēs, is given by APOLLONIUS RHODIUS (iv. 685—717).

<sup>123</sup> ἐπεὶ τε . . . ἐπυνθάνετο ὁκόθεν τε καὶ τίς εἴη. It will be observed that Croesus puts no question to him till he has purified him. See the last note.

<sup>124</sup> ἐν ἡμετέρῳ. These words are equivalent to ἐν ἡμῶν, both here and in vii. 8, δόσω οἱ δῶρα τὰ τιμώτατα νομίζεται εἶναι ἐν ἡμετέρῳ.

<sup>124</sup> ἐν τῷ Μυσίῳ Οὐλύμπῳ. There were no less than four peaks of Mount Ida bearing the name of Olympus. The Mysian Olympus was a fifth, being a mountain conterminous with Mount Ida, but not forming a part of it. STRABO (x. c. 3, p. 362).



ὥς προθυμοτάτοις συνεξέλειν ὑμῖν τὸ θηρίον ἐκ τῆς χώρας." Ταῦτα ἀμείψατο· ἀποχρεωμένων<sup>125</sup> δὲ τοῦτοις τῶν Μυσῶν, ἐπεισ- 37

έρχεται ὁ τοῦ Κροίσου παῖς ἀκηκῶς τῶν ἐδέοντο οἱ Μυσοί· οὐ φαιμένου δὲ τοῦ Κροίσου τόν γε παῖδ' αὖ σφι συμπέμψειν, λέγει πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ νεηνίης τάδε· "ὦ πάτερ, τὰ κάλλιστα πρότερόν κοτε καὶ γενναυότατα ἡμῖν ἦν, ἔς τε πολέμους καὶ ἐς ἄγρας φοιτέοντας εὐδοκίμειν νῦν δὲ ἀμφοτέρων με τούτων ἀποκληῖσας ἔχεις, οὔτε

His son obtains permission to go and hunt the boar.

τινὰ δειλίην μοι παριδὼν οὔτε ἄθυμην. νῦν τε τέοισί με χρή ὄμμασι ἔς τε ἀγορὴν καὶ ἐξ ἀγορῆς φοιτέοντα<sup>126</sup> φαῖνεσθαι; κοῖος μὲν τις τοῖσι πολήτησι δόξω εἶναι; κοῖος δὲ τις τῇ νεογάμῳ γυναικί; κοῖα δὲ ἐκεῖνη δόξει ἀνδρὶ συνοικέειν; ἐμὲ ὦν σὺ ἡ μέθες ἰέναι ἐπὶ τὴν θήρην, ἣ λόγῳ ἀνάπεισον ὅπως μοι ἀμείνω ἐστὶ ταῦτα οὕτω ποιεόμενα<sup>127</sup>." Ἀμείβεται Κροῖσος τοῖσδε· "ὦ παῖ, οὔτε 38

δειλίην οὔτε ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἄχαρι παριδὼν τοι ποιεῶ ταῦτα· ἀλλὰ μοι ὄψις ὄνειρου ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ ἐπιστάσα ἔφη σε ὀλιγοχρόνιον ἔσσεσθαι· ὑπὸ γὰρ αἰχμῆς σιδηρῆς ἀπολέεσθαι. πρὸς ὦν τὴν ὄψιν ταύτην<sup>128</sup>, τόν τε γάμον τοι τοῦτον ἔσπενσα καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ παραλαμβανόμενα<sup>129</sup> οὐκ ἀποπέμπω, φυλακὴν ἔχων εἰ κως δυνάμην ἐπὶ τῆς ἐμῆς σε ζῆς διακλέψαι. εἰς γὰρ μοι μῦθος τυγχάνεις ἐὼν παῖς τὸν γὰρ δὴ ἕτερον, διεφθαρμένον τὴν ἀκοήν<sup>130</sup>, οὐκ εἶναι μοι λογιζομαι." Ἀμείβεται ὁ νεηνίης τοῖσδε· "συγγνώμη μὲν, ὦ πάτερ, 39  
τοὶ ἰδόντι γε ὄψιν τοιαύτην περὶ ἐμὲ φυλακὴν ἔχειν τὸ δὲ οὐ μαυθάνεις ἀλλὰ λέλθῃ σε τὸ ὄνειρον<sup>131</sup>, ἐμὲ τοι δικάϊον ἐστὶ

<sup>125</sup> ἀποχρεωμένων, "being satisfied with." The verb is used transitively again in i. 102, οὐκ ἀπεχρέετο. But it is used impersonally and as equivalent to ἀπέχρη in viii. 14, καὶ σφι ἀπεχρέετο κακῶς πρῆσσουσι ἡσυχίην ἄγειν ἐν τῷ παρόντι.

<sup>126</sup> ἔς τε ἀγορὴν καὶ ἐξ ἀγορῆς φοιτέοντα. The *agora*, being the place of resort and greatest publicity in the Hellenic republics, is transferred by the Hellenic narrator to Lydia, without any regard to the propriety of the allusion in the mouth of an Eastern prince. See a similar impropriety, arising from a similar cause, in the speech of Croesus, iii. 36.

<sup>127</sup> ταῦτα οὕτω ποιεόμενα. Compare above, i. 34, μετὰ Σόλωνα οἰχόμενον.

<sup>128</sup> πρὸς ὦν τὴν ὄψιν ταύτην, "having regard then to this vision."

<sup>129</sup> ἐπὶ τὰ παραλαμβανόμενα. Schweig-

hauser interprets this expression to mean, "to the matter I have in hand." A better version would be "to the matter of which news is brought me." παραλαμβάνειν is, quite as much as παραδίδωμι, the correlative term of παραδίδωμι, and properly means "to receive any thing which is passed on from others." The identification of the news with the thing which is the subject of the news belongs to the modes of thought of Herodotus's time. See the note on § 209.

<sup>130</sup> διεφθαρμένον τὴν ἀκοήν. See above, note 119.

<sup>131</sup> τὸ δὲ οὐ μαυθάνεις ἀλλὰ λέλθῃ σε τὸ ὄνειρον, "but the point which you do not comprehend, and where the vision escapes your interpretation." It is not a true explanation of this construction to say that κατὰ is to be understood with τὸ. The words κατὰ δὲ are to be in-

φράζειν. φῆς τοι τὸ ὄνειρον ὑπὸ αἰχμῆς σιδηρῆς φάναι ἐμὲ τελευτήσειν· υἱὸς δὲ κοῖαι μὲν εἰσι χεῖρες; κοῖη δὲ αἰχμὴ σιδηρῆ, ἣν σὺ φοβέαι; εἰ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ ὀδόντος τοι εἶπε τελευτήσειν με, ἢ ἄλλου τευ ὃ τι τούτῳ ἔοικε, χρὴν δὴ σε ποιεῖν τὰ ποιεῖς· νῦν δὲ ὑπὸ αἰχμῆς. ἐπεὶ τε ὦν οὐ πρὸς ἄνδρας ἡμῖν γίνεται ἡ μάχη,  
 40 μέθες με." Ἀμείβεται Κροῖσος "ὦ παῖ, ἔστι τῇ με νικᾶς γνώμην ἀποφαίνων περὶ τοῦ ἐνυπνίου ὥς ὦν νενικημένος ὑπὸ σέο, μεταγινώσκω· μετήμι τέ σε ἵεναι ἐπὶ τὴν ἄγρην."

41

Adrastus goes with him to protect him,

Εἵπας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Κροῖσος μεταπέμπεται τὸν Φρύγα Ἀδρηστον, ἀπικομένῳ δὲ οἱ λέγει τάδε· "Ἀδρηστο, ἐγὼ σε συμφορῇ πεπληγμένον ἀχάρι<sup>132</sup>, τήν τοι οὐκ ὀνειδίζω, ἐκάθηρα καὶ οἰκίοισι ὑποδεξάμενος ἔχω, παρέχων πᾶσαν δαπάνην· νῦν ὦν (ὀφείλεις γὰρ, ἐμεῦ προπονήσαντος χρηστὰ ἐς σέ, χρηστοῖσί με ἀμείβεσθαι) φύλακα παιδός σε τοῦ ἐμοῦ χρητίζω γενέσθαι ἐς ἄγρην ὀρμεομένου μή τινες κατ' ὁδὸν κλώπες κακοῦργοι ἐπὶ δηλήσει φανέωσι ὑμῖν πρὸς δὲ τούτῳ, καὶ σέ τοι χρεῶν ἔστι ἵεναι ἔνθα ἀπολαμπρύνεαι τοῖσι ἔργοισι· πατρῷόν τε γὰρ τοι ἔστι καὶ προσέτι βῶμη ὑπάρχει."  
 42 Ἀμείβεται ὁ Ἀδρηστος "ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἄλλως μὲν ἔγωγε ἂν οὐκ ἦα ἐς ἄεθλον τοιόνδε· οὔτε γὰρ συμφορῇ τοιῇδε κεκρημένον οἶκός ἐστι ἐς ὀμήλικας εὖ πρήσσοντας ἵεναι, οὔτε τὸ βούλεσθαι πάρα· πολλαχῇ τε ἂν ἴσχον ἐμεωυτόν. νῦν δὲ, ἐπεὶ τε σὺ σπεύδεις καὶ δεῖ τοι χαρίζεσθαι, (ὀφείλω γὰρ σε ἀμείβεσθαι χρηστοῖσι), ποιεῖν εἰμι ἐτοῖμος ταῦτα· παῖδά τε σὸν τὸν διακελεύεαι φυλάσσειν, ἀπήμονα τοῦ φυλάσσοντος εἵνεκεν προσδόκα τοι ἀπονοστήσειν."

43

and by accident kills him with a javelin.

Τοιοῦτοισι ἐπεὶ τε οὗτος ἀμείψατο Κροῖσον, ἦσαν μετὰ ταῦτα ἐξηρτυμένοι λογάσι τε νηνίησι καὶ κυσί. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐς τὸν Οὐλυμπον τὸ ὄρος ἐξίτηον τὸ θηρίον, εὐρόντες δὲ καὶ περιστάντες αὐτὸ κύκλῳ ἐσηκόντιζον· ἔνθα δὴ ὁ ξείνος, οὗτος δὴ ὁ καθαρθεὶς τὸν φόνον καλεόμενος δὲ Ἀδρηστος, ἀκοντίζων τὸν σὺν, τοῦ μὲν ἀμαρτάνει τυγχάνει δὲ τοῦ Κροῖσου παιδός. ὁ μὲν δὴ βληθεὶς τῇ αἰχμῇ ἐξέπλησε τοῦ ὀνείρου τὴν φήμην<sup>133</sup>. ἔθεε δὲ τις ἀγγελέων τῷ

ferentially supplied in the second clause, gathered from the sense of the first.

<sup>132</sup> ἀχάρι. This anomalous form of the dative case may perhaps be illustrated by the dative Κλέοβι, which appears in

i. 31; but it seems to imply a mode of inflection of ἄχαρις for which there is no authority, viz. ἀχάριος, ἀχάρι.

<sup>133</sup> φήμην. This is the reading of all the MSS but S. This manuscript, both

Κροίσῳ τὸ γεγονός· ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐς τὰς Σάρδεις, τήν τε μάχην  
καὶ τὸν τοῦ παιδὸς μόνον ἐσήμνηε οἱ. Ὁ δὲ Κροῖσος τῷ θανάτῳ **44**  
τοῦ παιδὸς συντεταραγμένος, μᾶλλον τι ἐδεινολογέετο ὅτι μιν Croesus in  
grief in-  
vokes Zeus  
Catharsius,  
ἀπέκτεινε τὸν αὐτὸς φόνον ἐκάθηρε περιημεκτέων <sup>134</sup> δὲ τῇ συμ-  
φορῇ δεινῶς, ἐκάλεε μὲν Δία Καθάρσιον, μαρτυρούμενος τὰ ὑπὸ  
τοῦ ξείνου πεπονθὼς εἶη ἐκάλεε δὲ Ἐπίστιόν τε καὶ Ἐταιρήιον,  
τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον ὀνομάζων θεόν (τὸν μὲν Ἐπίστιον καλέων, διότι  
δὴ οἰκίοισι ὑποδεξάμενος τὸν ξεῖνον φονέα τοῦ παιδὸς ἐλάνθανε  
βόσκων τὸν δὲ Ἐταιρήιον, ὡς φύλακα συμπέμψας αὐτὸν εὐρήκοι  
πολεμώτατον.) Παρήσαν δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο οἱ Λυδοὶ φέροντες τὸν **45**  
νεκρὸν ὅπισθε δὲ εἶπετό οἱ ὁ φονεὺς. στὰς δὲ οὗτος πρὸ τοῦ but pardons  
Adrastus.  
νεκροῦ, παρεδίδου ἑωυτὸν Κροίσῳ προτείνων τὰς χεῖρας, ἐπι-  
κατασφάξαι μιν κελεύων τῷ νεκρῷ, λέγων τήν τε προτέριον ἑωυτοῦ  
συμφορὴν, καὶ ὡς ἐπ' ἐκείνῃ τὸν καθήραντα ἀπολωλεκῶς εἶη <sup>135</sup>.  
οὐδὲ οἱ εἶη βιώσιμον. Κροῖσος δὲ τούτων ἀκούσας, τὸν τε Ἀδρη-  
στον κατοικτεῖρει καί περ ἔων ἐν κακῷ οἰκίῳ τοσοῦτ'· καὶ λέγει  
πρὸς αὐτόν· “ἔχω, ὦ ξεῖνε, παρὰ σεῦ πᾶσαν τήν δίκην, ἐπειδὴ  
σεωντοῦ καταδικάζεις θάνατον εἰς δὲ οὐ σύ μοι τοῦδε τοῦ κακοῦ  
αἵτιος, εἰ μὴ ὅσον ἀέκων ἐξεργάσαιο, ἀλλὰ θεῶν κού τις ὅς μοι καὶ  
πάλαι προεσήμαινε τὰ μέλλοντα ἔσεσθαι.” Κροῖσος μὲν νυν  
ἔθαψε ὡς οἶκος ἦν τὸν ἑωυτοῦ παῖδα <sup>136</sup>. Ἀδρηστος δὲ ὁ Γορδίεω  
τοῦ Μίδεω, οὗτος δὴ ὁ φονεὺς μὲν τοῦ ἑωυτοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ γενόμενος  
φονεὺς δὲ τοῦ καθήραντος <sup>137</sup>, ἐπεὶ τε ἡσυχίῃ τῶν ἀνθρώπων

here and in iii. 153, has the form *φήμιν*, which Eustathius notes as especially Ionic. But in v. 72 all the MSS have the common form *φήμη*.

<sup>134</sup> *περιημεκτέων*. This word is used by Herodotus nearly as the equivalent to *δυσφορών*. It may generally be rendered by the English word “chafing,” or the Latin “*stomachans*.” See iii. 64: *περιημεκτήςας τῇ ἀπόρῃ συμφορῇ*. viii. 109: *οὔτοι μάλιστα ἐκπεφυγόντων περιημεκτέων, ὁρμάτῳ τε ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον πλάειν*.

<sup>135</sup> *τὸν καθήραντα ἀπολωλεκῶς εἶη*. A strange difficulty has been found here, from the erroneous supposition that the word *ἀπολωλεκῶς* expressed necessarily the destruction of animal life. But nothing is more common than for it to mean “having been the ruin of,” as here. The

expression which follows, *φονεὺς δὲ τοῦ καθήραντος*, is more violent; but, although not literally exact, it is in keeping with the feeling which may be supposed to have animated Adrastus, that he should represent himself as the slayer of the father through the only son.

<sup>136</sup> The Saneft MS (S) has here *Κροῖσος μὲν νυν ἔθαψε ὡς οἶκος ἦν θάψαι τὸν ἑωυτοῦ*. The same MS here begins to exhibit some extraordinary variations. In place of what appears in the text, it proceeds, “*Ἀδρηστος δὲ τῷ τύμβῳ Κροῖσος δὲ ἐπὶ δύο ἔτια ἐπένησε*.” In these variations it is supported by Wesseling's Vienna MS (V). See notes on i. 54. 73. and vi. 118.

<sup>137</sup> *φονεὺς δὲ τοῦ καθήραντος*. See note 135.

ἐγένετο περὶ τὸ σῆμα, συγγινωσκόμενος ἀνθρώπων εἶναι τῶν αὐτὸς ᾗειδε<sup>138</sup> βαρυσυμφωρότατος, ἐωντὸν ἐπικατασφάζει τῷ τύμβῳ. Κροῖσος δὲ ἐπὶ δύο ἔτεα ἐν πένθει μεγάλῳ καθήστο, τοῦ παιδὸς ἐστερημένος. Μετὰ δὲ, ἡ Ἀστυάγειω τοῦ Κναξάρω ἡγεμονίᾳ καταιρεθείσα ὑπὸ Κύρου τοῦ Καμβύσεω, καὶ τὰ τῶν Περσέων πρήγματα αὐξανόμενα, πένθεος μὲν Κροῖσον ἀπέπαυσε· ἐνέβησε δὲ ἐς φροντίδα, εἴ πως δύναιτο, πρὶν μεγάλους γενέσθαι τοὺς Πέρσας, καταλαβεῖν αὐτῶν αὐξανομένην<sup>139</sup> τὴν δύναμιν.

46

Croesus is diverted from his grief by the growth of the Persian power, and consults the oracles.

Μετὰ ὧν τὴν διάνοιαν ταύτην αὐτίκα ἀπεπειράτο τῶν μαντηῶν, τῶν τε ἐν Ἑλλήσι καὶ τοῦ ἐν Λιβύῃ<sup>140</sup>. διαπέμφας ἄλλους ἄλλῃ, τοὺς μὲν ἐς Δελφοὺς ἰέναι τοὺς δὲ ἐς Ἀβας<sup>141</sup> τὰς Φωκέων τοὺς δὲ ἐς Δωδώνην· οἱ δὲ τινες ἐπέμποντο παρὰ τε Ἀμφιάρων καὶ παρὰ Τροφώνιον<sup>142</sup>, οἱ δὲ τῆς Μιλησίνης ἐς Βραγχίδας. ταῦτα μὲν ἦν τὰ Ἑλληνικὰ μαντήια, ἐς τὰ ἀπέπεμψε μαντευσόμενος Κροῖσος· Λιβύης δὲ παρὰ Ἀμμωνα<sup>143</sup> ἀπέστειλε ἄλλους χρησόμενους. διέπεμπε δὲ πειρώμενος τῶν μαντηῶν ὅ τι φρονόειν, ὥς, εἰ φρονέοντα τὴν ἀληθινήν εὐρεθείη, ἐπειρηταί σφεα δεύτερα πέμπων εἰ ἐπιχειροί ἐπὶ Πέρσας στρατεύεσθαι; Ἐντειλάμενος δὲ τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι τάδε, ἀπέπεμπε ἐς τὴν διάπειραν τῶν χρηστηρίων· ἀπ' ἧς ἂν ἡμέρης ὀρμηθῶσι ἐκ Σαρδίων, ἀπὸ ταύτης ἡμερολογέοντας τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον, ἑκατοστῇ ἡμέρῃ χρῆσθαι τοῖσι

He first makes trial of their skill.

47

<sup>138</sup> ᾗειδε. This form, which is supported by the best MSS, would be derived from *ᾗειδε* (= *ᾗειδε*, which is found in *Iliad* xxii. 280. *Odyssey* ix. 205), by the elision of the penultimate *ε*, just as *ἐξίει* becomes in Herodotus *ἐξίει*. See note on i. 180, *ἐξίει*.

<sup>139</sup> καταλαβεῖν αὐξανομένην, "crush in its growth." See note on v. 21, *κατέλαβε σοφίᾳ*.

<sup>140</sup> τῶν τε ἐν Ἑλλήσι καὶ τοῦ ἐν Λιβύῃ. The manuscripts S and V have τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖσι (or Δελφίσι) καὶ τοῦ ἐν Λιβύῃ, and then proceed (with § 53) thus: τοῖσι δὲ πεμπομένοισι κήρυξι μετὰ δῶρων τοιαῦτα ἐνετέλλετο ἑρῶνται εἰ στρατεύηται ἐπὶ Πέρσας Κροῖσος, κ.τ.λ., in this manner entirely omitting the story relative to the trial of the oracles. See note on i. 53, *ἀμφοτέρων*.

<sup>141</sup> ἐς Ἀβας. The temple of Apollo at Abas was more ancient than that at Delphi (ΣΤΕΡΗ. BYZANT. voce Ἀβαι), and

prior to the Persian war seems to have vied with it in importance. See what Herodotus relates of its wealth, viii. 33. Hence the Phocians, after their victory over the Thessalian invaders (viii. 27) divided their thank-offerings equally between the two temples. The oracle was consulted on behalf of Mardonius, while he was in winter-quarters in Thessaly, together with those of Apollo Ismenius and Apollo Ptous, and also, as in the case of Croesus, responses were obtained by him from the shrines of Amphiaraus and Trophonius (viii. 134).

<sup>142</sup> παρὰ τε Ἀμφιάρων καὶ παρὰ Τροφώνιον. For the nature of these oracles, see note on i. 52, τῷ δὲ Ἀμφιάρῳ.

<sup>143</sup> παρὰ Ἀμμωνα. The affinity of the religious ideas which formed the basis of the worship at Dodona and Ammon appears from the legend related by Herodotus (ii. 55) as to the origin of the two oracles.

χρηστηρίοις, ἐπειρωτέοντας δ τι ποίεων τυγχάνοι ὁ Ἀνδῶν βασι-  
 λεὺς Κροῖσος ὁ Ἀλυάττεω; ἄσσα δ' ἂν ἕκαστα τῶν χρηστηρίων  
 θεσπίσῃ συγγραψάμενους ἀναφέρειν παρ' ἐαυτὸν δ τι μὲν νυν τὰ  
 λοιπὰ τῶν χρηστηρίων ἐθέσπισε, οὐ λέγεται πρὸς οὐδαμῶν <sup>144</sup>. ἐν  
 δὲ Δελφοῖσι ὡς ἐσηλθον τάχιστα ἐς τὸ μέγαρον οἱ Ἀνδοὶ χρησά-  
 μενοι τῷ θεῷ καὶ ἐπειρώτεον τὸ ἐντεταλμένον, ἡ Πυθίη ἐν  
 ἑξαμέτρῳ τόνῳ <sup>145</sup> λέγει τάδε

The answer  
of the rest  
is unknown;  
but the Del-  
phic oracle  
answers suc-  
cessfully,

Οἶδα δ' ἐγὼ ψάμμον τ' ἀριθμὸν, καὶ μέτρα θαλάσσης,  
 καὶ κωφὸν σνῆνιμι, καὶ οὐ φωνεῦντος ἀκούω.  
 ὁδὸν μ' ἐς φρένας ἦλθε κραταιαῖοιο χελώσης  
 ἐφομένης ἐν χαλαῇ ἡμ' ἀνέλοισι κρέσσει,  
 ἢ χαλκὸς μὲν ὑπέστρωται, χαλκὸν δ' ἐπίσται <sup>146</sup>.

Ταῦτα οἱ Ἀνδοὶ θεσπισίας τῆς Πυθίης συγγραψάμενοι, οἰχοντο 48  
 ἀπὸντες ἐς τὰς Σάρδεις. ὡς δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι οἱ περιπεμφθέντες  
 παρήσαν φέροντες τοὺς χρησμούς, ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Κροῖσος ἕκαστα  
 ἀναπτύσσων ἐπώρα τῶν συγγραμμάτων τῶν μὲν δὴ οὐδὲν προσ-  
 ἰετό μιν ὁ δὲ ὡς τὸ ἐκ Δελφῶν ἤκουσε, αὐτίκα προσεύχετό τε καὶ  
 προσεδέξατο, νομίσας μῦνον εἶναι μαντήιον τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖσι, ὅτι οἱ  
 ἐξευρήκει τὰ αὐτὸς ἐποίησε. ἐπεὶ τε γὰρ δὴ διέπεμψε παρὰ τὰ  
 χρηστήρια τοὺς θεοπρόπους <sup>147</sup>, φυλάξας τὴν κυρίην τῶν ἡμερῶν  
 ἐμψυχήσατο τοιαύδε, ἐπινοήσας τὰ ἦν ἀμήχανον ἐξευρεῖν τε καὶ

and Cressus  
regards it  
as the only  
trustworthy  
adviser,

<sup>144</sup> οὐ λέγεται πρὸς οὐδαμῶν. If the narrative rests on a Delphic tradition, it was to be expected that the response given by that oracle should alone be remembered.

<sup>145</sup> ἐν ἑξαμέτρῳ τόνῳ. This phrase is very difficult to explain. The word τόνος, as a musical term, is equivalent to the English "pitch;" but there are four passages in Herodotus (viz. i. 62. 174; v. 60, and the present) in which the meaning it requires corresponds to the English "measure." Of three of these passages, it is remarkable that they fall in portions of the text which are not included in the manuscripts S and V, and in all these the reference is to words which were spoken. If only these three existed in which the phrase was used, it would be more easily intelligible; for, as the oracles were delivered in a chant, ἑξαμέτρος τόνος and τριμέτρος τόνος might be taken to mean notes in which the voice was pitched, for the recitation of the hexameter and the

senarian iambic severally. But the fourth passage (v. 60) refers not to oral recitation, but to an inscription on a tripod. If, therefore, the words be not an interpolation in that passage (which exists in S and V as well as in the other MSS.), the word τόνος must in it be taken as simply equivalent to "metre," notwithstanding the tautologous expression which results therefrom.

<sup>146</sup> ἐπίσται. This form of the perfect passive from ἐπι-ἔννυμι is analogous to ἡμφίσται. The change of construction renders the passage somewhat obscure. The χελώνη is figuratively represented as having a couch of brass on which it reposes, and as having been arrayed in a robe of the same material. The reading χαλκὸς δ' ἐπίσται would entirely destroy the figure.

<sup>147</sup> τοὺς θεοπρόπους. Herodotus uses this word in the sense of θεωροὶ here and in several other places, e. g. i. 67; v. 79; vi. 57.

49  
with the ex-  
ception of  
Amphia-  
raus.

ἐπιφράσασθαι· χελώνην καὶ ἄρνα κατακόψας, ὁμοῦ ἔψεε αὐτὸς ἐν λέβητι χαλκῆφ χάλκεον ἐπίθημα ἐπιθείς. Τὰ μὲν δὴ ἐκ Δελφῶν οὕτω τῷ Κροίσῳ ἐχρήσθη· κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἀμφιάρεω [τοῦ μαντήτου<sup>148</sup>] ἀπόκρισιν, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν ὃ τι τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι ἔχρησε ποιήσασι περὶ τὸ ἱρὸν τὰ νομιζόμενα· οὐ γὰρ ὦν οὐδὲ τοῦτο λέγεται ἄλλο γε ἢ ὅτι καὶ τοῦτο ἐνόμισε μαντήτιον ἀψευδὲς ἐκτῆσθαι.

50  
Offerings of  
Cressus to  
the Delphic  
god;

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα θυσίησι μεγάλῃσι τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖσι θεὸν ἱλάσκετο· κτήνέα τε γὰρ τὰ θύσιμα πάντα τρισχίλια<sup>149</sup> ἔθυσε, κλίνας τε ἐπιχρύσους καὶ ἐπαργύρους καὶ φιάλας χρυσῆας καὶ εἴματα πορφύρεα καὶ κιθῶνας, νηήσας πυρὴν μεγάλην, κατέκαιε· ἐλπίζων τὸν θεὸν μᾶλλον τι τούτοις ἀνακτήσεσθαι· Λυδοῖσί τε πᾶσι προεῖπε, θύειν πάντα τινὰ αὐτῶν τούτῳ<sup>150</sup> ὃ τι ἔχοι ἕκαστος. ὥς δὲ ἐκ τῆς θυσίης ἐγένετο, καταχεάμενος χρυσὸν ἄπλετον<sup>151</sup>, ἡμιπλίνθια ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐξήλανε<sup>152</sup>. ἐπὶ μὲν τὰ μακρότερα, ποιεῶν ἐξαπάλαιστα· ἐπὶ δὲ τὰ βραχύτερα, τριπάλαιστα· ὕψος δὲ, παλαιστιαῖα· ἀριθμὸν δὲ, ἑπτακαίδεκα καὶ ἑκατὸν καὶ τουτέων, ἀπέφθου χρυσοῦ<sup>153</sup> τέσσαρα τρίτον ἡμιτάλαντον ἕκαστον ἔλκοντα, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα [ἡμιπλίνθια] λευκοῦ χρυσοῦ<sup>154</sup> σταθμὸν διτάλαντα. ἐποίεετο

<sup>148</sup> τοῦ μαντήτου. These words appear to be a gloss. The use of Herodotus is to speak of Amphiaras himself, not of his shrine. Thus viii. 134: ἐκέλευσέ σφας ὁ Ἀμφιάρεως διὰ χρηστηρίων ποιεόμενος. Above, § 46: ἐπέμποντο παρὰ τε Ἀμφιάρων καὶ παρὰ Τροφόνιον. Below, § 52: τῷ Ἀμφιάρεω. . . ἀνέθηκε σάκος χρύσεον πᾶν. In the text, if τοῦ μ. were not an interpolation, we should probably have τὴν τοῦ Ἀμφ. μαντήτου ἀπόκρισιν. But, even if grammatical usage were consistent with the phrase τ. Ἀ. τ. μ. ἀπ., it would not be in accordance with the idea of Amphiaras to speak of his oracle as separate from himself. See note on i. 52, τῷ δὲ Ἀμφιάρεω. If the words are not an interpolation, τοῦ μαντήτου ἀπόκρισιν must be taken together as one word signifying "an oracular response."

<sup>149</sup> πάντα τρισχίλια, "three thousand of every kind." See iv. 88, πᾶσι δέκα. ix. 81, Πανσάνην δὲ πάντα δέκα εξαρέθη τε καὶ ἐδόθη, γυναῖκες, ἵπποι, τάλαντα, κάμηλοι, ὥς δὲ αὐτῶς καὶ τὰ ἄλλα χρήματα.

<sup>150</sup> τούτῳ, i. e. τῷ ἐν Δελφοῖσι θεῷ.

<sup>151</sup> καταχεάμενος χρυσὸν ἄπλετον. See

note on v. 92, τοιοῦτο μὲν ἐστὶ ὁμῶν ἡ τυραννίς.

<sup>152</sup> ἡμιπλίνθια ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐξήλανε. See note on iv. 166, τοῦτο τὸ μὴ ἄλλω εἶναι βασιλεί.

<sup>153</sup> ἀπέφθου χρυσοῦ, "refined gold," i. e. purified by amalgamation, and, as it were, boiling down.

<sup>154</sup> λευκοῦ χρυσοῦ, "white gold," by which is probably meant that compound (one-fifth of silver and four-fifths of gold) to which the name of ἤλεκτρον was given. Sardis was the staple of this commodity, as appears from SOPHOCLES (*Antigone*, 1036), where it is coupled with the gold from India:

κερδαίνειτ', ἐμπολάτε τὸν πρὸς Σάρδεω ἤλεκτρον, εἰ βούλεσθε, καὶ τὸν Ἰνδικὸν χρυσόν, κ.τ.λ.

This alloyed mass formed a convenient shape for exporting the gold-dust which was washed down by the Tmolus (v. 101). Gold, too, is sometimes found combined with silver, and this mixture may have acquired a traditional value, and added to the other motives for alloying the pure metal when exported.

δὲ καὶ λέοντος εἰκόνα χρυσοῦ ἀπέφθου, ἔλκουσαν σταθμὸν τα-  
 λαντα δέκα· οὗτος ὁ λέων, ἐπεὶ τε κατεκαίετο ὁ ἐν Δελφοῖσι  
 νηὸς<sup>155</sup>, κατέπεσε ἀπὸ τῶν ἡμιπλινθίων ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῦτοισι ἴδρυτο  
 καὶ νῦν κείται ἐν τῷ Κορινθίων θησαυρῷ<sup>156</sup>, ἔλκων σταθμὸν  
 ἑβδομον ἡμιτάλαντον ἀπετάκη γὰρ αὐτοῦ τέταρτον ἡμιτάλαντον.  
 Ἐπιτελέσας δὲ ὁ Κροῖσος ταῦτα ἀπέπεμπε ἐς Δελφούς καὶ τάδε 51  
 ἄλλα ἅμα τοῖσι κρητῆρας δύο μεγάθει μεγάλους<sup>157</sup>, χρύσειον καὶ  
 ἀργύρεον· τῶν ὁ μὲν χρύσεος ἐκέετο ἐπὶ δεξιὰ ἐσίοντι ἐς τὸν νηόν,  
 ὁ δὲ ἀργύρεος ἐπ' ἀριστερά· (μετεκινήθησαν δὲ καὶ οὗτοι ὑπὸ τὸν  
 νηὸν κατακαέντα, καὶ ὁ μὲν χρύσεος κείται ἐν τῷ Κλαζομενίων  
 θησαυρῷ, ἔλκων σταθμὸν ἑννατον ἡμιτάλαντον καὶ ἔτι δυνάδεκα  
 μνέας· ὁ δὲ ἀργύρεος ἐπὶ τοῦ προνηίου<sup>158</sup> τῆς γωνίης, χωρέων  
 ἀμφορέας ἑξακοσίους· ἐπικίρνεται γὰρ ὑπὸ Δελφῶν Θεοφανί-  
 οισι<sup>159</sup>. φασὶ δὲ μιν Δελφοὶ Θεοδώρου τοῦ Σαμίου ἔργον εἶναι<sup>160</sup>,  
 καὶ ἐγὼ δοκέω· οὐ γὰρ τὸ συντυχὸν φαίνεται μοι ἔργον εἶναι·) καὶ  
 πίθους\* τε ἀργυρέους τέσσαρας ἀπέπεμψε, οἱ ἐν τῷ Κορινθίων

The adulteration accounts for the current application of the epithet *χλωρός*:

τί ποτ' ἐστὶ χλωρὸν, ἀντιβολῶ, τὸ χρυσεόν;  
 δέδουκ' ἐπιβουλεύμενον ὑπὸ πάντων δελ.  
 (COMICUS INCESTUS ap. Schol. Ari-  
 stoph. *Plut.* 204.)

<sup>155</sup> ἐκεῖ τε κατεκαίετο ὁ ἐν Δελφοῖσι νηός. This conflagration is placed by Clinton (on the authority of PAUSANIAS) in the year 548 B.C. It is noticed by Herodotus (ii. 180; v. 62), but without any other definition of the time than that it was when Amasis was reigning in Egypt.

<sup>156</sup> ἐν τῷ Κορινθίων θησαυρῷ. See above, note 57.

<sup>157</sup> μεγάθει μεγάλους, "large in size." See ii. 74, μεγάθει μικροῦς. iv. 52, μεγάθει συμκρή.

<sup>158</sup> προνηίου. Two MSS have νηίου. Perhaps both readings are glosses, and the true text merely ἐπὶ τῆς γωνίης. See viii. 122.

<sup>159</sup> Θεοφανίοισι. See SMITH, *Dictionary of Greek and Latin Antiquities*, v. *Theophrania*.

<sup>160</sup> Θεοδώρου τοῦ Σαμίου ἔργον εἶναι. Herodotus in another passage (iii. 41) speaks of Theodorus the son of Telecles, a Samian, as the artist who made the ring worn by Polycrates; and the question arises whether the Theodorus here spoken of is the same person. Theodorus "the

Samian" is put by PLATO (*Ion*. § 4), together with *Dædalus* and *Epeus*, two artists who belong more to mythical than historical times. PLINY (*N. H.* xxxv. 12. 15) places him "long before" the expulsion of the Bacchiadæ from Corinth,—an event which Clinton assigns to the year 655 B.C. Plato speaks of him as an *ἀνδριαντοποιός*, and Pliny as one who with *Rhæcus* "plasticen invenit." This last is no doubt an inaccurate expression, as it was metal-casting, and not sculpture, which Rhæcus and the ancient Theodorus invented. The most natural supposition seems to be, that the Delphians attributed the vase Herodotus speaks of to the Theodorus to whom Plato alludes, he being the most celebrated artist of the name. Whether it was really by him is quite another matter. The Lycians exhibited a brazen bowl in the temple of Apollo at Patara, which they asserted to be the offering of Telephus and the work of *Hephestus*, "forgetting apparently," says PAUSANIAS (ix. 41. 1), "that Theodorus and Rhæcus, the Samians, were the first who cast in brass" (see note 87). The remark which Herodotus himself makes in confirmation of the Delphian account may serve to show the kind of reasoning which would be most operative with his informants.

\* The last of these πίθοι was carried off

θησαυρῷ ἐστᾶσι, καὶ περιρραντήρια δύο ἀνέθηκε, χρύσεόν τε καὶ ἀργύρεον τῶν τῷ χρυσέῳ ἐπιγέγραπται, ΛΑΚΕΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΩΝ, φαιμένων εἶναι ἀνάθημα· οὐκ ὀρθῶς λέγοντες<sup>161</sup>. ἔστι γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο Κροίσου ἐπέγραψε δὲ τῶν τις Δελφῶν Λακεδαιμονίοισι βουλόμενος χαρίσασθαι, τοῦ ἐπιστάμενος τὸ οὐνομα οὐκ ἐπιμνήσομαι<sup>162</sup>. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν παῖς, δι' οὗ τῆς χειρὸς ῥέει τὸ ὕδωρ, Λακεδαιμονίων ἐστί· οὐ μέντοι τῶν γε περιρραντηρίων οὐδέτερον. ἄλλα τε ἀνάθηματα οὐκ ἐπίσημα πολλὰ ἀπέπεμψε ἅμα τούτοισι ὁ Κροῖσος, καὶ χεύματα ἀργύρεα κυκλοτερέα, καὶ δὴ καὶ γυναικὸς εἰδωλον χρύσειον τρίπηχυν, τὸ Δελφοὶ τῆς ἀρτοκόπου τῆς Κροίσου εἰκόνα<sup>163</sup> λέγουσι εἶναι. πρὸς δὲ καὶ τῆς ἐωντοῦ γυναικὸς τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς δειρῆς ἀνέθηκε ὁ Κροῖσος καὶ τὰς ζώνας. Ταῦτα μὲν ἐς Δελφούς ἀπέπεμψε τῷ δὲ Ἀμφίρῳ<sup>164</sup>, πυθόμενος αὐτοῦ τὴν τε

52  
and to Am-  
phiarau.

by Sylla. It was so large and heavy that it was broken into pieces for removal. PLUTARCH (*Sylla*, § 12).

<sup>161</sup> οὐκ ὀρθῶς λέγοντες. The construction requires λεγόντων if the word be applied to the Lacedæmonians. And the irregularity is so gratuitous, that it is difficult to suppose λέγοντες genuine. I am inclined to think the text originally ran, τῶν τῷ χρυσέῳ ἐπιγέγραπται ΛΑΚΕΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΩΝ (φαμένων εἶναι ἀνάθημα) οὐκ ὀρθῶς λέγον· (i. e. τὸ ἐπίγραμμα, gathered by inference from the word ἐπιγέγραπται). Then, the two first letters of the word ἐστί being repeated by an error of transcription (λεγοντες ἐστί), the next copyist thought a τ had been omitted, and corrected to the present reading.

<sup>162</sup> οὐκ ἐπιμνήσομαι. PROLEMY, the son of Hephæstion (a foolish compiler of the time of Hadrian), gives the name of this Delphian as *Aethus*. He likewise gives the name of the queen of Candaules, and various other details—some of them contradictory to others—relative to points left undetermined by Herodotus. For a sketch of the nature of the Miscellanies from which details of this sort were drawn, see BLAKESLEY, *Life of Aristotle*, p. 8, and p. 25, note 5.

<sup>163</sup> τῆς ἀρτοκόπου τῆς Κροίσου εἰκόνα. PLUTARCH (*Cur Pythia non reddat carmine*, p. 401, E) relates a tradition that Croesus's life was saved by this female, who gave him information of poison having been mixed in his bread by the machinations of a stepmother. But, whether this were the case or not, it seems

impossible that such a story should have prevailed at Delphi in the time of Herodotus, or he would hardly have omitted it. The Delphians probably gathered that the figure represented Croesus's "bread-chipper," from some instrument held in the hand. The story of Plutarch is hardly of better authority than many of those related by Ptolemy Hephæstion (see note 162). There is, however, no reason to object to the word ἀρτοκόπος as designating an Asiatic official, or to desire to change it into ἀρτοποις or ἀρτοπόπος. The duties attaching to the office were probably analogous to those belonging to the "carver" at the baronial tables in feudal times.

<sup>164</sup> τῷ δὲ Ἀμφίρῳ. It does not appear from the words of Herodotus whether the offering of which he speaks was made at a shrine of Amphiaraus, forming a part of the temple of the Isemanian Apollo at Thebes, or at the place where the response was obtained, and from thence transferred to Thebes. In fact, it is not clear, from this passage or that in § 46, to what locality he refers when he says that Croesus sent to Amphiaraus. In South Boeotia alone there were at least three localities assigned as the spot where Amphiaraus was swallowed up with his chariot; one on the right of the road from Potniæ to Thebes (PAUSANIAS, ix. 8. 3), a second at Harna, hard by Mycaleus, on the road from Thebes to Chalcis (ID. ix. 19. 4), and a third twelve stades from Oropus (ID. i. 34. 1). In all these the same legend prevailed, and the



ἀρετὴν καὶ τὴν πάθην, ἀνέθηκε σάκος τε χρύσειον πᾶν ὁμοίως καὶ αἰχμὴν στερρὴν πᾶσαν χρυσήν, τὸ ξυστὸν τῆσι λόγχῃσι<sup>165</sup> ἐὼν ὁμοίως χρύσειον τὰ ἔτι καὶ ἀμφοτέρω ἐς ἐμὲ ἦν κείμενα ἐν Θήβῃσι, καὶ Θηβαίων ἐν τῇ νηῇ τοῦ Ἰσμηνίου Ἀπόλλωνος<sup>166</sup>.

Τοῖσι δὲ ἄγειν μέλλουσι τῶν Λυδῶν ταῦτα τὰ δῶρα ἐς τὰ ἱρά 53  
ἐνετέλλετο ὁ Κροῖσος ἐπειρωτᾶν τὰ χρηστήρια, εἰ στρατεύηται ἐπὶ Πέρσας Κροῖσος, καὶ εἴ τινα στρατὸν ἀνδρῶν προσθέοιτο φίλον; ὥς δὲ ἀπικόμενοι ἐς τὰ ἀπεπέμφθησαν οἱ Λυδοὶ<sup>167</sup> ἀνέβησαν τὰ ἀναθήματα, ἐχρέωντο<sup>168</sup> τοῖσι χρηστηριοῖσι, λέγοντες· “Κροῖσος, ὁ Λυδῶν τε καὶ ἄλλων ἐθνέων βασιλεὺς, νομίσας τάδε μαντήϊα εἶναι μούνα<sup>169</sup> ἐν ἀνθρώποισι, ὑμῖν τε ἄξια δῶρα ἔδωκε τῶν ἐξευρημάτων, καὶ νῦν ὑμέας ἐπειρωτᾶ, εἰ στρατεύηται<sup>170</sup> ἐπὶ Πέρσας, καὶ εἴ τινα στρατὸν ἀνδρῶν προσθέοιτο σύμμαχον;” οἱ μὲν ταῦτα ἐπειρώτεον. τῶν δὲ μαντήϊων ἀμφοτέρων<sup>171</sup> ἐς τὸν αἰ γινῶμαι συνέδραμον, προλέγουσαι Κροίσῳ, ἣν στρατεύηται ἐπὶ Πέρσας, μεγάλην ἀρχὴν μιν καταλύσαι<sup>172</sup>. τοὺς δὲ Ἑλλήνων δυνατωτάτους συνεβούλευον οἱ ἐξευρόντα φίλους προσθέσθαι.

Reply of the oracles to his question, should he go to war?

same mode of consulting the hero, who was supposed to hold communion with his votary in dreams, without the intervention of any *πρόμαντις*. The ritual of Amphiaras is substantially identical with that of *Faunus* (described by VIRGIL, *Æn.* vii. 80–100). Both the one and the other, and indeed Trophonius also, belong to the ancient system of elemental worship,—a pantheism broken up into polytheism,—which prevailed among the earliest population of the Italian and Hellenic peninsulas. In the time of Herodotus,—with the exception of Arcadia and a few insulated spots,—this religion was every where overlaid and much modified by the mythology brought in by the supervening Hellenic tribes; the early ritual being often taken up, and the ancient deities incorporated into the new system by a legend connecting them with the recently imported. The preface of the Pythian priestess in the *Eumenides* of *Æschylus* is an excellent example of this.

<sup>165</sup> τῆσι λόγχῃσι. The plural number here seems to refer to the sharp butt of the lance (properly called *σαυρωτήρ*), by which it was fixed in the ground, as well as to the point.

<sup>166</sup> ἐν τῇ νηῇ τοῦ Ἰσμηνίου Ἀπόλλωνος. See note 141.

<sup>167</sup> ἀπικόμενοι ἐς τὰ ἀπεπέμφθησαν οἱ Λυδοί. The manuscripts S and V have ἀπίκοντο ἐς τ. ἀπ. οἰκήρυκες. See note 140.

<sup>168</sup> ἐχρέωντο. S and V have καὶ ἔχρεον.

<sup>169</sup> τάδε μαντήϊα εἶναι μούνα. See note 171.

<sup>170</sup> εἰ στρατεύηται καὶ . . . εἰ . . . προσθέοιτο, “if he must make a warlike expedition against the Persians, and whether (in that case) to take any allies.” On the first or main point the decision of the oracle was imperatively demanded, but the putting the second point was a mere contingency. See note 40. See also MATTHEW, Gr. Gr. § 516. 3.

<sup>171</sup> ἀμφοτέρων. If S and V represent a different *διασκευὴ* of the work from that which the other manuscripts exhibit, and are not derived from the fuller text by a process of excision, this word must in them refer to the two oracles at *Delphi* and the Oasis of *Ammon* (see note 140). In the others, it must be considered to refer to those of *Apollo at Delphi*, and of *Amphiaras*. See i. 52, and the various readings of i. 92.

<sup>172</sup> καταλύσαι. The verse Κροῖσος ἄλυν διαβάς μεγάλην ἀρχὴν καταλύσει (which CICERO renders “*Croesus Halym penetrans magnam pervertet opum vim*”

- 54 'Επεὶ τε δὲ ἀνευεῖχθέντα τὰ θεοπρόπια ἐπύθετο ὁ Κροῖσος, ἡ  
His gratuity  
to the Del-  
phians.  
ὑπερήσθη τε τοῖσι χρηστηρίοισιν πάγχυ τε ἐλπίσας καταλύσειν  
τὴν Κύρου βασιλῆην, πέμψας <sup>173</sup> αὐτὶς ἐς Πυθῶ Δελφούς δωρέ-  
εται <sup>174</sup>, πυθόμενος αὐτῶν τὸ πλῆθος, κατ' ἄνδρα δύο στατήρσι <sup>175</sup>  
ἕκαστον χρυσοῦ. Δελφοὶ δὲ ἀντὶ τούτων ἔδοσαν Κροίσῳ καὶ  
Λυδοῖσι προμαντήρην καὶ ἀτελεῖν καὶ προεδρίην, καὶ ἐξείναι τῷ  
55 βουλομένῳ αὐτῶν γενέσθαι Δελφὸν ἐς τὸν αἰὲ χρόνον. Δωρησά-  
μενος δὲ τοὺς Δελφούς ὁ Κροῖσος, ἐχρηστηρίαζέτο τὸ τρίτον.  
ἐπεὶ τε γὰρ δὴ παρέλαβε τοῦ μαντήτου ἀληθινήν, ἐνεφορέετο  
αὐτοῦ <sup>176</sup>. ἐπειρώτα δὲ τάδε χρηστηριαζόμενος, εἰ οἱ πολυχρόνιος  
ἔσται ἡ μουναρχίη. ἡ δὲ Πυθίη οἱ χρᾶ τάδε·

Third re-  
sponse of  
the Del-  
phian oracle  
as to the  
duration of  
his power.

'Ἄλλ' ὅτ' ἂν ἡμίονος βασιλεὺς Μήδοισι γένηται,  
καὶ τότε, Λυδὲ ποδαβρὲ <sup>177</sup>, πολυήφιδα παρ' Ἑρμον  
φεύγειν, μὴδὲ μένειν, μῆδ' αἰδεῖσθαι κακὸς εἶναι.

- 56 Τούτοις ἐλθοῦσι τοῖσι ἔπεσι ὁ Κροῖσος πολλὸν τι μάλιστα πάν-

*De Div.* ii. 56) is given by DIONORUS SICULUS, and other later writers, as the actual oracle. It seems, however, most probable that this hexameter is merely made up out of the phrase which Herodotus gives as containing the ambiguous portion of the answer received by Croesus. The aorist καταλύσαι, instead of the future καταλύσειν, shows that the *substance*, and not the very words in the form in which they were uttered, is related: "telling Croesus beforehand of his pulling down a great empire, supposing him to attack the Persians." If the future be adopted, the passage must be rendered, "that he *would* pull down," &c.

<sup>173</sup> πέμψας αὐτὶς ἐς Πυθῶ Δελφούς δωρέεται. It will be observed, that Herodotus does not recognize any city "Delphi." In his time the Delphians lived scattered in several hamlets (*κωμηδόν*) in the recesses of Parnassus. Pytho (the temple and oracle of the god) was their central point (*caput gentis*), and the object of their care (*φοῖβον Δελφοὶ θέραπες*. EURIPIDES, *Ion*, 94). This present of Croesus perhaps gave a form to the story related by PLUTARCH, quoted in note on ii. 134: *κηρυσσόντων Δελφῶν*.

<sup>174</sup> πέμψας . . . ἐνεφορέετο αὐτοῦ. All this passage is omitted in the manuscripts S and V, which join the middle of § 54

to that of § 55 thus, *ὑπερήσθη τε τοῖσι χρηστηρίοισι τάχῃ τε ἐλπίσας καταλύσειν τὴν Κύρου βασιλῆην καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Δελφούς χρηστηρίαζόμενος ἐπηρώτα, κ.τ.λ.*, thus leaving out all mention of the present to the Delphians, and of the privileges in consequence conferred upon the Lydians, and producing an extremely loose and slovenly construction. See note 136.

<sup>175</sup> δύο στατήρσι. See note on iv. 166, *τοῦτο τὸ μὴ ἄλλω εἶη βασιλεῖ*.

<sup>176</sup> ἐνεφορέετο αὐτοῦ, "he took his fill of it;" a metaphor derived from persons eating greedily.

<sup>177</sup> ποδαβρὲ. Tenderness of foot was regarded in ancient times as a characteristic of luxury. Thus EURIPIDES makes Hecuba say:

*Ἄγετε τὸν ἄβρδν δῆπον' ἐν Τροίᾳ πόδα νῦν δ' ὄντα δοῦλον* (*Troad*. 506).

Compare *Deuteronomy* xiviii. 56, *ἡ τρυφερά, ἥς οὐχὶ πείραν ἔλαβεν ὁ ποὺς αὐτῆς βαίνειν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς διὰ τὴν τρυφερότητα*. And, contrariwise, to go without shoes was the most obvious exponent of asceticism. See ARISTOPHANES (*Nub.* 103):

*τοὺς ἄχιωντας, τοὺς ἀνυποδήτους λέγεις,*

*ὃν ὁ κακοδαίμων Σωκράτης καὶ Χαιρεφῶν.*

των ἡσθη, ἐλπίζων ἡμίονον οὐδαμὰ ἀντ' ἀνδρὸς βασιλεύσειν Μήδων οὐδ' ὦν αὐτὸς, οὐδὲ οἱ ἐξ αὐτοῦ, παύσεσθαι κοτε τῆς ἀρχῆς. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐφρόντιζε ἱστορέων, τοὺς ἀν' Ἑλλήνων δυνατωτάτους ἔοντας προσκλήσαιο φίλους. ἱστορέων δὲ εὗρισκε Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ Ἀθηναίους προέχοντας, τοὺς μὲν τοῦ Δωρικοῦ γένεος, τοὺς δὲ τοῦ Ἴωνικοῦ. ταῦτα <sup>178</sup> γὰρ ἦν τὰ προκεκριμένα τὸ ἀρχαῖον, ἔοντα τὸ μὲν Πελασγικὸν τὸ δὲ Ἑλληνικὸν ἔθνος· καὶ τὸ μὲν οὐδαμῇ κω ἐξεχώρησε <sup>179</sup> τὸ δὲ πολυπλήνητον κάρτα· ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ Δευκαλίωνος βασιλῆος οἴκεε γῆν τὴν Φθιώτιν ἐπὶ δὲ Δώρου τοῦ Ἑλληνος, τὴν ὑπὸ τὴν Ὀσσαν τε καὶ τὸν Οὐλύμπου χώραν, καλεομένην δὲ Ἰστυαίωτιν ἐκ δὲ τῆς Ἰστυαίωτιδος ὡς ἐξανέστη

Digression  
respecting  
the Pelas-  
gian and  
Hellenic  
races.

<sup>178</sup> ταῦτα γὰρ ἦν τὰ προκεκριμένα τὸ ἀρχαῖον, ἔοντα τὸ μὲν Πελασγικὸν τὸ δὲ Ἑλληνικὸν ἔθνος. The manuscripts S and V omit these words and all that follows until the beginning of § 69, which they connect with what precedes thus: Ἰωνικοῦ· καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐξέπεψεν ἐς Πάρτην ἀγγέλου ἵα τε φέροντας δῶρὰ τε φέροντας, κ.τ.λ.

Gaisford reads, with the other MSS., ταῦτα γὰρ ἦν τὰ προκεκριμένα ἔοντα τὸ ἀρχαῖον τὸ μὲν Πελασγικὸν, τὸ δὲ Ἑλληνικὸν ἔθνος. For ἔοντα, Dobree and Porson proposed to read ἔθνεα. But the transposition of two words and a corrected punctuation remove all the difficulty. Translate, "for these were the leading nations of olden time, being, the one a Pelasgian, the other a Hellenic tribe." The word προκεκριμένους corresponds to the German *vornehm*.

That the first part at least of the passage omitted in S and V is an *addition*, incorporated subsequently, seems indisputable, from the circumstance that, as the text stands, the word Πελασγικὸν ought (according to the usage of language) to refer to the Doric race, and Ἑλληνικὸν to the Ionic, whereas in fact the author intends the reverse. But it by no means follows that it is to be regarded as an *interpolation* by another hand. It may very well be an extract from the collections of the author, written in the manner of a note in an interleaved copy by himself.

<sup>179</sup> τὸ μὲν οὐδαμῇ κω ἐξεχώρησε. A good deal of difficulty has been occasioned unnecessarily by the application of these words to the Πελασγικὸν ἔθνος, whereas they are in fact referred to the Ἰωνικὸν γένος,

and of these especially to the Athenians, whose pride in their professed aboriginal character is well known. Hence the orator, in vii. 161, speaks of his countrymen as *μοῦνοι ἔόντες οὐ μετανάσται Ἕλληνας*. But, even if the expression were necessarily referable to the Pelasgians, the difficulty would not be so great as has been supposed. The word ἐξεχώρησε does not express the kind of migration which takes place when a swarm is thrown off, but that when a whole people moves away from one territory into another. And this last character is not attached to the Pelasgians by Herodotus. It was so, perhaps first of all, by EPHORUS, the popularity of whose work made it the basis of all subsequent histories of Greece (mediately or immediately) even down to the last generation. But, from the account which STRABO (v. cap. 2, p. 357, *seqq.*) gives of Ephorus's statements, it is plain that his view rested on no positive authority, but was a mere hypothesis to account for the existence of Pelasgian traditions in many widely scattered places. There is nothing related of the Pelasgians by Herodotus which is incompatible with the theory that they were a primitive people, who long antecedently to the historical times overspread a great portion of what was afterwards called Hellas (at which period the Athenians themselves were Pelasgian, and called ΚΡΑΝΑΙ, viii. 44). In the time of Herodotus, all traces of them were obliterated in the greater part of Hellas; but a few insulated populations remained, in Arcadia, Acte, Lemnos, Imbros, Creston, Placie, Scylace, Antandros;—and Pelasgian names and rituals in many other places.

ὑπὸ Καδμείων, οἵκεε ἐν Πίνδῳ Μακεδόνων καλεόμενον ἐνθεύτην δὲ αὐτὶς ἐς τὴν Δρυοπίδα<sup>100</sup> μετέβη, καὶ ἐκ τῆς Δρυοπίδος οὕτως<sup>101</sup> ἐς Πελοπόννησον ἐλθὼν, Δωρικὸν ἐκλήθη.

57

Language  
of the Pe-  
lasgians.

"Ἦν τινα δὲ γλῶσσαν ἴεσαν οἱ Πελασγοί, οὐκ ἔχω ἀπρεκέως εἶπαι. εἰ δὲ χρεόν<sup>102</sup> ἐστὶ τεκμαιρόμενον λέγειν τοῖσι νῦν ἔτι ἐοῦσι Πελασγῶν, τῶν ὑπὲρ Τυρσηνῶν Κρηστῶνα πόλιν<sup>103</sup> οἰκόντων, οὗ ὁμοιοί ποτε ἦσαν τοῖσι νῦν Δωριεῦσι καλεομένοις· οἴκεον δὲ τηρικαῦτα γῆν τὴν νῦν Θεσσαλιῶτιν καλεομένην καὶ τῶν<sup>104</sup> Πλακίην τε καὶ Σκυλάκην Πελασγῶν οἰκισάντων ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ, οἱ σύνοικοι ἐγένοντο Ἀθηναίοισι<sup>105</sup>, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα Πελασγικὰ ἔοντα πολισμάτα<sup>106</sup> τὸ οὖνομα μετέβαλε· εἰ τοῖτοισι τεκμαιρόμενον δεῖ λέγειν, ἦσαν οἱ Πελασγοὶ βάρβαρον γλῶσσαν ἰέντες<sup>107</sup>. εἰ τοίνυν ἦν καὶ πᾶν τοιοῦτο τὸ Πελασγικόν, τὸ Ἀτ-

<sup>100</sup> Δρυοπίδα. Herodotus describes this region as the metropolis of the Dorians (viii. 31). It is ποδῶν στεῖνός ὡς τριήκοντα σταδίων μάλιστα καὶ εὖρος, κείμενος μεταξὺ τῆς τε Μηλίδος καὶ τῆς Φωκίδος χώρας. The population of it, expelled (according to the tradition) by Heracles and the Melians, founded Hermione in Argolis (viii. 43).

<sup>101</sup> οὕτως, "direct, without more ado." See note 22.

<sup>102</sup> χρεόν. Gaisford, with most MSS, has χρεών.

<sup>103</sup> τῶν ὑπὲρ Τυρσηνῶν Κρηστῶνα πόλιν. NIEBUHR considered that this name was corrupt, and wished to read Κροτῶνα, regarding the city as Cortona. But, independently of the boldness of this alteration, it seems unlikely that Cortona in Tuscany should be coupled together with Scylace and Placie in the Hellespont. The solution of the difficulty is not easy if we retain Κρηστῶνα (see the note on v. 3, Κρηστωνάων), unless we take Τυρσηνῶν to mean the Tyrrhene Pelasgians of Athos. See note 186.

<sup>104</sup> τῶν. An emendation of Dobree's. Gaisford with the MSS has τῆν.

<sup>105</sup> οἱ σύνοικοι ἐγένοντο Ἀθηναίοισι. In another passage (ii. 51) the Pelasgian immigrants into Attica are represented as coming from Samothrace. If it be considered that the populations of all these Pelasgian localities were ethnically identical, it is not strange that one should take the place of another in traditions orally transmitted. It is more probable that two legends should vary from one another

in this way, than that the true view should be that which results from the mechanical combination of the two. Here, for instance, it may be said, the immigration was of a multitude coming partly from Placie and Scylace and partly from Samothrace. But, if so, why should the author have omitted the mention of one half of the colonists in the one case, and the other half in the other? See the note on ii. 51, *ad fin.*

<sup>106</sup> ὅσα ἄλλα Πελασγικὰ ἔοντα πολισμάτα. The towns referred to are perhaps those mentioned by THUCYDIDES (iv. 109) as lying in Acte, the peninsula terminating in the mountain Athos, separated from the main by Xerxes' canal. This was filled with small towns inhabited by a mixed race of barbarians *speaking two languages*. "There was a small element of Chalcidians among them, but they were mostly Pelasgians, some of the Tyrrhenes who formerly inhabited Lemnos and Athens, and Bisaltæ, Crestonians, and Edones" (THUCYD. l. c.).

<sup>107</sup> ἦσαν οἱ Πελασγοὶ βάρβαρον γλῶσσαν ἰέντες. This observation must not be taken for more than it is worth, and used to prove that the Pelasgian language differed etymologically from the Greek. The language of these towns doubtless sounded strange to the ear of Herodotus, as the dialect of Coniston does to an East Anglian. But, although differing so much from the current Hellenic as to necessitate the use of two languages (see the last note), it should be remembered that whatever is common to the Latin and

τικὸν ἔθνος, ἐὼν Πελασγικόν, ἅμα τῇ μεταβολῇ τῇ ἐς Ἑλληνας καὶ τὴν γλῶσσαν μετέμαθε. καὶ γὰρ δὴ οὔτε οἱ Κρηστωνιῆται οὐδαμοῖσι τῶν νῦν σφεας περιρικούντων εἰσὶ ὁμόγλωσσοι, οὔτε οἱ Πλακιηνοί· σφίσι δὲ ὁμόγλωσσοι δηλοῦσί τε, ὅτι, τὸν ἠνείκαντο γλώσσης χαρακτῆρα μεταβαίνοντες ἐς ταῦτα τὰ χωρία, τοῦτον ἔχουσι ἐν φυλακῇ. Τὸ δὲ Ἑλληνικὸν 58  
 γλῶσση μὲν, ἐπεὶ τε ἐγένετο αἰεὶ κοτε τῇ αὐτῇ διαχρέεται, ὡς ἐμοὶ καταφαίνεται εἶναι· ἀποσχισθὲν μέντοι ἀπὸ τοῦ Πελασγικοῦ ἐὼν ἀσθενὲς, ἀπὸ σμικροῦ τεο τὴν ἀρχὴν ὀρμεώμενον, αὔξεται ἐς πλῆθος [τῶν ἐθνέων] πολλὸν<sup>100</sup>, μάλιστα προσκεχωρηκότων αὐτῷ καὶ ἄλλων ἐθνέων βαρβάρων συγχῶν. ὡς<sup>100</sup> δὴ ὦν ἐμοὶ γε δοκεῖ οὐδὲ τὸ Πελασγικὸν ἔθνος, ἐὼν βάρβαρον, οὐδαμὰ μεγάλως αὐξήθηται.

The Hellenic race from its first origin has always retained its language. Has been increased by assimilating many barbarous nations.

Τούτων δὴ ὦν τῶν ἐθνέων τὸ μὲν Ἀττικὸν κατεχόμενον τε καὶ 59  
 διεσπασμένον<sup>100</sup> ἐπυνθάνετο ὁ Κροῖσος ὑπὸ Πεισιστράτου τοῦ

History of Athens

Greek languages as they exist must have existed in their common parent. What was this if not Pelasgian? If the dialect of Placie and Scylace differed only as much from the Hellenic of commerce in the time of Herodotus as the Dutch of the present day does from English, a traveller would not hesitate to call it foreign, although a philologist would consider the connexion an extremely close one. Possibly Herodotus may have formed his judgment of the dialect of Scylace and Placie from natives of those places which he met with at *Cyzicus*, in the immediate neighbourhood of which Scylace was (Hecatæus *ap. Steph. Byzant. sub v.*), or even may have taken the word of the Cyzicenes for its character.

<sup>100</sup> ἐς πλῆθος πολλόν. The MSS have ἐς πλῆθος τῶν ἐθνέων πολλῶν (or πολλῶ). If τῶν ἐθνέων be genuine, it must be interpreted of "the nations of which the Hellenic race is notoriously composed." But the words seem to be a gloss from the hand of some one who supposed that the aggregation of barbarous tribes presently mentioned was referred to.

<sup>100</sup> ὡς δὴ ὦν ἐμοὶ γε. Gaisford has πρὸς δὴ ὦν ἐμοὶ γε. Aldus and one MS have ὡς γὰρ πρὸς, and all the MSS have γε γὰρ. But the passage is unintelligible unless some variation be made. The construction of the sentence is dif-

ficult. It would naturally have ended with *ἠυξήθη*, but the infinitive has taken the place of the subjunctive as if the sentence had begun *ἐμοὶ γοῦν δοκεῖ*. But it is not easy to find a motive for such slovenliness of writing. See note 136 and the variations in the manuscripts S and V there noted.

<sup>100</sup> διεσπασμένον. The Athenians may be said to have been "divided by Pisistratus" from the circumstance of his having exiled the Alcæonid faction, and thus crippled the resources of the state. See below, i. 64; v. 62. But it is a common idiom in Greek to construct grammatically two phrases in the same combination with a third, although in point of sense only one of them can, strictly speaking, be combined with it. Thus SOPHOCLES, *Aj.* 1034:—

ἄρ' οὐκ Ἑρῶνδς τοῦτ' ἐχάλεευσσε ξίφος  
 κακείνον [sc. (ωστῆρα)] Ἀιδῆς δημι-  
 ουργὸς ἄγριος;

and *Elect.* 435:—

—ἡ προαῖσιν ἡ βαθυσκαφεὶ κόνει  
 κρύψον νῦν.

So, in vi. 43, Mardonius comes from Susa to the Cilician seaboard πολλὸν μὲν κάρτα περὶ δὲ ἀμα ἀγόμενος πολλὸν δὲ ναυτικόν, where Casaubon endeavours to explain ναυτικόν as "sailors," στρατὸν being

under the  
Pisistratids.

Birth of  
Pisistratus  
foretold by  
a portent.

Ἰπποκράτεος τούτου τὸν χρόνον τυραννεύοντος Ἀθηναίων. Ἰπποκράτει γὰρ, ὄντι ἰδιώτῃ καὶ θεωρέοντι τὰ Ὀλύμπια, τέρας ἐγένετο μέγα· θύσαντος γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὰ ἱρὰ, οἱ λέβητες ἐπεστεῶτες, καὶ κρεῶν τε ὄντες ἐμπλεοὶ καὶ ὕδατος, ἄνευ πυρὸς ἔξεσαν, καὶ ὑπερέβαλον. Χίλων δὲ ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος<sup>191</sup> παρατυχὼν καὶ θεσάμενος τὸ τέρας συνεβούλευε Ἰπποκράτει πρῶτα μὲν γυναικα τεκνοποιὸν μὴ ἀγεσθαι ἐς τὰ οἰκία, εἰ δὲ τυγχάνει ἔχων, δεύτερα τὴν γυναικα ἐκπέμπειν καὶ εἴ τις οἱ τυγχάνει ἐὼν παῖς, τούτου ἀπείπασθαι· οὐκᾶν<sup>192</sup> ταῦτα παραινέσαντος Χίλωνος πείθεσθαι θέλει τὸν Ἰπποκράτεα, γενέσθαι οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα τὸν Πεισίστρατον τούτου· ὃς, στασιαζόντων τῶν παράλων καὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου Ἀθηναίων, καὶ τῶν μὲν προεστεῶτος Μεγακλῆος τοῦ Ἀλκμαίωνος, τῶν δὲ ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου Λυκούργου Ἀριστολαίδεω, καταφρονήσας τὴν τυραννίδα<sup>193</sup>, ἤγειρε τρίτην στάσιν. συλλέξας δὲ στασιώτας, καὶ τῷ λόγῳ τῶν ὑπερακρίων προστάς<sup>194</sup>, μηχανᾶται τοιάδε

understood. But it would have been scarcely more difficult for him to find ships in Persia than sailors. The true solution is to infer ἔχων from ἀγόμενος. See note on vi. 97, ἀλλὰ πέρην.

<sup>191</sup> Χίλων ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος. The advice given by the sage on this occasion must not be allowed to deprive him of the reputation which attaches to him as a person of political sagacity. See the note on ii. 49, σοφισταί.

<sup>192</sup> οὐκᾶν ταῦτα . . . . Πεισίστρατον. For the use of the word οὐκᾶν, which is equivalent to καὶ, οὐ γάρ, see note on v. 59, ult. The oblique forms θέλει τὸν Ἰππ. and γενέσθαι instead of the direct ἤθελε ὁ Ἰππ. and ἐγένετο are used to show that the connexion of the birth of Pisistratus with the portent was a matter of hearsay. "And, as it seems that Hippocrates, when Chilo gave this advice, was unwilling to obey it, they say that afterwards, this, the notorious [τὸν] Pisistratus, was born to him," &c. Then follows the direct form, ὃς . . . . ἤγειρε, because the circumstances related are regarded as a part of authentic history.

<sup>193</sup> καταφρονήσας τὴν τυραννίδα. The use of καταφρονήσας as equivalent to φρονήσας is not sanctioned by either of the two passages (i. 66; viii. 10) which have been cited in defence of it. The passage is corrupt, possibly from a com-

pression of two different readings (καταφρονήσας and φρονήσας τὴν τυρ.) into one.

<sup>194</sup> τῷ λόγῳ τῶν ὑπερακρίων προστάς, "professing himself the representative of the highland party." Herodotus represents this as a new party watchword assumed for the occasion by Pisistratus. There appears no sufficient reason for supposing that the revolution effected by him consisted (according to the account followed by Herodotus) in the elevation of a distinct tribe to higher political privileges than it had hitherto enjoyed. On the contrary, the opposite seems to follow from the expression, οὐτε τιμὰς τὰς εὐστας συνταράξας οὐτε θέσμια μεταλλάξας. ARISTOTLE too is most decisive in representing the opportunity of usurpation as furnished to Pisistratus by his success in war, and the confidence of the commonalty as being reposed in him from the hostility he exhibited to the rich. οἱ προστάται τοῦ δήμου, ὅτε πολεμικοὶ γένοιντο, τυραννίδι ἐπετίθεντο· πάντες δὲ τοῦτο ἔβρων ἐπὶ τοῦ δήμου πιστευόντες, ἡ δὲ πλῆσις ἦν ἡ ἀπέχθεια ἡ πρὸς τοὺς πλουσίους, οἷον Ἀθηναῖσι Πεισίστρατος στασιάσας πρὸς τοὺς πεδιακοὺς (Polit. v. p. 1305, A, line 20). These expressions of Aristotle are quite compatible with the statement of Herodotus, if we suppose that the troops with which Pisistratus was successful were mainly highlanders

τρωματίσας ἐωντόν τε καὶ ἡμίονους, ἤλασε ἐς τὴν ἀγορὴν τὸ  
 ζεύγος ὡς ἐκπεφευγὼς τοὺς ἐχθροὺς, οἳ μὲν ἐλαύνοντα ἐς ἀγρὸν  
 ἠθέλησαν ἀπολέσαι δῆθεν ἐδέετό τε τοῦ δήμου φυλακῆς τινὸς  
 πρὸς αὐτοῦ κυρῆσαι, πρότερον εὐδοκμήσας ἐν τῇ πρὸς Μεγαρέας  
 γενομένη στρατηγίῃ<sup>195</sup>, Νίσαιάν τε ἐλὼν καὶ ἄλλα ἀποδεξάμενος  
 μεγάλα ἔργα· ὁ δὲ δῆμος ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐξαπατηθεὶς, ἔδωκε οἱ  
 τῶν ἀστῶν καταλέξας ἄνδρας τούτους<sup>196</sup>. οἱ δορυφόροι μὲν οὐκ  
 ἐγένοντο Πεισιστράτου κορυνηφόροι δὲ ξύλων γὰρ κορίνας ἔχοντες  
 εἶποντο οἱ ὀπισθεῖ· συνεπαναστάντες δὲ οὗτοι ἅμα Πεισι-  
 στράτῳ ἔσχον τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. ἔνθα δὴ ὁ Πεισίστρατος ἦρχε  
 Ἀθηναίων, οὔτε τιμὰς τὰς εἰούσας συνταράξας οὔτε θέσμια μετα-  
 λάξας· ἐπὶ τε τοῖσι κατεστειώσι ἔνεμε τὴν πόλιν, κοσμέων καλῶς  
 τε καὶ εὖ. Μετὰ δὲ οὐ πολλὸν χρόνον τῶντ' ἄφρονήσαντες οἱ τε  
 τοῦ Μεγακλέως στασιῶται καὶ οἱ τοῦ Λυκούργου, ἐξελαύνουσί μιν.  
 οὕτω μὲν Πεισίστρατος ἔσχε τὸ πρῶτον Ἀθήνας, καὶ τὴν τυραν-  
 νίδα οὐκ ἄρτα ἐρριζωμένην ἔχων ἀπέβαλε· οἱ δὲ ἐξελάσαντες  
 Πεισίστρατον, αὐτὶς ἐκ νῆος ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισι ἐστασίασαν· περι-  
 ελαυνόμενος δὲ τῇ στάσει ὁ Μεγακλῆς, ἐπεκηρυκεύετο Πεισι-  
 στράτῳ<sup>197</sup>, εἰ βούλοιντο οἱ τὴν θυγατέρα ἔχειν γυναῖκα ἐπὶ τῇ

He becomes  
 a dynast, but  
 reigns with  
 great mod-  
 eration;

60  
 is banished  
 by the  
 coalition of  
 Megacles  
 and Ly-  
 curgus;

organized as infantry, a comparatively new arm of war (see note on v. 77). Such, most useful in the mountainous Megaris, would of all others be most likely to be hampered with debt to the wealthy plainmen, just as the small freeholders of the Roman commonwealth were to the patricians. In this case Pisistratus would be likely to advocate the interests of his followers, as Cromwell did those of his troopers, and thus profess himself as τῶν ἐπεκρίτων προστάτης. But such a view is a very different one from that of PLUTARCH (*Solon*. § 13). It is worth remarking that Philaidæ, the *deme* to which Pisistratus belonged (PLUTARCH, *Solon*. § 10) was probably not in the highlands of Attica, but in the immediate neighbourhood of Brauron, as Philæus (its eponymous hero) was said to be buried there. The site of Brauron is fixed by LEAKE at the head of a marsh near the harbour *Livadhi*, on the east coast, about lat. 37° 55'.

<sup>195</sup> ἐν τῇ πρὸς Μεγαρέας γενομένη στρατηγίῳ. The details of this war are most uncertain. Herodotus does not attempt to describe them. PLUTARCH, who does,

gives the most varying accounts, showing decisively that popular tradition was the only authority for them existing, long after the conclusion of the war (*Solon*. §§ 8, 9). The only part which he makes Pisistratus play in reference to them is the encouraging the Athenians to listen to the advice of Solon.

<sup>196</sup> τούτους, i. e. τοὺς στασιώτας, mentioned above.

<sup>197</sup> ὁ Μεγακλῆς, ἐπεκηρυκεύετο Πεισιστράτῳ. The eponymous ancestor of the Alcmaeonidæ (Alcmaeon) was said to have been a descendant of Nestor, and, on the invasion of Peloponnesus by the Heraclidæ, to have migrated to Athens (PAUSANIAS, ii. 8). Pisistratus also is said by Herodotus to have been originally a Pylian and Neleid (v. 65). But it is singular that Pausanias, who brings all the other Nestorids to Athens, should especially except *Pisistratus*. Perhaps this results from the circumstance, that after the expulsion of the Pisistratids from Athens, and the growth of democratic feeling, it became an object to obliterate all traces of the important position which they once held. See note 201.

is restored  
through an  
alliance  
with Mo-  
gacles.

τυραννίδι; ἐνδεξαμένου δὲ τὸν λόγον καὶ ὁμολογήσαντος ἐπὶ  
τούτοις Πεισιστράτου, μηχανῶνται δὴ ἐπὶ τῇ κατόδῳ πρῆγμα  
εὐθέςτατον, ὥς ἐγὼ εὐρίσκω, μακρῷ ἐπεὶ τε<sup>198</sup> ἀπεκρίθη ἐκ  
παλαιτέρου τοῦ βαρβάρου ἔθνεος τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, ἐὸν καὶ δεξιό-  
τερον καὶ εὐθίης ἡλιθίου ἀπηλλαγμένον μᾶλλον· εἰ καὶ τότε γε  
οὔτοι ἐν Ἀθηναίοις, τοῖσι πρώτοις λεγομένοις εἶναι Ἑλλήνων  
σοφίην, μηχανῶνται τοιάδε. ἐν τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Παιανίῃ<sup>199</sup> ἦν γυνή  
τῇ οὔνομα ἦν Φύη, μέγαθος ἀπὸ τεσσέρων πηχέων ἀπολείπουσα  
τρεῖς δακτύλους, καὶ ἄλλως εὐειδής· ταύτην τὴν γυναῖκα σκενά-  
σαντες πανοπλή, ἐς ἄρμα ἐσβιβάσαντες, καὶ προδέξαντες σχῆμα  
οἶόν τι ἔμελλε εὐπρεπέστατον φανέσθαι ἔχουσα<sup>200</sup>, ἤλαυνον ἐς  
τὸ ἄστυ<sup>201</sup>, προδρόμους κήρυκας προπέμψαντες, οἱ τὰ ἐντεταλμένα  
ἡγόρευον ἐς τὸ ἄστυ ἀπικόμενοι, λέγοντες τοιάδε· “ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι,  
δέκεσθε ἀγαθῷ νόμῳ Πεισιστράτου, τὸν αὐτὴ ἡ Ἀθηναῖα τιμήσασα  
ἀνθρώπων μάλιστα, κατὰγει<sup>202</sup> ἐς τὴν ἐωυτῆς ἀκρόπολιν.” οἱ μὲν  
δὴ ταῦτα διαφουτέοντες ἔλεγον· αὐτὰ δὲ ἔς τε τοὺς δήμους φάτις  
ἀπύκετο, ὥς Ἀθηναῖα Πεισιστράτου κατὰγει· καὶ οἱ ἐν τῷ ἄστει

<sup>198</sup> ἐπεὶ τε. Gaisford and all the MSS ἐπεὶ γε. But, if the reading and punctuation of Gaisford be adopted, a very slovenly construction results. ἐπεὶ τε is equivalent to ἐξ οὗ (as in vii. 8, οὐδαμῶς καὶ ἡτρεμήσαμεν ἐπεὶ τε παρελάβομεν τὴν ἡγεμονίην τῆνδε, and elsewhere). Translate, “they contrive, in fine, in order to effect the restoration, a proceeding by far the most foolish that I know of since the separation, long ago, of the Hellenic from the barbarian race,” &c.

<sup>199</sup> ἐν τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Παιανίῃ. This deme was, according to LEAKE, in the immediate neighbourhood of Philaidæ, the deme of Pisistratus.

<sup>200</sup> ἔχουσα. All the MSS have ἔχουσα, and so has Gaisford. I should be rather disposed to change it to the dative case. The final letter of ἐχούσῃ might have dropt out in an uncial MS, where the *ι* adscript is rarely written.

<sup>201</sup> ἤλαυνον ἐς τὸ ἄστυ. In order to get to Athens from Prænia, they would have to pass through the deme Pallene, which was situated at the foot of the north-east extremity of Hymettus, where the Mesogæan plain, on which the demes Prænia and Philaidæ lie, joins the plain of Athens. At Pallene was a temple of Athene celebrated in Attic legends (EUVIP.

Heracl. 849). The procession, therefore, in which Phye took part was probably regarded as symbolizing a progress of Athene from the temple at Pallene to that on the Acropolis (see the note 73 on i. 21). If this procession was attended by a formidable demonstration of the inhabitants of the Mesogæan villages on the eastern side of Hymettus (which, according to Leake, is very thickly covered with ancient remains), the reception of Pisistratus may not have taken place solely on superstitious grounds. See the note 210, on i. 62. But, perhaps, the truer way of looking at this extraordinary procession is to regard it as a pageant in honour of the return of Pisistratus. That Athene should be the deity selected on the occasion as the patron of the dynast, harmonizes with the circumstance that the institution of the greater Panathenæa has been ascribed to him, probably with justice. But in later times the memory of Pisistratus was at that festival as much as possible extruded by the special celebration of Harmodius and Aristogiton. See the note 197, above.

<sup>202</sup> κατὰγει. See note on v. 92, κατὰγειν.



πειθόμενοι τὴν γυναῖκα εἶναι αὐτὴν τὴν θεὸν, προσεύχοντό τε τὴν ἀνθρωπον καὶ ἐδέκοντο τὸν Πεισίστρατον.

Ἀπολαβὼν δὲ τὴν τυραννίδα τρόπῳ τῷ εἰρημένῳ ὁ Πεισί- 61  
στρατος, κατὰ τὴν ὁμολογίην τὴν πρὸς Μεγακλέα γενομένην  
γαμέει τοῦ Μεγακλέους τὴν θυγατέρα. οἱ δὲ παῖδων τέ οἱ  
ὑπαρχόντων νενηιένων<sup>302</sup>, καὶ λεγομένων ἐναγέων εἶναι τῶν Ἀλ-  
κμαιωνιδέων<sup>304</sup>, οὐ βουλόμενός οἱ γενέσθαι ἐκ τῆς νεογάμου γυ-  
ναϊκὸς τέκνα, ἐμίσχετό οἱ οὐ κατὰ νόμον. τὰ μὲν νυν πρῶτα  
ἔκρυπτε ταῦτα ἢ γυνὴ· μετὰ δὲ, εἴτε ἱστορέυση εἴτε καὶ οὐ,  
φράζει τῇ ἐωυτῆς μητρὶ· ἢ δὲ, τῷ ἀνδρὶ. τὸν δὲ δεινὸν τι ἔσχε,  
ὑτιμάζεσθαι πρὸς Πεισιστράτου ὀργῇ δὲ, ὡς εἶχε, καταλλάσσετο  
τὴν ἔχθρην τοῖσι στασιώτησι. μαθὼν δὲ ὁ Πεισίστρατος τὰ  
ποιούμενα ἐπ' ἐωυτῷ, ἀπαλλάσσετο ἐκ τῆς χώρας τὸ παράπαν  
ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐς Ἑρέτριαν ἐβουλεύετο ἅμα τοῖσι παισὶ. Ἰππίεω  
δὲ γνώμῃ<sup>306</sup> νικήσαντος, ἀνακτᾶσθαι ὀπίσω τὴν τυραννίδα, ἐνθαῦτα  
ἤγειρον δατίνας<sup>308</sup> ἐκ τῶν πολλῶν, αἱ τινὲς σφὶ προηδέατο<sup>307</sup> κού  
τι· πολλῶν δὲ μεγάλα παρασχόντων χρήματα, Θηβαῖοι ὑπερ-  
εβάλοντο τῇ δόσει τῶν χρημάτων. μετὰ δὲ, οὐ πολλῷ λόγῳ  
εἰπεῖν, χρόνος διέφθη καὶ πάντα σφὶ ἐξήρτυτο ἐς τὴν κάτοδον  
καὶ γὰρ Ἀργεῖοι μισθωτοὶ ἀπῆκοντο ἐκ Πελοποννήσου καὶ Νάξιος

Family dis-  
cord pro-  
duces a  
breach with  
Megacles,  
and Pisistrat-  
us retires  
to Eretria.

A confederacy is  
formed to  
restore  
him;

<sup>302</sup> παῖδων οἱ ὑπαρχόντων νενηιένων. There is a good deal of difficulty in assigning the date of this first return of Pisistratus. Hippias was an old man, with his teeth loose, at the time of the battle of Marathon (vi. 107; THUCYD. vi. 59), which happened B.C. 490. This was thirty-seven years after the death of Pisistratus, and to this period must be added ten complete years for the time of his second exile (i. 62), and the periods (whatever they amounted to) during which the second and third intervals of his tyranny lasted. A closer definition of the time than this cannot be gathered from Herodotus's statements alone; but this would bring the marriage with Megacles' daughter up at least as early as B.C. 539 or 540. If we admit the notice of ARISTOTLE (*Politie.* v. 1315, n. line 30) that "the whole time from the usurpation of Pisistratus to his death was thirty-three years, and that of this his two exiles took up sixteen years;" as a statement belonging to the same account

as that followed by Herodotus, we shall get the marriage with Megacles' daughter as happening *not earlier* than B.C. 553 or 552. Between these two limits the assignment of the date is a matter of pure conjecture. For the varying accounts of the fortunes of the Pisistratids, and an attempt to explain them, see note on v. 65, παρέστησαν . . . ἐκχωρῆσαι ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς.

<sup>304</sup> λεγομένων ἐναγέων εἶναι τῶν Ἀλκμαιωνιδέων. See v. 71.

<sup>306</sup> γνώμῃ. Gaisford and some MSS have γνώμη. But γνώμη is more likely to have been changed into γνώμην than the converse, from the next word beginning with ν. The accusative, however, might stand.

<sup>308</sup> ἤγειρον δατίνας, "collected subscriptions." The word δατινάειν is used by Herodotus in the same sense, ii. 180.

<sup>307</sup> προηδέατο. This word is again used in the same sense, iii. 140, τίς ἐστι Ἑλλήνων εὐεργέτης ὃ ἐγὼ προαἰδεύμαι, where see the note.

62

and in the  
eleventh  
year of his  
exile he  
seizes on  
Marathon  
as a base of  
operations.

He gains a

σφι ἀνὴρ ἀπυγμένος ἐβελοντής, τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Λύγδαμης<sup>308</sup>, προθυ-  
μίην πλείστην παρείχετο, κομίσας καὶ χρήματα καὶ ἄνδρας. Ἐξ  
Ἑρετρίης δὲ ὀρμηθέντες<sup>309</sup>, διὰ ἑνδεκάτου ἔτους ἀπίκοντο ὀπίσω.  
καὶ πρῶτον τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἰσχυοσι Μαραθῶνα· ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ  
χώρῳ σφι στρατοπεδευόμενοι, οἳ τε ἐκ τοῦ ἄσπεος στασιώται  
ἀπίκοντο ἄλλοι τε ἐκ τῶν δήμων<sup>310</sup> προσέρρεον οἷσι ἡ τυραννὶς  
πρὸ ἐλευθερίας ἦν ἀσπαστότερον. οὗτοι μὲν δὴ συνηλθόντο·  
Ἀθηναίων δὲ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ἄσπεος, ὥς μὲν Πεισίστρατος τὰ χρήματα  
ἤγειρε, καὶ μεταῦτις ὡς ἔσχε Μαραθῶνα, λόγον οὐδένα εἶχον·  
ἐπεὶ τε δὲ ἐπύθοντο ἐκ τοῦ Μαραθῶνος αὐτὸν πορεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὸ  
ἄστυ, οὕτω δὴ βοηθέουσι ἐπ' αὐτόν. καὶ οὗτοί τε πανστρατιῇ  
ἤϊσαν ἐπὶ τοὺς κατιόντας· καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Πεισίστρατον, ὡς ὀρ-  
μηθέντες ἐκ Μαραθῶνος ἤϊσαν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄστυ, ἐς τῶντ' ὅσον συνιόντες  
ἀπικνέονται ἐπὶ Παλληνίδος Ἀθηναίης ἱρόν<sup>311</sup>, καὶ ἀντία ἔθεντο τὰ

<sup>308</sup> Λύγδαμης. See below, i. 64, note 214.

<sup>309</sup> ἐξ Ἑρετρίης δὲ ὀρμηθέντες. See note on v. 74. There seems to have been a Persian party (probably the representatives of the Pisistratid faction) in Eretria at the time of the expedition of Datis and Artaphernes (vi. 100).

<sup>310</sup> ἐκ τῶν δήμων, "out of the demes." The boroughs here referred to were probably those lying in that part of Attica called *Mesogæa*, which would seem to have been favourable to the cause of Pisistratus. If a line be drawn along the axis of Mount Hymettus, and produced, Marathon, as well as Pæania and Philaidæ, will lie on the eastern side of it, and all the plain of Athens on the western; and Pallene will form the natural point for the concentration of Pisistratus's forces in order to march upon Athens, on the supposition that a considerable portion of them was collected in the demes under Hymettus. But, if he had moved in full force from Marathon, the entrance into the plain of Athens would have been at the modern *Stamata*, considerably to the north (see LEAKE, *Appendix to Athens and the Demi of Attica*, vol. ii. p. 210). Thus the inaction of the Athenians may be accounted for. If they had marched to Marathon by Stamata, they would have exposed themselves to be taken in the rear by the force issuing from Mesogæa by Pallene. But, after the expulsion of the Pisistra-

tids and the complete triumph of the other party, no account of the war which made a large portion of the population of Attica favourable to the cause of the tyrant would be palatable, and the adherence of a number of villages would be represented as the act only of individuals among them, who "preferred despotism to liberty." See note 214, below.

<sup>311</sup> ἐπὶ Παλληνίδος Ἀθηναίης ἱρόν. This would be quite out of the direct road from Marathon to Athens, but would be a proper movement for taking in the rear the Athenian force marching into Mesogæa by Pallene. The position of the armies, and their operations will be excellently described by the oracle, if we suppose, first, the Pisistratids from *Mesogæa* marching upon Pallene; next, the Athenian force advancing to meet *these*, and opposing an obstacle to their advance; thirdly, the Pisistratids from *Marathon*, by a night-march from Stamata round the foot of Mount Brilessus, coming upon them about dinner-time. Then the Mesogæan force would be aptly denoted by the *δίκτυον* (or seine), the Marathonian corps by the *βόλος* (or drop-net), and the Athenians by the shoal of tunny-fish. The brightness of the mid-day, the critical time for the attack, is symbolized by the epithet *σεληναία* applied to νύξ: night (not a *bright*, but a *dark* one) being the proper time for fishing, after the manner common in Greece, where the

ὄπλα· ἐνθαῦτα θείῃ πομπῇ χρεώμενος παρίσταται Πεισιστράτῳ <sup>decisive</sup>  
 Ἀμφίλυτος ὁ Ἀκαρινὰν, χρησμολόγος ἀνὴρ, ὃς οἱ προσιών χρᾶ ἐν <sup>victory at</sup>  
 ἑξαμέτρῳ τόνφ, τάδε λέγων <sup>Pallene,</sup>

Ἔρβεται δ' ὁ βόλος, τὸ δὲ δίκτυον ἐκπεπέτασται  
 θύνοι δ' οἰμήσουσι σεληναίης διὰ νυκτός.

Ὁ μὲν δὴ οἱ ἐνθεάζων χρᾶ τάδε Πεισίστρατος δὲ συλλαβὼν τὸ 63  
 χρηστήριον καὶ φᾶς δέκεσθαι τὸ χρησθὲν, ἐπήγγε τὴν στρατιήν.

Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος πρὸς ἄριστον τετραμμένοι ἦσαν δὴ  
 τηνικαῦτα <sup>212</sup>. καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἄριστον μετεξέτεροι αὐτῶν, οἱ μὲν

πρὸς κύβους οἱ δὲ πρὸς ὕπνου. οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Πεισίστρατον ἐσπε-  
 σόντες, τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τρέπουσι· φευγόντων δὲ τούτων, βουλὴν

ἐνθαῦτα σοφωτάτην Πεισίστρατος ἐπιτεχνᾷται, ὅπως μήτε ἄλλ-  
 σθεῖεν ἔτι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, διεσκεδασμένοι τε εἶεν ἀναβιβάσας τοὺς

παῖδας ἐπὶ ἵππους προέπεμπε· οἱ δὲ καταλαμβάνοντες τοὺς φεύ-  
 γοντας, ἔλεγον τὰ ἐντεταλμένα ὑπὸ Πεισιστράτου, θαρσέειν τε

κέλεύοντες <sup>213</sup> καὶ ἀπιέναι, ἕκαστος ἐπὶ τὰ ἑωυτοῦ. Πειθομένων 64  
 δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, οὕτω δὴ Πεισίστρατος τὸ τρίτον σχὼν Ἀθήνας,

ἐρρίξωσε τὴν τυραννίδα ἐπικουροῖσι τε πολλοῖσι, καὶ χρημάτων  
 συνόδοισι, (τῶν μὲν αὐτόθεν τῶν δὲ ἀπὸ Στρυμόνος ποταμοῦ

συνιόντων,) ὁμήρους τε τῶν παραμεινάντων Ἀθηναίων καὶ μὴ  
 αὐτίκα φυγόντων παῖδας λαβὼν καὶ καταστήσας ἐς Νάξον (καὶ

γὰρ ταύτην ὁ Πεισίστρατος κατεστρέψατο πολέμῳ καὶ ἐπέτρεψε  
 Λυγδάμῳ <sup>214</sup>) πρὸς τε ἔτι τούτοις, τὴν νῆσον Δῆλον καθήρας <sup>215</sup> ἐκ

and takes  
 measures  
 for securing  
 his power.

In pur-  
 suance of

shoal is attracted by a torch (held over the stern of a boat) into the entrance of the net prepared for them.

<sup>212</sup> πρὸς ἄριστον τετραμμένοι ἦσαν δὴ τηνικαῦτα. The particle δὴ serves to mark the particular feature in the narrative to which the attention of the reader is directed. See note 6, above.

<sup>213</sup> θαρσέειν τε κεύοντες. It may throw some light on the value of popular traditions, to remark that the orator ANDOCIDES, pleading before the Athenians in the year 400 B.C., speaks of this battle as one in which Pisistratus's faction were defeated, and by which the party of the commonalty (under the leading of the speaker's great-grandfather Leogoras, and his son-in-law Charias) recovered Athens. (*De Myst.* § 106.) This is the same thing as if a Frenchman in the year 1958 should

represent Louis Napoleon as becoming president of the French Republic, in consequence of the victory of General Changarnier over the allies at the battle of Waterloo; yet it was not for want of more correct representations of the matter. See the first note on v. 65.

<sup>214</sup> καὶ ἐπέτρεψε Λυγδάμῳ. ARISTOTLE (*Politic.* v. p. 1305, A. l. 41) gives the fate of the oligarchy of Naxos as an instance of the destruction which awaits such governments, when the members of them indulge in outrages upon the commonalty,—who, to revenge themselves, readily join any leader, especially when they can find one among the members of the oligarchy itself; “as in the case of Lygdamis, ὃς καὶ ἐτυράννευσεν ὁσπερὸν τῶν Ναξίων.” The outrage to which he alludes here, he described more fully in

an oracle  
he purifies  
the island  
Delos.

τῶν λογίων, καθήρας δὲ ὦδε ἐπ' ὅσον ἔπομφις τοῦ ἱροῦ εἶχε, ἐκ  
τούτου τοῦ χώρου παντὸς ἐξορύξας τοὺς νεκροὺς, μετεφόρεε ἐς  
ἄλλον χώρον τῆς Δήλου καὶ Πεισίστρατος μὲν ἐτυράννευε  
'Αθηναίων 'Αθηναίων δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ἐπεπτώκεσαν οἱ δὲ  
αὐτῶν μετὰ 'Αλκμαιωνιδέων<sup>214</sup> ἔφευγον ἐκ τῆς οἰκῆτης.

65

History of  
Lacedæmon  
for the  
period just  
preceding  
the time of  
Cæsus.

Lycurgus's  
institutions  
were the  
beginning  
of Sparta's  
greatness.

Τοὺς μὲν νῦν 'Αθηναίους τοιαῦτα τὸν χρόνον τούτον ἐπυνθάνετο  
ὁ Κροῖσος κατέχοντα· τοὺς δὲ Λακεδαιμονίους ἐκ κακῶν τε μεγάλων  
πεφευγόντας, καὶ ἔοντας ἤδη τῷ πολέμῳ κατυπερτέρους  
Τεγεατέων. ἐπὶ γὰρ Λέοντος βασιλεύοντος καὶ 'Ηγησικλέος ἐν  
Σπάρτῃ, τοὺς ἄλλους πολέμους εὐτυχεύοντες οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι,  
πρὸς Τεγεάτας μόνους προσέπταιον. τὸ δὲ ἔτι πρότερον τούτων,  
καὶ κακονομώτατοι ἦσαν σχεδὸν πάντων 'Ελλήνων, κατὰ τε σφέας  
αὐτοὺς, καὶ ξένοισι ἀπρόσμικτοι. μετέβαλον δὲ ὦδε ἐς εὐνομίην  
Λυκούργου, τῶν Σπαρτιητέων δοκίμου ἀνδρὸς, ἐλθόντος ἐς Δελ-  
φοὺς ἐπὶ τὸ χρηστήριον, ὡς ἐσήϊε ἐς τὸ μέγαρον εὐθύς ἡ Πυθίη  
λέγει τάδε·

Ἦκεις, ὦ Λυκόργε, ἐμὸν ποτὶ πτόνα νῆδιν,  
Ζηνὶ φίλος, καὶ πᾶσιν ὀλύμπια δέματ' ἔχουσι.  
διζῶ ἢ σε θεὸν μαντεύσομαι, ἢ ἄνθρωπον  
ἄλλ' ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον θεὸν ἔλπομαι, ὦ Λυκόργε.

οἱ μὲν δὴ τινες πρὸς τούτοις λέγουσι καὶ φράσαι αὐτῷ τὴν  
Πυθίην τὸν νῦν κατεστεῶτα κόσμον Σπαρτιήτῃσι· ὡς δ' αὐτοὶ  
Λακεδαιμόνιοι λέγουσι, Λυκούργον ἐπιτροπεύσαντα Λεωβώτῳ<sup>215</sup>,

his *Ναξίων πολιτεία* (cp. *Athen.* viii. p. 348). A number of drunken young men made an attack as a *κῶμος* upon a popular individual named Telestagrams, and grossly ill-treated himself and two marriageable daughters. The Naxians, in indignation, took up arms, *προστα- τοῦτος αὐτῶν Λυγδάμιδος*, *ὅς ἐκ τούτης τῆς στρατηγίας τύραννος ἀνέ- φανη τῆς πατρίδος*. According to this view of the Naxian revolution, Lygdamis would appear rather as a successful dynast or general in the way to become such, assisting an ally embarked in a kindred cause; and such a view is in keeping with the way he is mentioned above (§ 61). But doubtless, in after-times, Athenian vanity would be piqued at such a representation of the relation of Pisistratus to Lygdamis, and a new turn (such as that in the text) would be given to the story (see the first note on v. 31). Po-

LYGDMUS (i. 23, 2) represents Polycrates as acquiring the dynasty of Samos by the aid of Lygdamis's troops, but nothing of this kind appears from Herodotus's account. With reference to the chronology of the Naxian revolutions, see the first note on v. 30.

<sup>214</sup> *τὴν νῆσον Δήλον καθήρας*. THUCYDIDES (iii. 104) confirms Herodotus's statement relative to Pisistratus's purgation of a portion of the island. The Athenians repeated the operation much more thoroughly in the sixth year of the Peloponnesian war.

<sup>215</sup> *'Αλκμαιωνιδέων*. Gaisford and the MSS have *'Αλκμαιωνίδων*, which is referred to Megacles. But the *gentile* name could never be applied, without some previous explanation, to denote an individual of the *gens*.

<sup>217</sup> *ἐπιτροπεύσαντα Λεωβώτῳ*. This passage is quoted by PAUSANIAS (iii.

ἀδελφιδέου μὲν ἑωυτοῦ βασιλεύοντος δὲ Σπαρτιητέων, ἐκ Κρήτης ἀγαγέσθαι ταῦτα. ὥς γὰρ ἐπετρόπευσε τάχιστα, μετέστησε τὰ νόμιμα πάντα, καὶ ἐφύλαξε ταῦτα μὴ παραβαίνειν μετὰ δὲ, τὰ ἐς πόλεμον ἔχοντα, ἐνωμοτίας καὶ τριηκάδας καὶ συσσίτια, πρὸς τε τούτοις τοὺς ἐφόρους<sup>218</sup> καὶ γέροντας ἔστησε Λυκούργος. Οὕτω 66

2. 3), who identifies Leobotes with the more common form Labotas, the son of Echestratus, king of Sparta. CLINTON (from the difficulties, chronological and genealogical, which result) considers the text corrupted. But in fact Herodotus appears here to be following the same *data* which were followed by ERATOSTHENES and APOLLODORUS (the Alexandrine chronologers) in determining the succession of the Spartan kings; for they made Lycurgus much more ancient than the first Olympiad. Still no doubt these *διαδοχαί* were not based on contemporaneous records; for, otherwise, ARISTOTLE would not, as he did (*Plutarch. Vit. Lyc.* § 1), have considered the fact of Lycurgus's name appearing on the *discus* of Iphitus at Elis as conclusive of the date of his life. If the *διαδοχαί* had furnished a certain basis for chronology, such a kind of argument would have been quite superfluous. The uncertainty of the whole matter is obvious from the direct testimony of PLUTARCH in the opening sentence of the *Life*: *περὶ Λυκούργου, τοῦ νομοθέτου καθόλου μὲν οὐδὲν ἱστῶν εἰπεῖν ἀναμφισβήτητον, οὐ γὰρ καὶ γένος καὶ ἀποδημία καὶ τελευτὴ καὶ πρὸς ἅπασιν ἢ περὶ τοὺς νόμους αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν πολιτείαν πραγματεία διαφόρους ἔσχεν ἱστορίας· ἥκιστα δὲ οἱ χρόνοι, καθ' οὓς γέγονεν ὁ ἀνὴρ, δμοιοιοῦνται.* Under these circumstances it ought not to surprise that ARISTOTLE should make Charillus the king to whom Lycurgus was guardian (*Polit.* ii. p. 1271, line 25), in which he seems to agree with the native Cretan traditions (BROTHUS *ap. Strabon.* x. p. 382), while here Leobotes should be represented as his ward and nephew; or, again, that in some of the lists of Spartan kings Leobotes should appear as an *Eurystheneid*, and Lycurgus as a *Procleid*. Before the reigns of Leon and Hegesicles, just mentioned by Herodotus, the history of Sparta is in the highest degree uncertain, and it is not until the reign of Leonidas (*i. e.* just before the battle of Marathon) that the chronology becomes perfectly definite. Even Eratosthenes and

Apollodorus, although they both adopted the same basis (*i. e.* the *διαδοχαί*) varied in the date they assigned to Lycurgus by no less than sixty years, the former placing it as high as B.C. 884 (see CLINTON, *F.H.* vol. ii. *Appendix*, p. 409). The only points relative to the date of Lycurgus, which seem made out beyond all question, are the following: (1). That Lycurgus, and Iphitus, the restorer of the Olympian festival, were contemporaneous. This was asserted by ARISTOTLE (*op. Plutarch.* l. c.), and was also the universal belief of antiquity (ATHENÆUS, xiv. p. 635). (2) That the institutions with which Lycurgus's name was popularly identified had existed in Lacedæmon for a little more than four centuries at the end of the Peloponnesian war (THUCYDIDES, i. 18). (3) That, in the belief of the Eleans, the restoration of the Olympian festival by Iphitus was followed by a regular registration of the victors, of which the first was *Coræbus*, B.C. 776 (PAUSANIAS, v. 7. 5, *segg.*). But, as the Lacedæmonian *διαδοχαί* made Lycurgus much older, TIMÆUS the Locrian endeavoured to reconcile the varying accounts by supposing *two* Lycurguses (*Plutarch. Lycurg.* § 1) just as Clinton endeavours to achieve the same result by the machinery of *two* Iphituses. It is worth remarking, that Aristotle no where expresses the relationship of Lycurgus to his ward Charilaus, neither does Simonides. Aristotle, indeed, in one passage (*Polit.* iv. p. 1296), calls Lycurgus, like Solon and Charondas, a man *τῶν μέσων πολιτῶν*, although he qualifies this strange phrase by adding (if the words be not an interpolation) *οὐ γὰρ ἦν βασιλεὺς.*

<sup>218</sup> *πρὸς τε τούτοις τοὺς ἐφόρους.* ARISTOTLE (*Polit.* v. p. 1313, line 27) makes the Ephoralty to have been an institution, not of Lycurgus, but of Theopompus (of whom Herodotus makes mention, viii. 131, as the grandson of Charillus, and, consequently, two generations at least later than Lycurgus). He relates that the king, having been reproached by his wife with leaving the kingly office to his children in an inferior condition to

He is re-  
puted a  
hero after  
his death.

Lacedæmo-  
nian designs  
on Arcadia.

μὲν μεταβαλόντες εὐνομήθησαν. τῷ δὲ Λυκούργῳ τελευτήσαντι ἱρὸν εἰσάμενοι, σέβονται μεγάλως. οἷα δὲ ἔν τε χώρῃ ἀγαθῇ, καὶ πλήθει οὐκ ὀλίγων ἀνδρῶν, ἀνά τε ἔδραμον αὐτίκα καὶ εὐθηνήθησαν· καὶ δὴ σφί οὐκέτι ἀπέχρα ἡσυχίην ἄγειν, ἀλλὰ καταφρονήσαντες Ἀρκάδων κρέσσονες εἶναι, ἐχρησθηριάζοντο ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῇ Ἀρκάδων χώρῃ<sup>210</sup>. ἡ δὲ Πυθίῃ σφί χρᾶ τάδε·

Ἀρκάδιον μ' αἰτεῖς; μέγα μ' αἰτεῖς· οὐ τοι δόσω.  
πολλοὶ ἐν Ἀρκαδίῃ βαλανηφόγοι ἄνδρες ἔασι,  
οἳ σ' ἀποκωλύουσιν. ἐγὼ δέ τοι οὐ τι μεγάλαρ  
δόσω τοι Τεγέην ποσσίκροτον ὀρχήσασθαι,  
καὶ καλὸν πεδίον σχοίνῳ διαμετρήσασθαι.

Their de-  
feat at  
Tegea, and  
captivity.

Ταῦτα ὡς ἀπενειχθέντα ἤκουσαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, Ἀρκάδων μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ἀπείχοντο· οἱ δὲ, πέδας φερόμενοι, ἐπὶ Τεγεῖτας ἐστρατεύοντο, χρησμῷ κιβδηλῷ πίσυνοι ὡς δὴ ἐξανδραποδιούμενοι τοὺς Τεγεῖτας· ἐσωθέντες δὲ τῇ συμβολῇ, ὅσοι αὐτῶν ἐξωγήθησαν<sup>220</sup>, πέδας τε ἔχοντες τὰς ἐφέροντο αὐτοὶ καὶ σχοίνῳ διαμετρήσαντες τὸ πεδίον τὸ Τεγεγτέων, ἐργάζοντο. αἱ δὲ πέδαι αὐταί, ἐν τῇσι ἐδεδέατο, ἔτι καὶ ἔς ἐμὲ ἦσαν σώαι ἐν Τεγέῃ περὶ τὸν νηὸν τῆς Ἀλέης Ἀθηναίης<sup>221</sup> κρεμάμεναι.

that in which he received it, replied, οὐ δῆτα· παραβίβωμι γὰρ πολυχρονιώτεραν.

<sup>210</sup> ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῇ Ἀρκάδων χώρῃ. Herodotus here seems to represent the Arcadian wars as growing out of the elation of the Spartans at their prosperity under Lycurgus's institutions. ARISTOTLE, on the other hand, distinctly represents the wars with the Argives, and afterwards with the Arcadians and Messenians as having produced such an effect on the Lacedæmonians as to render the legislation of Lycurgus more easy: ἔγω γὰρ τῆς οἰκείας διὰ τὰς στρατείας ἀπεξεργασθῆναι πολὺν χρόνον, πολεμούντες τὸν τε πρὸς Ἀργεῖους πόλεμον καὶ πάλιν τὸν πρὸς Ἀρκάδας καὶ Μεσσηνίους· σχολάσαντες δὲ αὐτοὺς μὲν παρίχον τῷ νομοθέτῃ προφθορεῖν τοὺς νόμους διὰ τὸν στρατιωτικὸν βίον (πολλὰ γὰρ ἔχει μέρη τῆς ἀρετῆς)· τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας φασὶ μὲν ἄγειν ἐπιχειρήσαι τὸν Λυκούργον ἐπὶ τοὺς νόμους, ὥς δ' ἀντίκρουον, ἀποστήναι πάλιν (Polic. ii. p. 1270, line 1). Herodotus scarcely mentions the early Messenian wars at all (see note on iii. 47), neither does he any with either Argos or Arcadia antecedent to the Lycurgean legislation.

<sup>220</sup> ὅσοι αὐτῶν ἐξωγήθησαν. PAUSANIAS (x. 9. 5) describes a large group of statues set up at Delphi by the Tegeæ in commemoration of this event. He ascribes them to four artists, who are placed by SILLIG (*Catalogus Artificum*, v. v. Pausanias, *Dedalus of Sicyon*, *Antiphames*, and *Samolus*) quite at the end of the fifth century B.C. It is not likely, therefore, that the monument existed at Delphi at the time of Herodotus's visit there; and his account of the war appears on other accounts to be taken from a Tegean tradition. Perhaps this monument, and also the Argive one (on which see note on i. 82), was set up during the hollow truce between Athens and Sparta (B.C. 421—417) at a time when the diplomatic arts of Alcibiades were employed in the attempt to organize Arcadia and Argos against Lacedæmon. See note on viii. 27, οἱ μεγάλοι ἀνδριάντες.

<sup>221</sup> Ἀλέης Ἀθηναίης. The goddess Athene was worshipped under this name at Mantinea and at Alea (hard by Stymphalus) as well as at Tegea. The temple at this last place was an ancient sanctuary for the whole of Peloponnesus. Two La-

Κατὰ μὲν δὴ τὸν πρότερον πόλεμον συνεχῶς αἰεὶ κακῶς ἀέθλεον 67  
 πρὸς τοὺς Τεγεῖτας, κατὰ δὲ τὸν κατὰ Κροίσον χρόνον καὶ τὴν  
 Ἀναξανδρίδῳ τε καὶ Ἀρίστωνος βασιλῆϊν<sup>222</sup> ἐν Λακεδαιμόνι,  
 ἥδη οἱ Σπαρτιῆται κατυπέρτεροι τῷ πολέμῳ ἐγεγόνεσαν, τρὸψ  
 τοιῷδε γενόμενοι· ἐπεὶ δὲ αἰεὶ τῷ πολέμῳ ἐσσούντο ὑπὸ Τεγεγέτων,  
 πέμψαντες θεοπρόπους<sup>223</sup> ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐπειρώτεον, τίνα ἂν θεῶν The Py-  
 ἱλασάμενοι κατύπερθε τῷ πολέμῳ Τεγεγέτων γενοίατο; ἡ δὲ Πυθίη<sup>224</sup> commands  
 σφί ἐχρησε, τὰ Ὁρέστω τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος ὅστέα<sup>225</sup> ἐπαγαγομέ- them to  
 νους· ὥς δὲ ἀνευρεῖν οὐκ οἶοι τε ἐγινέατο τὴν θήκην τοῦ Ὁρέστω, of Orestes,  
 ἔπεμπον αὐτὶς τὴν<sup>226</sup> ἐς θεὸν ἐπειρησομένους τὸν χῶρον ἐν τῷ  
 κέοιτο ὁ Ὁρέστης· εἰρωτῶσι δὲ ταῦτα τοῖσι θεοπρόποισι λέγει ἡ  
 Πυθίη τάδε·

Ἔστι τις Ἀρκαδῆς Τεγέη λευρῇ ἐνὶ χάρῃ,  
 ἔνθ' ἄνεμοι πνέουσι δύο κρατερῆς ὅπ' ἀνάγκης,  
 καὶ τύπος ἀντίτυπος, καὶ πῆμ' ἐπὶ πῆματι κεῖται.  
 ἔνθ' Ἀγαμέμνονιδην κατέχει φυσίχους αἶα·  
 τὸν σὺ κομισσάμενος, Τεγέης ἐπιτάρβηθός ἔσση<sup>226</sup>.

cedæmonian kings, Leontychides and Pausanias, found refuge there; and so also did Chryseis, the Argive priestess, when the Heraeum was burnt down owing to her falling asleep (PAUSANIAS, iii. 5. 6). In Laconia she was worshipped at Therapne. As a divinity she was undoubtedly of the time antecedent to the Heraclide invasion. The image of the Tegean Athene which Pausanias found there (viii. 47. 1) had been brought from Manthreia, a village in Arcadia, where it had the surname not of *Alea*, but of *Hippia*. But the Athene Hippia (worshipped at Colonos and Achæne in Attica, and at Elis) is, from the combination in which she is found with Poseidon, the Dioscuri, and Pan, obviously Achæan. See note on v. 72, *ἦτε ἐς τὸ ἄδυτον τῆς θεοῦ*, and the next to it.

<sup>222</sup> Ἀναξανδρίδῳ τε καὶ Ἀρίστωνος βασιλῆϊν. Anaxandrides was the son of Leon. He was dead at the time Aristagoras arrived in Sparta to solicit the aid of the Lacedæmonians against Persia (v. 39). By the comparison of this passage with § 65, it appears that Herodotus places the unsuccessful expedition against Tegea in the reign of Leon. Ariston was the father of Demaratus, respecting whose birth Herodotus tells the strange story (vi. 61, *seqq.*).

<sup>223</sup> θεοπρόπους. See note 147, above.

<sup>224</sup> τὰ Ὁρέστω τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος ὅστέα. A Spartan local legend made Orestes king of Lacedæmon in addition to his paternal dominions, and he was said to have brought from the Tauri the wooden image (ἱεῖον) of Artemis Orthia, in the Limnæum of Sparta, in honour of whom, before the time of Lycurgus, human victims were sacrificed, and subsequently youths were scourged, in accordance with the command of an oracle "to shed human blood on her altar" (PAUSANIAS, iii. 16. 7). But the Arcadian traditions made Orestes emigrate from Mycenæ, not to Sparta, but to Arcadia (PAUSANIAS, viii. 5. 4). From the circumstance of Herodotus bringing his bones thence, and from that of his mentioning the fetters hanging up in the temple of Athene Alea, it seems that in this insulated story he is following a local Tegean tradition.

<sup>225</sup> τὴν, i. e. *θεοπρῶτον*.

<sup>226</sup> Τεγέης ἐπιτάρβηθός ἔσση. This expression occasions a good deal of difficulty, as *ἐπιτάρβηθός* (or its equivalent *ἐπιρβηθός*) signifies "a helper" or "defender," especially in the case of a deity who assists in war, whereas here the sense of a victor over the city seems required. But there is no authority for the word possessing such a sense; and perhaps the passage may be explained without resorting to it. The meaning of the oracle seems to be,

68

which are  
discovered  
by Lichas  
at Tegea,  
and by him  
fraudu-  
lently car-  
ried off;

ὡς δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἤκουσαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἀπείχον τῆς ἐξευρέσεως οὐδὲν ἔλασσον, πάντα διζήμενοι ἐς οὐδὴ Λίχης, τῶν ἀγαθοεργῶν καλεομένων Σπαρτιηγέων, ἀνεῦρε. (οἱ δὲ ἀγαθοεργοὶ εἰσὶ τῶν ἀστῶν, ἐξιόντες ἐκ τῶν ἱππέων αἰεὶ οἱ πρεσβύτατοι, πέντε ἔτεος ἐκάστον τοὺς δεῖ τοῦτον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν τὸν ἀν ἐξίωσι ἐκ τῶν ἱππέων, Σπαρτιηγέων τῷ κοινῷ διαπεμπομένους μὴ ἐλυνύειν<sup>227</sup> ἄλλους ἄλλῃ). Τούτων ὦν τῶν ἀνδρῶν Λίχης ἀνεῦρε ἐν Τεγῇ καὶ συντυχίῃ χρησάμενος καὶ σοφίῃ· ἐούσης γὰρ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἐπιμειξίης πρὸς τοὺς Τεγεήτας, ἐλθὼν ἐς χαλκήϊον<sup>228</sup> ἐθηέτο σιδηρον ἐξελαυνόμενον, καὶ ἐν θῶματι ἦν ὁρέων τὸ ποιούμενον μαθὼν δὲ μὴν ὁ χαλκεὺς ἀποθαυμάζοντα, εἶπε παυσάμενος τοῦ ἔργου "ἦ κου ἀν, ὦ ξεῖνε Δάκων, εἰ περ εἶδες τό περ ἐγὼ, κάρτα ἀν ἐθῶμαξες ὅκου νῦν οὕτω τυγχάνεις θῶμα ποιούμενος τὴν ἐργασίην τοῦ σιδήρου· ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐν τῇδε θέλων τῇ αὐλῇ φρέαρ ποιήσασθαι, ὀρύσσων ἐπέτυχον σορῶ ἐπταπήχεϊ· ὑπὸ δὲ ἀπιστίας μὴ μὲν γενέσθαι μηδαμὰ μέζοντας ἀνθρώπους τῶν νῦν, ἀνῶξα αὐτήν, καὶ εἶδον τὸν νεκρὸν μήκει ἴσον ἔοντα τῇ σορῶ μετρήσας δὲ συνέχωσα ὀπίσω." ὁ μὲν δὴ οἱ ἔλεγε τά περ ὀπώπτε· ὁ δὲ ἐννώσας τὰ λεγόμενα, συνεβάλλετο τὸν Ὀρέστεα κατὰ τὸ θεοπρόπιον τοῦτον εἶναι, τῇδε συμβαλλέμενος· τοῦ χαλκεὺς δύο ὁρέων φύσας, τοὺς ἀνέμους εὔρισκε ἔοντας· τὸν δὲ ἄκμονα καὶ τὴν σφύραν, τὸν τε τύπον καὶ τὸν ἀντίτυπον τὸν δὲ ἐξελαυνόμενον σιδηρον, τὸ πῆμα ἐπὶ πῆματι κείμενον κατὰ τοιόνδε τι εἰκάζων, ὡς ἐπὶ κακῷ ἀνθρώπου σιδηρος ἀνεύρηται. συμβαλλόμενος δὲ ταῦτα, καὶ ἀπελθὼν ἐς Σπάρτην ἔφραζε Λακεδαιμονίοισι πᾶν τὸ πρήγμα· οἱ δὲ ἐκ λόγου πλαστοῦ ἐπενεικαντές<sup>229</sup> οἱ αἰτίην, ἐδίδωξαν ὁ δὲ ἀπικόμενος ἐς Τεγῆν καὶ φράζων τὴν

that the possession of the bones of Orestes would put the Lacedaemonians in the position of θεοὶ ἐπιτάρροθοι as regarded Tegea; i. e. they would have it in their hands to let it stand or destroy it. It is a curious circumstance, that the "cineres Orestis" were one of the seven sacred fetishes, which were considered as securing the *imperium Romanum* (SERVIUS *ad Virg. Æn.* vii. 188). This, if there were nothing else, would be an indication that one of the elements of the population of early Rome was ethnically identical with

the race which in the time of Herodotus remained in Arcadia.

<sup>227</sup> μὴ ἐλυνύειν. These words, which are equivalent to σφεδᾶναι, perhaps are a portion of the formula of instructions to the Agathoergi.

<sup>228</sup> χαλκήϊον, "a smithy." The etymology of the name shows the truth of what LUCRETIUS (v. 1292) says: "Nam prior eris erat quam ferri cognitus usus."

<sup>229</sup> ἐπενεικαντες. See note on iv. 154, ἐπενεικασα.



ἑαυτοῦ συμφορὴν πρὸς τὸν χαλκέα, ἐμισθοῦτο παρ' οὐκ ἐκιδόν-  
τος<sup>220</sup> τὴν αὐλήν χρόνον δὲ ὡς ἀνέγνωσε, ἐνοικίσθη ἀνορύξας δὲ  
τὸν τάφον καὶ τὰ ὁπτεᾶ συλλέξας, οἴχετο φέρων ἐς Σπάρτην καὶ  
ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου<sup>221</sup>, ὅπως περὶ αὐτοῦ ἀλλήλων, πολλῶ κατ-  
υπέρτεροι τῷ πολέμῳ ἐγίνοντο οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι· ἤδη δὲ σφι καὶ  
ἡ πολλὴ τῆς Πελοποννήσου ἦν κατεστραμμένη<sup>222</sup>.

after which  
they get the  
better of the  
Tegeatae.

Ταῦτα δὴ ὦν πάντα πυνθανόμενος ὁ Κροῖσος ἔπεμπε ἐς Σπάρ-  
την ἀγγέλους δῶρά τε φέροντας<sup>223</sup> καὶ δεησομένους συμμαχίης,  
ἐντειλόμενός τε τὰ λέγειν χρῆν. οἱ δὲ ἐλθόντες ἔλεγον "ἔπεμψε  
ἡμέας Κροῖσος ὁ Λυδῶν τε καὶ ἄλλων ἐθνέων βασιλεὺς, λέγων  
τάδε ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, χρῆσαντος τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν Ἑλληνα<sup>224</sup> φίλον  
προσθέσθαι, ὑμέας γὰρ πυνθάνομαι προεστάναι τῆς Ἑλλάδος,  
ὑμέας ὦν κατὰ τὸ χρηστήριον προσκαλέομαι, φίλος τε θέλων  
γενέσθαι καὶ σύμμαχος ἄνευ τε δόλου καὶ ἀπάτης." Κροῖσος μὲν  
δὴ ταῦτα δι' ἀγγέλων ἐπεκηρυκεύετο, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἑσπικούτες  
καὶ αὐτοὶ τὸ θεοπρόπιον τὸ Κροίσῳ γενόμενον, ἥσθησάν τε τῇ  
ἀφίξει τῶν Λυδῶν καὶ ἐποιήσαντο ὅρκια ξεινίης πέρι καὶ ξυμμα-  
χίης· καὶ γὰρ τινες αὐτοὺς εὐεργεσίαι εἶχον ἐκ Κροίσου πρότερον  
ἔτι γεγονυῖαι· πέμψαντες γὰρ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐς Σάρδις,  
χρυσὸν ὠνέοντο, ἐς ἀγαλμα<sup>225</sup> βουλόμενοι χρῆσασθαι τοῦτο τὸ

69  
A treaty is  
entered into  
between  
Cresus and  
the Lacedæ-  
monians.

He had for-  
merly pre-  
sented them  
with some  
gold for a  
statue,

<sup>220</sup> παρ' οὐκ ἐκιδόντος, "from him re-  
fusing to sell it outright."

<sup>221</sup> ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου. The dedi-  
cation of a fane to Orestes would not be  
without political significance. He was a  
hero belonging to the Tyndaride mythol-  
ogy; in other words, he was an object of  
reverence to the Achæan or ante-Dorian  
population of Laconia. These were, in a  
great measure, of the same blood as the  
Arcadians, and possibly the previous want  
of success arose from their indifference to  
the cause. But, soon after the event men-  
tioned in the text, it is certain that the  
Achæan element in the Lacedæmonian  
population acquired considerable import-  
ance. (See notes on v. 72, and v. 75.)  
It is far from unlikely that the dedication  
in question was the formal inauguration  
of some changes in the constitution by  
which this portion of the community was  
elevated,—perhaps some modification of  
the royal marriage-laws. (See the third  
note on v. 41.)

<sup>222</sup> κατεστραμμένη. The historical no-

tices of the Lacedæmonians are resumed  
in v. 39.

<sup>223</sup> δῶρά τε φέροντας. The manuscripts  
B and V connect these words with § 66.  
See the note 178, above.

<sup>224</sup> τὸν Ἑλληνα, "the Greek." Pos-  
sibly this was the exact phrase of the  
oracle, of which the expression τοῦτο Ἑλ-  
λήνων δυνατατότου. (§ 63) may be a  
paraphrastic explanation.

<sup>225</sup> ἐς ἀγαλμα βουλόμενοι χρῆσασθαι.  
It does not follow from these words, as  
some have supposed, that the Lacedæ-  
monians wished to form the gold into an  
image. TIMOPOMPUS (op. Athen. vi.  
p. 231) says that they wanted it "to gild  
the face (χρυσῶσαι τὸ πρόσωπον) of the  
image of Apollo at Amyclæ." The oldest  
images of the gods in the Hellenic tem-  
ples were of wood, and, when the taste  
for art sprang up, it was opposed by an  
unwillingness to substitute new forms of a  
nobler material for the old idols, to which  
a peculiar sanctity was attributed. A  
union of the two principles was attempted

70 νῦν τῆς Λακωνικῆς ἐν Θόρνῳ<sup>226</sup> ἴδρυται Ἀπόλλωνος Κροίσος δὲ σφι ὠνεομένοισι ἔδωκε δατήν. Τούτων τε ὧν εἵνεκεν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὴν συμμαχίην ἐδέξαντο, καὶ ὅτι ἐκ πάντων σφέας προκρίνας Ἑλλήνων αἰρέετο φίλους. καὶ, τοῦτο μὲν αὐτοὶ ἦσαν ἐτοῖμοι<sup>227</sup> ἐπαγγεῖλαντι τοῦτο δὲ ποιησάμενοι κρητῆρα χάλκεον, ζώδιον τε ἔξωθεν πλήσαντες περὶ τὸ χεῖλος<sup>228</sup>, καὶ μεγάλῃ τριηκοσίους ἀμφορέας χωρέοντα ἦγον, δῶρον βουλόμενοι ἀντιδοῦναι

and they now send him a bowl, which finds its way to the Heraeum at Samos.

by draping the ancient figure, and affixing head, hands, and feet of marble (what PAUSANIAS calls ἀκρόλθοι). A very archaic specimen of this kind is the statue of Apollo at Phigalia, described by STACKELBERG (*Der Apollo Tempel zu Bassa*, p. 98). Another method was to cover a portion, or the whole of the original figure, with a crust of gold or ivory. These are what the chorus in EURIPIDES (*Troades*, 1074) allude to when they speak of χρυσίων ζώδων τύποι. It must be remembered that, when Theopompus speaks of gilding the face of the Apollo statue, he does not mean the application of gold-leaf, but of a solid mask, beaten by the hammer into shape. Neither must this practice be confounded in its origin with one which grew up under the Roman emperors, of making moveable head-dresses for the portrait-statues, in order that they might, like their originals, follow the fashion of the day. The gold and ivory were in the early times intended to be fixtures, and Phidias was the first (in the case of the Athene Parthenos, a new statue) who contrived that they should be moveable. The ancient idol was preserved under the influence of the same feeling which induced the more lax Christians of Germany to allow the images of the pagan idols to remain in the masonry of their church-walls. (See GRIMM, *Deutsche Mythologie*, p. 691.) St. Gallus found three such in an oratory of St. Aurelia at Brezneg, and broke them up and threw them into the lake of Constance. The people said of them, "Isti sunt dii veteres et antiqui hujus loci tutores, quorum solatio et nos et nostra perdurant usque in praesens."

<sup>226</sup> ἐν Θόρνῳ. The image of Apollo here was of the same kind with that at Amyclæ, which latter was more highly venerated by the Lacedæmonians; and PAUSANIAS states, that the gold which Croesus sent for the former statue was

appropriated by the Lacedæmonians to the decoration of the latter (iii. 10. 8). This one he describes as being extremely archaic and rude, and except for the countenance, the hands, and the extremities of the feet, resembling a column of brass. (See the account of the Paphian Aphrodite in the note on i. 106.) He adds, ἔχει δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ κρένος, λόγχην δὲ ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ καὶ τόξον. It was apparently about thirty cubits in height. If it was any thing like this, a considerable amount of gold must have been requisite for the face, and the conjecture of Quatremère de Quincy, that it was used for ornamenting the throne on which the idol was placed (which was more recent, and of a highly elaborate character), becomes perfectly gratuitous.

<sup>227</sup> ἦσαν ἐτοῖμοι ἐπαγγεῖλαντι. "Closed with his proposition." ἐτοῖμος εἶναι implies, not merely the existence of an inclination to do a thing, but the expression of it in words. Thus Gyges (i. 10): ὡς οὐκ ἔδυνάτο διαφυγεῖν ἢν ἐτοῖμος, "consented." SOPHOCLES, *Antig.* 264, seqq.:

ἦμεν δὲ ἔτοιμοι καὶ μύθρους αἶρειν χερσὶν  
καὶ πῦρ διέρπειν, καὶ θεοὺς δρῶμεν  
τὸ μῆτε δρᾶσαι μῆτε τῷ ξυνεῖδεναι.

"we offered to take hot iron in our hands." This idiom seems to have arisen from ἐτοῖμος εἶμι, being a colloquial phrase to denote consent.

<sup>228</sup> ζώδιον τε ἔξωθεν πλήσαντες περὶ τὸ χεῖλος, "having filled up the circle of the rim with figures outside." The word ζώδιον in the description of plastic or architectural works means figures of any kind. The *Zophorus* is the frieze of a building,—the member of the entablature which carries the decorations. The word ζῶα is used for the figures on the Eastern printed stuffs in i. 203, and for the hieroglyphics on the Egyptian temples, ii. 4. 148.

Κροίσῳ. οὗτος ὁ κρητῆρ οὐκ ἀπίκετο ἐς Σάρδεις, δι' αἰτίας διφασίας λεγομένας τάσδε· οἱ μὲν Λακεδαιμόνιοι λέγουσι, ὡς ἐπεὶ τε ἀγόμενος ἐς τὰς Σάρδεις ὁ κρητῆρ ἐγίνετο κατὰ τὴν Σαμῖν, πυθόμενοι Σάμιοι ἀπελοίατο αὐτὸν νηυσὶ μακρῇσι ἐπιπλῶσαντες. αὐτοὶ δὲ Σάμιοι λέγουσι, ὡς ἐπεὶ τε ὑστέρησαν οἱ ἄγοντες τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων τὸν κρητῆρα, ἐπυνθάνοντο δὲ Σάρδεις τε καὶ Κροῖσον ἠλωκέναι, ἀπέδοντο τὸν κρητῆρα ἐν Σάμῳ· ἰδιώτας δὲ ἄνδρας πριαμένους ἀναθεῖναι μιν ἐς τὸ Ἡραῖον. τάχα δὲ ἂν καὶ οἱ ἀποδόμενοι λέγοιεν ἀπικόμενοι ἐς Σπάρτην, ὡς ἀπαιρεθείησαν ὑπὸ Σαμίων. κατὰ μὲν νυν τὸν κρητῆρα οὕτως ἔσχε.

Κροῖσος δὲ ἁμαρτὸν τοῦ χρησμοῦ, ἐποίετο στρατηγὴν ἐς 71  
Καππαδοκίην, ἐλπίσας καταρῆσειν Κύρῳ τε καὶ τὴν Περσέων δύναμιν.

Παρασκευαζομένου δὲ Κροῖσου στρατεῦσθαι ἐπὶ Πέρσας, τῶν Croesus, preparing to attack the Persians, is dissuaded by Sandanias, a Lydian. τις Λυδῶν, νομιζόμενος καὶ πρόσθεν εἶναι σοφὸς ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης τῆς γνώμης καὶ τὸ κάρτα οὐνομα ἐν Λυδοῖσι ἔχων, συνεβούλευσε Κροίσῳ τάδε· (οὐνομά οἱ ἦν Σάνδανις) “ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐπ' ἄνδρας τοιοῦτους στρατεῦσθαι παρασκευάζεαι οἱ σκυτῖνας μὲν ἀναξυρίδας<sup>239</sup>, σκυτῖνην δὲ τὴν ἄλλην ἐσθῆτα φορέουσιν· σιτέονται δὲ οὐκ ὅσα ἐθέλουσι ἀλλ' ὅσα ἔχουσι, χώρην ἔχοντες τρηχέην<sup>240</sup>. πρὸς δὲ, οὐκ οἴνῳ διαχρέονται ἀλλὰ ὕδροποτεύουσι· οὐ σῦκα δὲ ἔχουσι τρώγειν, οὐκ ἄλλο ἀγαθὸν οὐδέν. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ, εἰ νικήσεις, τί σφεας ἀπαιρῆσαι τοῖσι γε μὴ ἔστι μηδέν; τοῦτο δὲ, ἦν νικηθῆς, μάθε ὅσα ἀγαθὰ ἀποβαλέεις· γευσάμενοι γὰρ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀγαθῶν περιέξονται, οὐδὲ ἀπωστοὶ ἔσονται. ἐγὼ μὲν νυν θεοῖσι ἔχω χάριν, οἱ οὐκ ἐπὶ νόον ποιεῖουσιν Πέρσησι<sup>241</sup> στρατεῦσθαι ἐπὶ

<sup>239</sup> ἀναξυρίδας. The general use by the Asiatic mountaineers of this article of dress seems to have particularly struck both Greeks and Romans. Thus Aristagoras is made to describe them to the Lacedæmonians (v. 49) that ἀναξυρίδας ἔχοντες ἔρχονται ἐς τὰς μάχας καὶ κυρβάσις ἐπὶ τῇσι κεφαλῇσι, and PERSIUS, speaking of the ποικίλη στοὰ at Athens, which was painted with a representation of the battle of Marathon, calls it “braccatis illita Medis Porticus” (iii. 53).

<sup>240</sup> χώρην ἔχοντες τρηχέην. This is only a true description of a portion even

of Persia Proper. And, after the transfer of the resources of the Medes to the Persians, it was impossible to continue using the argument of Sandanias. Neither does Persia Proper lie outside the region of Asia where the vine is cultivated. This insulated narrative therefore seems rather to belong to the same class of stories as those on which XENOPHON based his *Cyropædia*. Of the same kind is the anecdote related ix. 121.

<sup>241</sup> ἐγὼ μὲν νυν θεοῖσι ἔχω χάριν, οἱ οὐκ ἐπὶ νόον ποιεῖουσιν Πέρσησι. The same expression occurs in another dialogue with Croesus, above, § 27, αὐτὰρ τοῦτο θεοὶ

Λυδοῦς." ταῦτα λέγων οὐκ ἔπειθε τὸν Κροῖσον. Πέρσῃσι γὰρ, πρὶν Λυδοὺς καταστρέφασθαι, ἦν οὔτε ἄβρὸν οὔτε ἀγαθὸν οὐδέν.

72 Οἱ δὲ Καππαδόκαι ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων Σύριοι<sup>243</sup> ὀνομάζονται· ἦσαν δὲ οἱ Σύριοι οὗτοι τὸ μὲν πρότερον ἢ Πέρσας ἄρξαι Μήδων κατήκοι, τότε δὲ Κύρου· ὁ γὰρ οὗρος ἦν τῆς τε Μηδικῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ τῆς Λυδικῆς ὁ Ἄλυσ ποταμός· ὃς ῥέει ἐξ Ἀρμενίου οὗρου διὰ Κιλικῶν<sup>244</sup>, μετὰ δὲ Ματινηοῦς<sup>245</sup> μὲν ἐν δεξιῇ ἔχει ῥέων ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἑτέρου Φρύγας· παραμειβόμενος δὲ τούτους καὶ ῥέων ἄνω πρὸς βορρῇν ἄνεμον, ἔνθεν μὲν Συρίους<sup>246</sup> Καππαδόκας ἀπέργει, ἐξ εὐωνύμου δὲ Παφλαγόνας. οὕτω ὁ Ἄλυσ ποταμός ἀποτάμνει σχεδὸν πάντα τῆς Ἀσίας τὰ κάτω ἐκ θαλάσσης τῆς ἀντίου

Cappadocians (by the Greeks called Syrians) on the east bank of the Halys, which divides the Lydian from the Median empire.

ποικίσειαν ἐπὶ λόφον νησιώτησι, ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ Λυδῶν παῖδας σὺν Ἰπποισι. Compare iii. 21, οἱ οὐκ ἐπὶ λόφον τρέπουσι Λιθιόπων παῖσι, &c.

<sup>243</sup> Σύριοι. The MSS here all have this form, but in i. 6 and vii. 72 are equally unanimous in giving the form Σύροι. Below, they vary between the two (note 245).

<sup>244</sup> ὃς ῥέει ἐξ Ἀρμενίου οὗρου διὰ Κιλικῶν. It is impossible to reconcile the aggregate notices by Herodotus of the course of the river Halys with geographical facts, and not easy to understand the origin of his errors, except by supposing that he not only confuses two rivers, but confounds two ranges of mountains. The Halys really rises in the ridge called Anti-Taurus, and, after flowing a considerable distance in a w. s. w. direction, takes a turn to the north-west, to about 40° N. lat. Thence it runs towards the N.E., falling into the Black Sea something east of Sinope. But between the ridge where it takes its rise, and the range of Taurus which runs along the south coast of Asia Minor, is an extensive plain entirely surrounded by mountains, the waters from which have no outlet, but terminate in inland lakes of large size, some of them extremely salt. Through this tract (Lycaonia or Tyanitis) the great military road of the Persians ran, two points of which were *Critalla* (supposed to be *Erclè*, lat. 37° 30', long. 31° 20') and *Celæne*, where the Meander rose; and between these two places Herodotus makes the road pass the Halys, at a place where there was a strong fort and a barrier (v. 52; vii. 26). It is impossible to suppose that *here* one of the rivers of the central plain is not meant;

and, if we take it to be a stream terminating in the lake near *Erclè*, perhaps we have a clue to the error of Herodotus. He apparently supposed the river crossed to be the real Halys, and he knew that river to be the boundary of the two empires. The *Erclè* river, on which is *Bor* (πόρος?), does really flow from that chain of mountains which belong to Armenia, and also διὰ Κιλικῶν, for anciently the Cilicians inhabited both sides of Taurus. (See LEAKE, *Asia Minor*, pp. 62–64.) It is indeed too small to be itself mistaken for the real Halys, but it seems not unlikely that the word *Halys* contains the same root as the Hellenic ἄλς, and signified (like the African *Bahr*) either a river or any other large quantity of water. Thus PLINY places *Archelais* upon a *Halys* (vi. 3); and it seems quite certain that the true emplacement of this site is the modern *Ak-Serai* (lat. 38° 20'), which is upon a stream called the Bayán Sû, flowing from the south into the great salt lake of Lycaonia. FIRUZABADI, too, the author of the Arabic Lexicon Kâmus, gives *Alis* as the name of a river in Cilicia, one day's journey from the city Tarsus. The word *Al* also is said to mean in Persian the *mirage*, or the appearance resembling water often seen in the desert. It, therefore, appears far from improbable that the authorities followed by Herodotus mistook an appellative for a proper name. See note 256, below, and on ii. 111, Φερών.

<sup>245</sup> Ματινηοῦς. See note on § 202, ἐκ Ματινηῶν ὁδὸν περὶ τὸ Γύνθη.

<sup>246</sup> Συρίους. The MSS vary between this form and Σύρους. See note 242.

Κύπρον ἐς τὸν Εὐξείνιον πόντον. ἔστι δὲ αὐχὴν οὗτος<sup>310</sup> τῆς χώρας ταύτης ἀπάσης· μήκος ὁδοῦ<sup>311</sup> εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρὶ πέντε ἡμέραι ἀνασιμούνται.

Ἐστρατεύετο δὲ ὁ Κροῖσος ἐπὶ τὴν Καππαδοκίην τῶνδε εἵνεκα· <sup>73</sup> καὶ γῆς<sup>312</sup> ἡμέρῳ, προσκτήσασθαι πρὸς τὴν ἐωυτοῦ μοῖραν βουλό- <sup>Astyages, the son-in-law (P) of Croesus.</sup> μενος, (καὶ μάλιστα, τῷ χρηστηρίῳ πίσυνος ἔων,) καὶ τίσασθαι θέλων ὑπὲρ Ἀστυάγεος Κύρον. Ἀστυάγεα γὰρ τὸν Κναξάρῳ, ἔοντα Κροίσου μὲν γαμβρὸν<sup>313</sup> Μήδων δὲ βασιλέα, Κῦρος ὁ Καμβύσῳ καταστρεψάμενος εἶχε, γενόμενον γαμβρὸν Κροίσῳ ὧδε. Σκυθέων τῶν νομάδων εἴλη ἀνδρῶν<sup>314</sup> στασιάζουσα, ὑπεξῆλθε ἐς <sup>How the alliance was formed.</sup> γῆν τὴν Μηδικήν· ἐτυράννευε δὲ τὸν χρόνον τούτον Μήδων Κναξάρης ὁ Φραόρτεω τοῦ Δηϊόκεω· ὃς τοὺς Σκύθας τούτους τὸ μὲν πρῶτον περιεΐπτε εὖ, ὡς ἔοντας ἰκέτας· ὥστε δὲ περὶ πολλοὺ ποιεόμενος αὐτοὺς, παῖδάς σφι παρέδωκε τὴν γλῶσσαν τε ἐκ- <sup>An outrage of some Scythians on Cyaxares</sup> μαθέειν καὶ τὴν τέχνην τῶν τόξων<sup>315</sup>. χρόνου δὲ γενομένου, καὶ αἰεὶ φοιτούντων τῶν Σκυθέων ἐπ' ἄγρην καὶ αἰεὶ τι φερόντων, καὶ κοτε συνήρκεε ἐλεῖν σφεας μηδὲν νοστήσαντας δὲ αὐτοὺς κεινῇσι χερσὶ ὁ Κναξάρης, (τὴν γὰρ, ὡς διέδεξε, ὀργὴν ἄκρος,) τρηχέως κάρτα περιέσπε ἀεκελή· οἱ δὲ ταῦτα πρὸς Κναξάρῳ παθόντες, ὥστε ἀνάξια σφέων αὐτῶν πεποιθότες ἐβούλευσαν<sup>316</sup> τῶν παρὰ

<sup>310</sup> ἔστι δὲ αὐχὴν οὗτος. The isthmus meant may, I conceive, be the distance from the river Halys, or what Herodotus took to be such, to the sea-coast; which might be about five days' journey from the passage of the Erclè river, if that was near Bor (see note 243), a site in the immediate neighbourhood of the ancient Tyana. For Tyana was considered as half-way between Mazaca and the Cilician gates, and from Mazaca to Tyana was about ninety-four miles (LAKKE, l. c.). If from the passage to the coast was near the same distance, the calculation would be fairly correct. It should be remembered that, if Herodotus's authority for this distance was an ordinary mercantile traveller, he would reckon, not to the nearest point of the coast, as the crow flies, but to the nearest port. See also the next note.

<sup>311</sup> μήκος ὁδοῦ. Herodotus reckons the day's journey at 200 stades in one estimate of distances (iv. 101), at 150 in another estimate (v. 53).

<sup>312</sup> γῆς. The manuscripts S and V

have γῆν ἐπιθυμῶν ἡμερον προσκτήσασθαι, and then proceed with ἡμέρῳ, &c.

<sup>313</sup> Κροίσου μὲν γαμβρὸν. The narrative that follows makes Astyages not the son-in-law, but brother-in-law of Croesus, as he marries Aryenis, the daughter of Halyattes. Hence, if the story left out in S and V be regarded as drawn from the same historical source as what precedes, the word γαμβρὸς must be used in the general sense of a "connexion by marriage."

<sup>314</sup> εἴλη ἀνδρῶν. The manuscripts S and V leave out these words and all that follows until § 75, ὡς δὲ ἀπικετο ἐπὶ τὸν Ἄλυν. See note 136, above.

<sup>315</sup> τὴν τέχνην τῶν τόξων. This characteristic of the Scythian race is indicated in the legendary account of their origin from Heracles, which Herodotus gives (iv. 9), and also in the present which they send to Darius (iv. 131, 132).

<sup>316</sup> ἐβούλευσαν. Some MSS have the medial form ἐβουλεύσαντο, which is defended by ἐβουλεύετο (viii. 101) and τὸ

σφίσι διδασκομένων παιδων ἓνα κατακόψαι· σκευάσαντες δὲ αὐ-  
 τὸν ὥσπερ ἐώθεσαν καὶ τὰ θηρία σκευάζειν, Κναξάρει δούναι  
 φέροντες ὡς ἄγρην δῆθεν, δόντες δὲ, τὴν ταχίστην κομίζεσθαι παρὰ  
 Ἀλυάττεα τὸν Σαρδυνάττεω ἐς Σάρδις. ταῦτα καὶ δὴ ἐγένετο·  
 καὶ γὰρ Κναξάρης καὶ οἱ παρόντες δαιτυμόνες τῶν κρεῶν τούτων  
 ἐπάσαντο· καὶ οἱ Σκύθαι ταῦτα ποιήσαντες Ἀλυάττεω ἰκέται  
 ἐγένοντο. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα (οὐ γὰρ δὴ ὁ Ἀλυάττης ἐξεδίδου τοὺς  
 Σκύθας ἐξαιτέοντι Κναξάρει) πόλεμος τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι<sup>74</sup> καὶ τοῖσι  
 Μήδοις ἐγεγόνεε ἐπ' ἕτεα πέντε· ἐν τοῖσι πολλάκις μὲν οἱ Μῆδοι  
 τοὺς Λυδοὺς ἐνίκησαν, πολλάκις δὲ οἱ Λυδοὶ τοὺς Μῆδους· ἐν δὲ,  
 καὶ νυκτομαχίην τινὰ ἐποιήσαντο. διαφέρουσι δὲ σφί ἐπὶ ἴσης  
 τὸν πόλεμον, τῷ ἔκτῳ ἔτει συμβολῆς γενομένης, συνήνευκε ὥστε  
 τῆς μάχης συνεσεώσης τὴν ἡμέρην ἑξαπλῆς νύκτα γενέσθαι<sup>75</sup>.  
 τὴν δὲ μεταλλαγὴν ταύτην τῆς ἡμέρης Θαλῆς ὁ Μιλήσιος τοῖσι  
 Ἰωσὶ προηγόρευσε ἔσεσθαι<sup>76</sup>, οὖρον προθέμενος ἐνιαυτὸν τοῦτον, ἐν  
 ᾧ δὴ καὶ ἐγένετο ἡ μεταβολή. οἱ δὲ Λυδοὶ τε καὶ οἱ Μῆδοι ἐπέ-  
 τε εἶδον νύκτα ἀντὶ ἡμέρης γινομένην, τῆς μάχης τε ἐπαύσαντο,

leads to a  
 war be-  
 tween the  
 Lydians  
 and Medes,  
 which  
 lasted five  
 years, and  
 is ended in  
 the sixth in  
 consequence  
 of a total  
 eclipse of  
 the sun  
 (Sept. 30th,  
 610 B.C.)  
 foretold by  
 Thales.  
 Peace made

εἰς βουλευέσθαι (vii. 10). But the active form, which is supported by the majority of MSS, appears in vi. 52, *Λακεδαιμονίους . . . βουλευέσθαι βασιλέα τὸν πρεσβύτερον τῶν παίδων ποιήσασθαι*. In iii. 84, the two forms are so used that it seems impossible to draw a distinction between them, except, perhaps, that where the notion of *making* a proposition or *adopting* a proposition predominates the active form is preferable to the medial; and that where mere deliberation, without any reference to distinct propositions made or adopted, is intended to be described, the medial form is more appropriate than the active.

<sup>74</sup> πόλεμος τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι. A brief statement of this fact appears above, § 16. But no details whatever of the war are given, whether it be that Herodotus is there closely following an authority in which these details did not appear (see note 52, above), or whether he advisedly deferred them till he should come to speak more of the Median dynasty.

<sup>75</sup> τὴν ἡμέρην ἑξαπλῆς νύκτα γενέσθαι. IDELER (*Handbuch der Chronologie*, i. p. 209) says, that since the calculations of Oltman it is absolutely certain that the

solar eclipse here mentioned must have happened on September 30th, in the year 610 B.C. It furnishes, therefore, a fixed point for a chronology of Herodotus's narrative.

<sup>76</sup> Θαλῆς ὁ Μιλήσιος . . . ἔσεσθαι. There is no antecedent improbability in this statement, but at the same time it should not be forgotten how strong the tendency was with the Greeks to attribute to great names a share in every thing remarkable. Thus, in the next section, a great engineering work (or one supposed to be such) is attributed to Thales. And his reputation was not confined to matters of physical science. ERHORS (*ap. Strabon*. x. c. 4, p. 380) says that the pæans and other local chants of *Crete* were ascribed to Thales. This tradition probably grew up in a colony from Miletus (of the same name), which existed on the north-east coast of the island. It is curiously illustrative of the plastic nature of popular traditions, that in it Thales's character as a physical philosopher is entirely ignored, and he is represented as a *μελοποιὸς ἀνὴρ καὶ νομοθετικὸς*, and as the contemporary and instructor of Lycurgus the Spartan legislator.

καὶ μᾶλλον τι ἔσπενσαν καὶ ἀμφότεροι εἰρήνην ἐωντοῖσι γενέσθαι. οἱ δὲ συμβιβάσαντες αὐτοὺς ἦσαν οἶδε· Σύνενσις τε ὁ Κίλιξ καὶ Λαβύνητος ὁ Βαβυλώνιος<sup>356</sup>. οὗτοί σφι καὶ τὸ ὄρκιον οἱ σπείσαντες γενέσθαι ἦσαν καὶ γάμων ἐπαλλαγὴν ἐποίησαν· Ἀλυάττεα γὰρ ἔγνωσαν δοῦναι τὴν θυγατέρα Ἀρύνην Ἀστυάγει τῷ Κναξάρῳ παιδί. ἄνευ γὰρ ἀναγκαίης ἰσχυρῆς συμβάσεις ἰσχυραὶ οὐκ ἐθέλουσι συμμένειν<sup>357</sup>. ὄρκια δὲ ποίεσθαι ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνεα τὰ περ τε Ἕλληνες καὶ πρὸς τούτοις, ἐπεὰν τοὺς βραχίονας ἐπιτάμονται ἐς τὴν ὁμοχροίην, τὸ αἷμα ἀναλείχουσι ἀλλήλων<sup>358</sup>.

by the mediation of Syennesis, the Cilician, and Labynetos, the Babylonian, and cemented by the marriage of Astyages with the daughter of Halyattes.

Τούτων δὲ ὦν τὸν Ἀστυάγεα Κύρος, ἐόντα ἐωντοῦ μητροπάτορα, καταστρεψάμενος ἔσχε δι' αἰτίην τὴν ἐγὼ ἐν τοῖσι ὑπίσω λόγοισι σημανέω· τὰ Κροῖσος ἐπιμεμφόμενος τῷ Κύρῳ, ἔς τε τὰ χρηστήρια ἔπεμπε εἰ στρατεύηται ἐπὶ Πέρσας<sup>359</sup>, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀπικομένου χρησμοῦ κιβδήλου ἐλπίσας πρὸς ἐωντοῦ τὸν χρησμὸν εἶναι, ἐστρατεύετο ἐς τὴν Περσέων μοῖραν. ὥς<sup>360</sup> δὲ ἀπίκετο ἐπὶ τὸν Ἄλυν ποταμὸν ὁ Κροῖσος, τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν, ὥς μὲν ἐγὼ λέγω, κατὰ τὰς ἐούσας γεφύρας<sup>361</sup> διεβίβασε τὸν στρατὸν ὥς δὲ ὁ πολλὸς λόγος Ἑλλήνων, Θαλῆς οἱ ὁ Μιλήσιος διεβίβασε. ἀπορέοντος γὰρ Κροῖσου ὅπως οἱ διαβήσεται τὸν ποταμὸν ὁ στρατὸς, (οὐ γὰρ δὴ εἶναι καὶ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον τὰς γεφύρας ταύτας,) λέγεται παρῶντα τὸν Θαλῆν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, ποιῆσαι αὐτῷ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐξ ἀριστερῆς χειρὸς ῥέοντα τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ ἐκ δεξιῆς ῥέειν<sup>362</sup>.

75

Croesus passes the Halys.

Reputed engineering exploit of Thales.

<sup>356</sup> Σύνενσις τε ὁ Κίλιξ καὶ Λαβύνητος ὁ Βαβυλώνιος. See notes on i. 188; v. 118.

<sup>357</sup> οὐκ ἐθέλουσι συμμένειν. The idiom is analogous to that of *amo* (= soleo) in Latin. HORACE:—

"Quis pinus ingens albaque populus  
Umbram hospitalem consociare amant  
Ramis." (*Od.* ii. 3. 10.)

See note on i. 109, *θαλήσει*.

<sup>358</sup> τὸ αἷμα ἀναλείχουσι ἀλλήλων. TACITUS describes a similar practice as prevailing in Armenia (*Annal.* xii. 47): "Mos est regibus, quoties in societatem coeant, implicare dexteras pollicesque inter se vincire nodoque praestringere: mox ubi sanguis artus extremos suffuderit, levi ictu cuneis elucis atque invicem lambunt." Compare the practice of the Scythians (*iv.* 70).

<sup>359</sup> εἰ στρατεύηται ἐπὶ Πέρσας. These

words are governed by the words, *ἐς* τὰ χ. *ἔπεμπε*, which are equivalent, or nearly so, to *ἐχρηστήριάζετο*.

<sup>360</sup> The manuscripts S and V here resume the thread of the narrative which was broken off in § 73. See note 260, above.

<sup>361</sup> κατὰ τὰς ἐούσας γεφύρας. It can scarcely be doubted that Herodotus here is speaking of the same place of transit he describes in v. 52; but this would not have brought Croesus any where near to Sinope. See note 243.

<sup>362</sup> ἐξ ἀριστερῆς χειρὸς . . . ἐκ δεξιῆς ῥέειν. From this phrase it would appear that, in the mind of the narrators of this story, the river on which the operation was performed could not have been the real Halys, at least at its first passage. Croesus, marching from Sardis to *that* river, would find it *ἐκ δεξιῆς ῥέοντα*, and consequently the effect of the engineering of Thales would be to make it *καὶ ἐξ ἀρι-*

ποιῆσαι δὲ ὧδε ἄνωθεν τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἀρξάμενον, διώρυχα βαθὴν ὀρύσσειν ἄγοντα μνηοειδέα, ὅπως ἂν τὸ στρατόπεδον ἰδρυσμένον κατὰ νότου λάβοι ταύτη κατὰ τὴν διώρυχα ἐκτραπόμενος ἐκ τῶν ἀρχαίων ῥεέθρων, καὶ αὗτις παραμειβόμενος τὸ στρατόπεδον εἰς τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἐσβάλλοι· ὥστε, ἐπεὶ τε καὶ ἐσχίσθη τάχιστα ὁ ποταμὸς, ἀμφοτέρῃ διαβατὸς ἐγένετο. οἱ δὲ καὶ τὸ παράπαν λέγουσι καὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ῥέεθρον ἀποξηρανθῆναι· ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν οὐ προσέκειναι· κῶς γὰρ ὅπισω πορευόμενοι διέβησαν αὐτόν;

76

Croesus takes Pteria near Sinope, and harries the neighbouring Syrians.

Κροῖσος δὲ, ἐπεὶ τε διαβὰς σὺν τῷ στρατῷ ἀπῖκετο τῆς Καππαδοκίης εἰς τὴν Πτερίην καλεομένην<sup>263</sup>. (ἡ δὲ Πτερίη ἐστὶ τῆς χώρας ταύτης τὸ ἰσχυρότατον, κατὰ Σινώπην πόλιν τὴν ἐν Εὐξεινῷ πόντῳ μάλιστα κη κειμένη) ἐνθαῦτα ἐστρατοπεδεύετο, φθειρών τῶν Συρίων τοὺς κλήρους. καὶ εἶλε μὲν τῶν Πτερίων τὴν πόλιν, καὶ ἡνδραποδίσατο· εἶλε δὲ τὰς περιοικίδας αὐτῆς πάσας· Συρίους<sup>264</sup> τε οὐδὲν ἔοντας αἰτίους ἀναστάτους ἐποίησε<sup>265</sup>. Κῦρος δὲ ἀγείρας τὸν ἐωυτοῦ στρατὸν καὶ παραλαβὼν τοὺς μεταξὺ οἰκόντας πάντας, ἡντιούτω Κροίσῳ· πρὶν δὲ ἐξελαίνειν ὀρμήσαι τὸν στρατὸν, πέμψας κήρυκας εἰς τοὺς Ἴωνας ἐπειράτῳ σφεας ἀπὸ Κροίσου ἀπιστάμεναι· Ἴωνες μὲν νυν οὐκ ἐπείθοντο<sup>266</sup>. Κῦρος δὲ ὡς ἀπῖκετο καὶ ἀντεστρατοπεδεύσατο Κροίσῳ, ἐνθαῦτα ἐν τῇ Πτερίῃ χώρῃ ἐπειρώατο κατὰ τὸ ἰσχυρὸν ἀλλήλων. μάχης

Cyrus attacks him after a fruitless attempt to detach the Ionians.

στέρῃς ῥέειν. But the expression would be a natural one if the river, like that which falls into the lake near Erclè (see note 243) ran from north to south. If, however, the Erclè river is intended, this story cannot have been found by Herodotus in connexion with the operations which he makes follow it; for the river in the neighbourhood of Sinope is the real Halys.

<sup>263</sup> τὴν Πτερίην καλεομένην. This is the only place in which this town is mentioned. From Croesus attacking it, we may suppose that it was inhabited not by a Hellenic, but by a Cappadocian population. And its name is probably significant in the Aramaic languages, as Πτερά was the name (according to some authorities) of the "acropolis" (i. e. citadel) of Babylon, and Πτέριον or Πτερία the name of a Median city (STEPHANUS BYZANTIN. *sub v.*, who adds that the ethnic ad-

jective of the Median city was Πτερινὸς, but that of the town near Sinope Πτέριος). The vagueness of the description in the text is unfavourable to the supposition that Herodotus himself was at Pteria; nor does it appear that he was even at Sinope. But he undoubtedly was at Phasis (ii. 104), which was in commercial communication with Sinope (see notes on i. 104; ii. 34), and might there have heard the account of the battle at Pteria.

<sup>264</sup> Συρίους. The use of this word, instead of Καππαδόκας, indicates a Hellenic source of the narrative. See above, note 28.

<sup>265</sup> ἀναστάτους ἐποίησε, "utterly destroyed." See § 97, οὐδὲ ὅτ' ἀνομίης ἀνάστατοι ἐσόμεθα: § 155, δέσας μὴ ἀναστάτους ποιήσῃ τὰς Χάρδεις: § 178, Νίνου ἀναστάτου γενομένης.

<sup>266</sup> Ἴωνες μὲν νυν οὐκ ἐπείθοντο. See, however, the last note on § 141.



δὲ καρτερῆς γενομένης καὶ πεσόντων ἀμφοτέρων πολλῶν, τέλος οὐδέτεροι νικήσαντες διέστησαν, νυκτὸς ἐπελθούσης. After a drawn battle

Καὶ τὰ μὲν στρατόπεδα ἀμφοτέρα οὕτως ἡγωνίσαστο, Κροῖσος δὲ μεμφθεὶς<sup>267</sup> κατὰ τὸ πλήθος τὸ ἐωυτοῦ στρατεύμα· (ἦν γὰρ οἱ ὁ συμβαλὼν στρατὸς πολλὸν ἐλάσσων ἢ ὁ Κύρου) τοῦτο μεμφθεὶς, ὡς τῇ ὑστεραίῃ οὐκ ἐπειράτο ἐπιῶν ὁ Κύρος, ἀπήλαυε ἐς τὰς Σάρδεις, ἐν νόφ ἔχων, παρακαλέσας μὲν Αἰγυπτίους κατὰ τὸ ὄρκιον, (ἐποίησαστο γὰρ καὶ πρὸς Ἀμασιν βασιλεύοντα Αἰγύπτου συμμαχίην πρότερον ἢ περὶ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους,) μεταπεμφόμενος δὲ καὶ Βαβυλωνίους<sup>268</sup>, (καὶ γὰρ πρὸς τούτους αὐτῷ ἐπεπολήτο συμμαχίῃ· ἐτυράννευε δὲ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον Λαβύνητος<sup>269</sup>.) ἐπαγγέλλας δὲ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους παρεῖναι ἐς χρόνον ῥητὸν, ἀλίσας<sup>270</sup> τε δὴ τούτους καὶ τὴν ἐωυτοῦ συλλέξας στρατιήν, ἐνέκωτο τὸν χεῖμῶνα παρὲς ἅμα τῷ ἡρι στρατεύειν ἐπὶ τοὺς Πέρσας. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα φρονέων, ὡς ἀπίκετο ἐς τὰς Σάρδεις, ἔπεμπε κήρυκας κατὰ τὰς συμμαχίας προερέοντας ἐς πέμπτον μῆνα συλλέγεσθαι ἐς Σάρδεις, τὸν δὲ παρῶντα καὶ μαχεσάμενον στρατὸν Πέρσῃσι, δς ἦν αὐτοῦ ξεινικός, πάντα ἀπείς διεσκέδασε, οὐδαμὰ ἐλπίσας μή κοτε ἀρα ἀγωνισάμενος, οὕτω παραπλησίως Κύρος ἐλάσει ἐπὶ Σάρδεις. he returns to Sardis, and plans an expedition on a grander scale in the next spring;

Ταῦτα ἐπιλεγόμενῳ Κροίσῳ τὸ προάστειον πᾶν ὀφίων ἐν-επλήσθη· φανέντων δὲ αὐτῶν, οἱ ἵπποι μετιέντες τὰς νομάς νέμεσθαι φοιτέοντες κατήσθιον. ἰδόντι δὲ τοῦτο Κροίσῳ, ὥσπερ καὶ ἦν, ἔδοξε τέρας εἶναι. αὐτίκα δὲ ἔπεμπε θεοπρόπους ἐς τῶν with which view he dismisses his existing army.

<sup>267</sup> μεμφθεὶς. This word is used in the sense of μεμφόμενος not only here, but in iii. 13; vii. 146.

<sup>268</sup> μεταπεμφόμενος δὲ καὶ Βαβυλωνίους. This phrase is appropriate to the sending for levies from Babylon to form a part of the invading army, which was to rendezvous at Sardis in five months (ἐς πέμπτον μῆνα συλλέγεσθαι ἐς Σάρδεις). But a glance at the map will show the impossibility of such a plan of operations, as in fact the Babylonians would have had to pass through the enemies' country for many hundred miles to get to Sardis. The real service which Croesus would have expected from the Babylonians (and probably from the Egyptians also) would have been to divert the attention of the Persians by a simultaneous advance into their territory. But strategics of this

kind were unfamiliar to the Greeks; and the authority here followed by Herodotus seems to have conceived a gathering like that which the Lacedæmonians used to arrange before making one of their expeditions. (See the contemptuous description of the Hellenic tactics put into the mouth of Mardonius, vii. 9.) And from this circumstance, and the Lacedæmonians being named together with such very disparate allies as Egypt and Babylon, one is led to conjecture that the author is here following a Lacedæmonian authority, or that of some one connected, in some relation or other, with Lacedæmon.

<sup>269</sup> Λαβύνητος. See the first note on i. 181.

<sup>270</sup> ἀλίσας. See note 268.

but is a prisoner when he gets the answer.

ἐξηγητέων Τελμησσέων<sup>271</sup>. ἀπικομένοισι δὲ τοῖσι θεσπρόποισι, καὶ μαθοῦσι πρὸς Τελμησσέων τὸ θέλει σημαίνειν τὸ τέρας, οὐκ ἐξεγένετο Κροίσφ ἀπαγγεῖλαι· πρὶν γὰρ ἢ ὀπίσω σφέας ἀναπλῶσαι ἐς τὰς Σάρδεις<sup>272</sup>, ἦλω ὁ Κροῖσος. Τελμησσέες μὲν τοι τάδε ἔγνωσαν, στρατὸν ἀλλόθροον προσδόκιμον εἶναι Κροίσφ ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν, ἀπικόμενον δὲ τοῦτον καταστρέφεισθαι τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους· λέγοντες ὅφιν εἶναι γῆς παῖδα, ἵππου δὲ πολέμιόν τε καὶ ἐπήλυδα. Τελμησσέες μὲν νυν ταῦτα ὑπεκρίναντο Κροίσφ ἥδη ἡλωκότι, οὐδὲν κω εἰδότες τῶν ἦν περὶ Σάρδεις τε καὶ αὐτὸν Κροῖσον.

79

Cyrus follows up the retreat of Croesus.

Κῦρος δὲ, αὐτίκα ἀπελαύνοντος Κροίσου μετὰ τὴν μάχην τὴν γενομένην ἐν τῇ Πτερίῃ, μαθὼν ὡς ἀπελάσας μέλλοι Κροῖσος διασκεδᾶν τὸν στρατὸν, βουλευόμενος εὗρισκε πρήγμᾳ οἱ εἶναι ἐλαίνειν ὡς δύναιτο τάχιστα ἐπὶ τὰς Σάρδεις, πρὶν ἢ τὸ δεύτερον ἀλίσθῃναι τῶν Λυδῶν τὴν δύναμιν<sup>273</sup>. ὥς δέ οἱ ταῦτα ἔδοξε, καὶ ἐποίησε κατὰ τάχος· ἐλάσας γὰρ τὸν στρατὸν ἐς τὴν Λυδίην, αὐτὸς

<sup>271</sup> ἐς τῶν ἐξηγητέων Τελμησσέων. There is an ellipse of *μαντείων* or some equivalent word. Herodotus appears here to refer to a kind of college of diviners, situated sixty *stadēs* from Halicarnassus (POLEMO *ap. Etym. Magn. v. Τελμησσέες*). There was also a *Telmessus* on the borders of Caria and Lycia, and a *Termessus* (which is probably only another form of *Telmessus*) near the pass which led through Taurus into the interior. That the tutelary deity of these cities was identical with the possessor of the oracle to which Herodotus refers is very likely. The coins of *Telmessus* have on the one side the Sun-god with head surrounded with rays, and on the reverse Apollo stoleo, sitting on a tripod on which his left hand rests, the right holding a bow. Behind his shoulder are two arrows (HOFFMANN, *Griechenland*, p. 1745). The eponymous ancestor of the *Telmessians* was said to be the son of Apollo and a daughter of Antenor (*Etym. Magn. l. c.*), a genealogy which gives an Asiatic origin for the Telmessian deity; and accounts both for a Lydian king consulting the oracle, and for the circumstance which has been observed by travellers, that there is a great resemblance between the monumental remains at *Termessus* and at *Persepolis*. The MSS

vary in this passage between the forms *Τελμησσέων*, *Τελμισέων*, *Τελμυσέων*, and *Τελμησέων*.

<sup>272</sup> ἀναπλῶσαι ἐς τὰς Σάρδεις. This expression indicates that the narrator was ignorant of the geographical bearing of Sardis with respect to the *μαντείων*. The real messengers could hardly have returned otherwise than by land. But of the general consultants of the oracle,—the Hellenic settlers along the coast of Asia Minor,—the expression would be appropriate. Perhaps Herodotus is telling the tale as he heard it at the fane, and retains the very expression used by the narrator.

<sup>273</sup> πρὶν ἢ τὸ δεύτερον . . . τὴν δύναμιν. This clause stands very variously in the MSS. The Sancroft MS has *ὅπως πρὶν ἢ τὴν δύναμιν ἀλίσθῃναι τὸ δεύτερον τῶν Λυδῶν αὐτὸς ἐπικαταλάβοι*, and the Vienna Codex, which almost always agrees with it, although omitting the words *αὐτὸς ἐπικαταλάβοι*, exhibits the trace of them by retaining *ὅπως* at the beginning of the clause. Other MSS agree with S, except in placing *δύναμιν* as it stands in the text, one of them too having *καταλάβοι* instead of *ἐπικαταλάβοι*. It is so unlikely that one of these readings should have been altered into the other, that it is easier to suppose the two genuine.

ἄγγελος Κροίσῳ ἐηλύθεε<sup>274</sup>. ἐνθαῦτα Κροίσος ἐς ἀπορίην πολ-  
λὴν ἀπιγμένος, ὥς οἱ παρὰ δόξαν<sup>275</sup> ἔσχε τὰ πρήγματα ἢ ὥς αὐτὸς  
κατεδόκεε, ὅμως τοὺς Λυδοὺς ἐξῆγε ἐς μάχην. ἦν δὲ τοῦτον τὸν  
χρόνον ἔθνος οὐδὲν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ οὔτε ἀνδρείωτερον οὔτε ἀλκιμώ-  
τερον τοῦ Λυδίου ἢ δὲ μάχῃ σφέων ἦν ἀπ' ἵππων<sup>276</sup>, δούρατά  
τε ἐφόρεον μεγάλα, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἦσαν ἱππεύεσθαι ἀγαθοί. Ἐς τὸ 80  
πεδῖον δὲ συνελθόντων τοῦτο τὸ πρὸ τοῦ ἄστεός ἐστι τοῦ Σαρ- Battle of  
διηνοῦ, ἐὼν μέγα τε καὶ ψιλόν, (διὰ δὲ αὐτοῦ ποταμοὶ ῥέοντες καὶ Sardis.  
ἄλλοι καὶ "Ἴλλος<sup>277</sup> συρρηγνύσι ἐς τὸν μέγιστον, καλεόμενον δὲ  
Ερμον, ὃς ἐξ οὐρεος ἱοῦ Μητρὸς Δινδυμήνης<sup>278</sup> ῥέων ἐκδιδοῖ ἐς  
θάλασσαν κατὰ Φωκαίην\* πόλιν,) ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Κῦρος ὥς εἶδε τοὺς  
Λυδοὺς ἐς μάχην τασσομένους, καταρρωδήσας τὴν ἵππον ἐποίησε,  
'Αρπάγου ἵποθεμένου ἀνδρὸς Μήδου, τοιόνδε· ὅσαι τῷ στρατῷ Strategem  
τῷ ἐνωτοῦ ἔποντο σιτοφόροι τε καὶ σκευοφόροι κάμηλοι, ταύτας of Cyrus to  
πάσας ἀλίσας καὶ ἀπελὼν τὰ ἄχθεα, ἀνδρας ἐπ' αὐτὰς ἀνέβησε frighten the  
ἱππάδα στολὴν ἐνεσταλμένους· σκευάσας δὲ αὐτοὺς, προσέταξε Lydian ca-  
τῆς ἄλλης στρατιῆς προῖεναι πρὸς τὴν Κροίσου ἵππον, τῇ δὲ valry by his  
καμήλῳ<sup>279</sup> ἐπεσθαι τὸν πῆζον στρατὸν ἐκέλευε· ὅπισθε δὲ τοῦ camels.

<sup>274</sup> αὐτὸς ἄγγελος Κροίσῳ ἐηλύθεε. The length of the marches of which the Persians of the present day are capable is almost incredible. In the end of May 1831, a force consisting of three regiments of foot, five guns, a howitzer and 1000 horse, accompanied by a British detachment, marched between the parallels of 29° and 30°, no less than 112 miles in five days, being too at the time ill supplied with provisions. The cavalry at a later period (June 14th—16th) returned to Kirmān from whence the expedition set out, performing 106 miles in two days and a half, and arriving before mid-day. The reason of these long marches is, that the only alternative to them is to encamp half-way in some place destitute of water. In the great plains of Persia the villages are very widely scattered, and the necessity of conveying the produce of their lands (usually upon asses) for sale or barter to distant villages makes the peasantry unrivalled for the endurance of fatigue. (*Journal of the London Geographical Society*, Vol. ix. pp. 136—156.)

<sup>275</sup> παρὰ δόξαν. The sentence is ended as if instead of these words Herodotus had written ἔλλως.

<sup>276</sup> ἢ δὲ μάχῃ σφέων ἦν ἀπ' ἵππων. See note 91, above.

<sup>277</sup> Ἴλλος. This river and the Hermus are combined in *Iliad* xx. 392, where the hero Iphition, the son of Otryntes and a Naiad, is said to have been born 'in Hydè, under snowy Tmolus,' ἐπὶ λίμνῃ Γυγαίῃ, ὅθι τοὶ τέμενος πατρώϊον ἐστίν, "Ἴλλῳ ἐν" ἰχθυόεντι καὶ Ἐρμῷ διήεντι. (See note on i. 93, καλεῖται δὲ αὐτὴ Γυγαίη.)

<sup>278</sup> Μητρὸς Δινδυμήνης. From the variation of the MSS between Δήμητρος, Δινδυμήνης, and Δινευμήνης (of which, however, the two first are the only genuine varieties), a suspicion arises that both are glosses. Herodotus, when he speaks of the same goddess (iv. 76), calls her ἡ μήτηρ τῶν θεῶν. It may be observed, that the local name of the goddess at Sardis was Κυβέβη (see note on v. 102), from which one may gather that Herodotus gained his information of the source of the Hermus from some other locality than Sardis; perhaps from Cyzicus, the centre of the Cybele-worship in his time.

\* Φωκαίην. See note on § 142, Φωκαία.

<sup>279</sup> τῇ καμήλῳ, "the camel-brigade," an analogous expression to ἡ ἵππος, "the cavalry."

πεζοῦ ἐπέταξε τὴν πᾶσαν ἵππον. ὥς δὲ οἱ πάντες διετετάχατο, παραίνεσε τῶν μὲν ἄλλων Λυδῶν μὴ φειδομένους κτείνειν πάντα τὸν ἐμποδὼν γινόμενον, Κροῖσον δὲ αὐτὸν μὴ κτείνειν, μηδὲ ἦν συλλαμβανόμενος ἀμύνηται. ταῦτα μὲν παραίνεσε. τὰς δὲ καμήλους ἔταξε ἀντία τῆς ἵππου τῶνδε εἵνεκεν κάμηλον ἵππος φοβέεται, καὶ οὐκ ἀνέχεται οὔτε τὴν ιδέην αὐτῆς ὁρέων οὔτε τὴν ὁδμὴν ὁσφραυνόμενος· αὐτοῦ δὴ ὦν τοῦτου εἵνεκεν ἐσεσφόριστο, ἵνα τῷ Κροίσῳ ἀχρηστον ᾗ τὸ ἵππικόν, τῷ δὲ τι καὶ ἐπέιχε ἐλλάμψεσθαι ὁ Λυδός<sup>100</sup>. ὥς δὲ καὶ συνήεσαν ἐς τὴν μάχην, ἐνθαῦτα ὥς ὁσφραντο τάχιστα τῶν καμήλων οἱ ἵπποι καὶ εἶδον αὐτάς, ὀπίσω ἀνέστρεφον, διέφθαρτό τε τῷ Κροίσῳ ἡ ἐλπὶς. οὐ μέντοι οἱ γε Λυδοὶ τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν δειλοὶ ἦσαν ἀλλ', ὥς ἔμαθον τὸ γινόμενον, ἀποθορόντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων πεζοὶ τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι συνέβαλλον. χρόνῳ δὲ, πεσόντων ἀμφοτέρων πολλῶν, ἐτράποντο οἱ Λυδοὶ, κατειληθέντες δὲ ἐς τὸ τεῖχος ἐπολιορκέοντο ὑπὸ τῶν Περσέων.

Croesus is defeated, and besieged in Sardis.

81

He sends urging his allies to assist him.

Τοῖσι μὲν δὴ κατεστήκει πολιορκίῃ. Κροῖσος δὲ δοκέων οἱ χρόνον ἐπὶ μακρὸν ἔσεσθαι τὴν πολιορκίην, ἔπεμπε ἐκ τοῦ τεύχεος ἄλλους ἀγγέλους ἐς τὰς συμμαχίας. οἱ μὲν γὰρ πρότερον διεπέμποντο ἐς πέμπτον μῆνα προερέοντες συλλέγεσθαι ἐς Σάρδις· τούτους δὲ ἐξέπεμπε τὴν ταχίστην δέεσθαι βοηθεῖν, ὥς πολιορκεμένου Κροῖσου. Ἔς τε δὴ ὦν τὰς ἄλλας ἔπεμπε συμμαχίας, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Λακεδαίμονα. τοῖσι δὲ καὶ αὐτοῖσι [τοῖσι Σπαρτιήτῃσι<sup>101</sup>] κατ' αὐτὸν τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον συνεπεπτώκει ἕρις ἐούσα πρὸς Ἀργεῖους, περὶ χώρου καλεομένου Θυρέης.

82

The Lace-

Τὰς γὰρ Θυρέας ταύτας<sup>102</sup>, ἐούσας τῆς Ἀργολίδος μόλης, ἀπο-

<sup>100</sup> τῷ δὲ τι καὶ ἐπέιχε ἐλλάμψεσθαι ὁ Λυδός. The words τὸν νοῦν are to be understood after ἐπέιχε. See below, § 153, ἐπ' οὓς ἐπέιχε στρατηλατεῖν: vi. 96, ἐπὶ ταύτην γὰρ δὴ πρότῃ ἐπέιχον στρατεῦσθαι.

<sup>101</sup> [τοῖσι Σπαρτιήτῃσι]. Some MSS omit the article. The words appear to have crept in from a marginal comment made by some person who wished to explain the construction.

<sup>102</sup> τὰς γὰρ Θυρέας ταύτας. The use of the plural form *Thyreæ* in immediate juxtaposition with the singular form *Thyreæ* is very strange, and suggests the conjecture that the narrative of the battle

may be a subsequent addition, perhaps by the hand of the author himself,—although here, as in many other places, the last polish remains to be given, and the addition is still to be regarded rather in the light of a note than as incorporated into the text. The phrase ἡ μέχρι Μαλεῶν ἡ πρὸς Ἑσπέρην is a singular one. The narrator speaks as a Lacedæmonian might do in describing the coast between *Helos* and *Maleæ*. 'The western bank of the Eurotas was always ours. But cross the river, and then the coast as far as Maleæ, west of the cape, formerly belonged to the Argives, not merely on the main but also in Cythera, and the other islands too.'

ταρόμενοι ἔσχον οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι. ἦν δὲ καὶ ἡ μέχρι Μαλεῶν dæmoniæ ἡ πρὸς ἐσπέρην Ἀργείων, ἥ τε ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ χώρα καὶ ἡ are at war with the Argives respecting Thyrcæ. Κυθηρίη<sup>252</sup>, καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ τῶν νήσων. βοηθησάντων δὲ Ἀργείων τῇ σφετέρῃ ἀποταμνομένη, ἐνθαῦτα συνέβησαν ἐς λόγους Battle of the six hundred, συνελθόντες, ὥστε τριηκοσίους ἐκατέρων μαχέσασθαι, ὁκότεροι δ' ἂν περιγέυνται τούτων εἶναι τὸν χώρον τὸ δὲ πλήθος τοῦ στρατοῦ ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι ἐκάτερον ἐς τὴν ἑωυτοῦ, μηδὲ παραμένειν ἀγωνιζομένον, τῶνδε εἵνεκεν, ἵνα μὴ παρέοντων τῶν στρατοπέδων, ὀρώντες οἱ ἕτεροι ἐσσομένους τοὺς σφετέρους ἐπαμύνοιν. συνθέμενοι ὦν ταῦτα, ἀπαλλάσσοντο· λογάδες δὲ ἐκατέρων ὑπολειφθέντες συνέβαλλον. μαχομένων δὲ σφῶν καὶ γινομένων ἰσοπαλέων, ὑπελείποντο ἐξ ἀνδρῶν ἑξακοσίων τρεῖς Ἀργείων μὲν, Ἀλκίνορ τε καὶ Χρόμιος Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ, Ὀθρυάδης. ὑπελείφθησαν δὲ οὔτοι νικτὸς ἐπελθούσης. οἱ μὲν δὴ δύο τῶν Ἀργείων ὡς νενικηκότες ἔθειον ἐς τὸ Ἄργος· ὁ δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων Ὀθρυάδης, σκυλεύσας τοὺς Ἀργείων νεκροὺς καὶ προσφορήσας τὰ ὄπλα πρὸς τὸ ἑωυτοῦ στρατόπεδον, ἐν τῇ τάξει εἶχε ἑωυτόν<sup>254</sup>. ἡμέρῃ δὲ δευτέρῃ παρήσαν πυνθανόμενοι ἀμφοτέρω. τέως μὲν δὴ αὐτοὶ ἐκάτεροι ἔφασαν νικᾶν, λέγοντες οἱ μὲν ὡς ἑωυτῶν πλεῖνες περιγεγόνασι<sup>253</sup>, οἱ δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἀποφαίνοντες πεφευγότας τὸν δὲ σφέτερον παραμείναντα καὶ σκυλεύσαντα τοὺς ἐκείνων νεκροὺς. τέλος δὲ, ἐκ τῆς ἔριδος συμπεσόντες ἐμάχοντο· πεσόντων δὲ καὶ ἀμφοτέρων πολλῶν, ἐνίκων Λακεδαιμόνιοι. Ἀργεῖοι μὲν νυν ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου κατακειράμενοι τὰς κεφαλὰς, πρότερον ἐπάναγκες κομῶντες, ἐποιήσαντο νόμον τε καὶ κατάρην, μὴ πρότερον θρέψειν κόμην Ἀργείων μηδένα, μηδὲ

<sup>252</sup> καὶ ἡ Κυθηρίη. Gaisford and the MSS add νῆσος. But the form which Herodotus uses for the name of the island is always τὰ Κύθηρα. See below, i. 105; vii. 235. In this passage the word is an adjective agreeing with χώρα. See the last note. The "other islands" perhaps include those on the east coast of the Peloponnese, mentioned as being Argive, like Cythera, although they are not a portion of the πρὸς ἐσπέρην χώρα.

<sup>254</sup> ἐν τῇ τάξει εἶχε ἑωυτόν. STRABO (viii. c. 6, p. 207) makes Othryades the leader of the Spartan three hundred. In the course of time the picturesque feature

was added to this story, that Othryades inscribed the trophy with his own blood (LUCIAN, *Contempl.* § 24). Hence STRATON says, "Lacedæmonium Thyre lectura cruorem" (*Theb.* iv. 48). See the first note on vi. 105.

<sup>253</sup> ὡς ἑωυτῶν πλεῖνες περιγεγόνασι. PAUSANIAS (x. 9. 12) mentions a brazen horse among the offerings at Delphi, set up by the Argives, as having been victors in this battle. It was said to be the work of Antiphanes the Argive, and, if so, would hardly have been set up at the time of Herodotus's visit to the temple. See note 220.

τὰς γυναῖκάς σφι χρυσοφορήσειν, πρὶν ἂν Θυρέας ἀνασώσωνται. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ τὰ ἐναντία τούτων ἔθεντο νόμον, οὐ γὰρ κομῶντες πρὸ τούτου, ἀπὸ τούτου κομᾶν<sup>334</sup>. τὸν δὲ ἕνα λέγουσι τὸν περιλειφθέντα τῶν τριηκοσίων, Ὀθρυάδην, αἰσχυνόμενον ἀπονοστέειν ἐς Σπάρτην, τῶν οἱ συλλοχίτεων διεφθαρμένων, αὐτοῦ μιν ἐν τῇσι

83  
contem-  
poraneously  
with the  
capture of  
Sardis.

83 Θυρέσσι καταχρήσασθαι<sup>335</sup> ἐωντόν. Τοιούτων δὲ τοῖσι Σπαρτιήτῃσι ἐνεστεώτων πρηγμάτων ἦκε ὁ Σαρδιηνὸς κήρυξ, δεόμενος Κροίσῳ βοηθέειν πολιορκεομένῳ· οἱ δὲ ὅμως ἐπεὶ τε ἐπύθοντο τοῦ κήρυκος, ὀρμέατο βοηθέειν καὶ σφι ἤδη παρεσκευασμένοισι, καὶ νεῶν ἐουσέων ἐτοίμων, ἦλθε ἄλλη ἀγγελίη, ὡς ἠλώκοι τὸ τεῖχος τῶν Λυδῶν καὶ ἔχοιτο Κροῖσος ζωγρηθείς. οὕτω δὴ οὔτοι μὲν, συμφορὴν ποιησάμενοι μεγάλην, ἐπέπαυοντο.

84  
Way in  
which Sar-  
dis was  
taken.

84 Σάρδιες δὲ ἤλωσαν ὧδε. ἐπειδὴ τεσσερεσκαίδεκάτῃ ἐγένετο ἡμέρῃ πολιορκεομένῳ Κροίσῳ, Κῦρος τῇ στρατιῇ τῇ ἐωντοῦ διαπέμψας ἱππέας προεῖπε, τῷ πρώτῳ ἐπιβάντι τοῦ τεύχεος δῶρα δώσειν μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο, πειρησαμένης τῆς στρατιῆς ὡς οὐ προεχώρει, ἐμβαῦτα τῶν ἄλλων πεπαυμένων, ἀνὴρ Μάρδος<sup>336</sup> ἐπειράτο προσβαίνων<sup>337</sup>, τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Ὑροιάδης, κατὰ τοῦτο τῆς ἀκροπόλιος τῇ οὐδεὶς ἐτέτακτο φύλακος· οὐ γὰρ ἦν δεινὸν κατὰ τοῦτο μὴ ἀλφωκοτὲ ἀπότομός τε γάρ ἐστι ταύτῃ ἡ ἀκρόπολις καὶ ἄμαχος· τῇ οὐδὲ Μήλῃς, ὁ πρότερον βασιλεὺς Σαρδίων, μούνη οὐ περιήνευκε τὸν λέοντα τὸν οἱ ἡ παλλακὴ ἔτεκε, Τελμησσέων δικασάντων<sup>338</sup> ὡς περιενειχθέντος τοῦ λέοντος τὸ τεῖχος ἔσονται Σάρδιες ἀνάλωτοι.

<sup>334</sup> ἀπὸ τούτου κομᾶν. A festival (the *Gymnopædia*) was instituted at Lacedæmon in honour of this battle, at which a chorus of beautiful youths, and another of men distinguished for valour, sang the songs of *Thales* (see note 256) and *Alcman* and the pæans of *Dionysodotus* the Lacedæmonian. The officials who superintended wore crowns of palm-leaves called *θυρατικοὶ στέφανοι* (*Sosibius, De Sacrificiis ap. Athenæum*, xv. p. 678). In the poetical effusions of these occasions it is not difficult to recognize the source of many of Herodotus's tales. Thyres is the Hellenic "Otterburn," and the details of the battle probably are about on a par, historically, with those of "Chevy-Chase."

<sup>335</sup> καταχρήσασθαι. See above, i. 24; and below, i. 167.

<sup>336</sup> Μάρδος. The *Mardi* are represented as one of the four nomad Persian tribes (below, § 125). The word also occurs as the termination of the name Ἀριόμαρδος in *Æschylus*:

δ' ἑσθλὸς Ἀριόμαρδος Σάρδεσι  
πίεθος παρασχών. (*Persæ*, 321.)

<sup>337</sup> ἐπειράτο προσβαίνων. "Made a trial of getting up." So *περίσθω ἀποσχίζων*, vi. 9.

<sup>338</sup> δικασάντων. The use of this word for the promulgation of an oracular saying is derived from the time when diviners were resorted to for purposes of civil life, and when they decided all cases in which religious considerations had any weight. Hence the continual resort to Delphi for *arbitration*: as, for instance, after the

ὁ δὲ Μήλης κατὰ τὸ ἄλλο τεῖχος περιενεύκας τῇ ἦν ἐπίμαχον τὸ χωρίον τῆς ἀκροπόλιος, κατηλόγησε ταύτην<sup>291</sup>, ὡς ἐὼν ἀμαχόν τε καὶ ἀπότομον· ἔστι δὲ πρὸς τοῦ Τμώλου τετραμμένον τῆς πόλιος<sup>292</sup>. ὁ ὢν δὴ Ἰτροιάδης αὐτὸς<sup>293</sup> [ὁ Μάρδος,] ἰδὼν τῇ προτεραίῃ τῶν τινα Λυδῶν κατὰ τοῦτο τῆς ἀκροπόλιος καταβάντα ἐπὶ κυνέην ἄνωθεν κατακυλισθεῖσαν, καὶ ἀνελόμενον, ἐφράσθη καὶ ἐς θυμὸν ἐβάλετο. τότε δὲ δὴ ὁ αὐτὸς τε<sup>294</sup> ἀναβεβήκει, καὶ κατ' αὐτὸν<sup>295</sup> ἄλλοι Περσέων ἀνέβαινον προσβάντων δὲ συχύν, οὕτω δὴ Σάρδιές τε ἠλώκεσαν<sup>296</sup> καὶ πᾶν τὸ ἄστυ ἐπορθέετο.

Κατ' αὐτὸν δὲ Κροῖσον τάδε ἐγένετο. ἦν οἱ παῖς, τοῦ καὶ πρό-  
τερον ἐπεμνήσθην<sup>297</sup>, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἐπεικῆς ἀφώνος δά. ἐν τῇ ὦν  
παρελθούσῃ εὐσετοῖ<sup>298</sup> ὁ Κροῖσος τὸ πᾶν ἐς αὐτὸν ἐπεποιήκει,  
85

Miraculous  
recovery of  
speech by  
the son of

murder of Candaules. In fact the idea of the oracle as a *judgment-seat* is perhaps the earliest of all. Thus Deborah, "the prophetess," "judged Israel."

<sup>291</sup> κατηλόγησε ταύτην. Bekker reads ταῦτο. The accusative is used below, § 144; and iii. 121; but the circumstance that the construction would, by its adoption here, run more regularly is a presumption against the change having been made by transcribers to the genitive.

<sup>292</sup> ἔστι δὲ πρὸς τοῦ Τμώλου τετραμμένον τῆς πόλιος. The sense is not the same as would be required if the article τὸ were inserted after δέ. That would be, "and it is *that part* of the city which looks in the direction of Tmolus." The real meaning is, "and it looks towards Tmolus in its bearing from the city." (See notes on § 110 and vi. 22.) The place in question is a sort of ridge or "striding-edge," called from its configuration *πρίων*, which connected the citadel with Tmolus. The city, according to COCKERELL (*ap. Leake, Asia Minor*, p. 342), was built on one of the roots of Tmolus, looking northward over the valley of the Hermus. South of the city, in a small plain watered by the Pactolus, stood the temple of *Cybele*. The western front was on the bank of the river, the eastern under the impending heights of the Acropolis. See v. 101, 102.

<sup>293</sup> αὐτός. This is the reading of all the MSS, but is altered by Gaisford to οὗτος. But the change is unnecessary. The words ὁ Μάρδος seem to be a gloss; and αὐτὸς ἰδὼν to mean, "having seen with his own eyes."

<sup>294</sup> ὁ αὐτός τε. Bekker omits the ar-

ticle. If any change were made, I should rather be disposed to read οὗτος. But by the expression ὁ αὐτός Herodotus seems rather to express that it was that same Hyriades who had observed the descent of the Lydian after his helmet, who the next day led the scaling party.

<sup>295</sup> κατ' αὐτόν. "Observing his way," "treading in his footsteps."

<sup>296</sup> οὕτω δὴ Σάρδιές τε ἠλώκεσαν. The account given by CTEIAS of the capture of the town is different from that of Herodotus, but not incompatible with it. He represents the garrison as being scared from their quarters by the stratagem of elevating on long poles the armour of some Persians, so that it appeared as if a force had already scaled the walls. If we conceive a considerable body of men stealing up unperceived in the way Herodotus describes, and forming a lodgment under the wall (while a diversion was made in another part), and, when mounted in sufficient force, making use of the stratagem which Ctesias and Polyænus relate, the two accounts are compatible with one another and with probability. The garrison quitting their quarters for the moment in a panic would give the scaling party time to establish themselves on the rampart, and then the town would be won. LICYNIUS and HERMESIANAX in after-times adopted another form of the story more favourable to poetical requirements; viz. that the town was betrayed by Nanis, a daughter of Cræsus, on condition of Cyrus marrying her.

<sup>297</sup> τοῦ καὶ πρότερον ἐπεμνήσθην. See i. 34. 38.

<sup>298</sup> εὐσετοῖ. Some of the MSS have

Croesus on seeing his father's danger.

ἀλλὰ τε ἐπιφραζόμενος καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Δελφοὺς περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπεπόμφεε χρησομένους· ἡ δὲ Πυθίη οἱ εἶπε τάδε·

Λυδὲ γένος, πολλῶν βασιλεῦ, μέγα νήπιε Κροῖσε,  
μὴ βούλευ<sup>300</sup> πολέεσσι δὴν<sup>300</sup> ἀνὰ δάματ' ἀκούειν  
παῖδες φθεγγόμενου. τὸ δέ σοι πολλὸν λῶιον ἀμφὶς  
ἔμμεναι· αὐδήσει γὰρ ἐν ἡματι πρῶτον ἀνάλβη.

ἀλίσκομένου δὴ<sup>301</sup> τοῦ τεύχεος, ἥϊε γὰρ τῶν τις Περσέων ἀλλογνώσας Κροῖσον ὡς ἀποκτενέων, Κροῖσος μὲν μιν<sup>302</sup> ὀρέων ἐπιόντα ὑπὸ τῆς παρεούσης συμφορῆς παρημελήκει, οὐδέ τι οἱ διέφερε πληγέντι ἀποθανέειν· ὁ δὲ παῖς οὗτος ὁ ἄφρωνος ὡς εἶδε ἐπιόντα τὸν Πέρσην, ὑπὸ δέους τε καὶ κακοῦ ἔρρηξε φωνήν, εἶπε δέ· “ὦνθρωπε, μὴ κτεῖνε Κροῖσον.” οὗτος μὲν δὴ τοῦτο πρῶτον ἐφθέγγετο· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἤδη ἐφώνεε τὸν πάντα χρόνον τῆς

86

Capture of Croesus after having reigned fourteen years and been besieged fourteen days. He is placed on a pile to be burnt with twice-

ζῆς<sup>303</sup>. Οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι τὰς τε δὴ Σάρδις ἔσχον, καὶ αὐτὸν Κροῖσον ἐξώγρησαν ἄρξαντα ἕτα τεσσσερεσκαῖδεκα καὶ τεσσσερεσκαῖδεκα ἡμέρας πολιορκηθέντα, κατὰ τὸ χρηστήριόν τε καταπαύσαντα τὴν ἐωυτοῦ μεγάλην ἀρχὴν λαβόντες δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ Πέρσαι ἤγαγον παρὰ Κύρον· ὁ δὲ συννήσας πυρὴν μεγάλην, ἀνεβίβασε ἐπ' αὐτὴν τὸν Κροῖσόν τε ἐν πέδῃσι δεδεμένον, καὶ δις ἐπτά Λυδῶν παρ' αὐτὸν παῖδας<sup>304</sup>, ἐν νόφ' ἔχων εἶτε δὴ ἀκροθίνια ταῦτα καταγιεῖν θεῶν ὄτεφ' δὴ, εἶτε καὶ εὐχὴν ἐπιτελέσαι

εὐθηνίᾳ, obviously from a gloss. The word εὐεστὴ is a poetical one, and is used by ÆSCHYLUS (*Agam.* 647, χαίρουσαν εὐεστοὶ πόλιν). The form ἀπεστὴ, in the sense of “exclusion from,” is used in ix. 85, unless the passage be corrupt. συνεστὴ in vi. 128 can hardly be considered the true reading.

<sup>300</sup> μὴ βούλευ. This is Gaisford's reading, but there is at least equal manuscript authority for the common form βούλου.

<sup>300</sup> ἴην. This word is used by ÆSCHYLUS (*Pers.* 934, κακομέλετον ἰὼν Μαρνανδυνοῦ θρηνητήρος). It is an appropriate term for the oracle to use, for it was the cry used in the invocations of Apollo (*ἡ παῖων*). Its use in the *Rhesus* (553, σύρρυγος ἡ) is very suspicious, as all trace of the original meaning seems lost.

<sup>301</sup> δῆ. Gaisford δέ, with the majority of the MSS.

<sup>302</sup> μὲν μιν. Most of the MSS and Gaisford have μὲν νυν. S μὲν νυν. A

similar substitution of μὲν νυν is found in i. 183 in several of the MSS.

<sup>303</sup> τὸν πάντα χρόνον τῆς ζῆς. PAVSANIAS relates as a Delphic story, that Battus, the colonizer of Cyrene, gained the use of his voice in a similar manner. He came suddenly upon a lion in the Libyan desert, and the panic made him βοῆσαι σαφὲς καὶ μέγα (x. 15. 7). This narrative he gives on the occasion of describing a statue of Battus there placed. GELLIVS (v. 9) also relates that a Samian athlete, who was dumb, recovered his voice through indignation at seeing foul play used in drawing the lots for a contest in which he was to be engaged. He called out that he saw what was doing, and retained his voice for ever afterwards.

<sup>304</sup> δις ἐπτά Λυδῶν παῖδας. The poetical character of the expression Λυδῶν παῖδας (which also occurs above, § 26) is heightened by δις ἐπτά for τεσσσερεσκαῖδεκα.



θέλων εἶτε καὶ πυθόμενος τὸν Κροῖσον εἶναι θεοσεβέα, τοῦδε <sup>seven Ly-</sup>  
 εἵνεκεν ἀνεβίβασε ἐπὶ τὴν πυρὴν βουλόμενος εἰδέναι εἴ τις <sup>diana</sup>  
 μιν δαιμόνων ῥύσεται τοῦ μὴ ζῶντα κατακαυθῆναι. τὸν μὲν δὴ  
 ποίεον ταῦτα· τῷ δὲ Κροίσῳ ἐστειώτι ἐπὶ τῆς πυρῆς ἐσελθεῖν,  
 καὶ περ ἐν κακῷ ὄντι τοσοῦτῳ, τὸ τοῦ Σόλωνος, ὡς οἱ εἶη <sup>Remembers</sup>  
 σὺν θεῷ εἰρημένον τὸ “μηδένα εἶναι τῶν ζώντων ὀλβιον” ὡς <sup>the saying</sup>  
 δὲ ἄρα μιν προστῆναι τοῦτο, ἀνενεκάμενόν <sup>of Solon,</sup> <sup>and calls</sup> <sup>upon him.</sup> <sup>305</sup> τε καὶ ἀναστενά-  
 ξαντα ἐκ πολλῆς ἡσυχίης ἐς τρεῖς ὀνομάσαι Σόλωνα· καὶ τὸν  
 Κῦρον ἀκούσαντα, κελεύσαι τοὺς ἑρμηνέας ἐπείρεσθαι τὸν Κροῖ-  
 σον, τίνα τοῦτον ἐπικαλέοιτο; καὶ τοὺς προσελθόντας ἐπειρωτᾶν,  
 Κροῖσον δὲ τέως μὲν συγῆν ἔχειν ἐρωτεώμενον, μετὰ δὲ, ὡς  
 ἡναγκάζετο, εἰπεῖν “τὸν ἂν ἐγὼ πᾶσι τυράννοισι προετίμησα  
 μεγάλων χρημάτων ἐς λόγους ἐλθεῖν.” ὡς δὲ σφί ἄσσημα ἔφραζε,  
 πάλιν ἐπειρώτεον τὰ λεγόμενα. λιπαρεόντων δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ ὄχλον  
 παρεχόντων, ἔλεγε δὴ, ὡς ἦλθε ἀρχὴν ὁ Σόλων, ἐὼν Ἀθηναῖος, καὶ  
 θεησάμενος πάντα τὸν ἑωυτοῦ ὀλβον ἀποφλαυρίσειε, οἷα δὴ εἶπας <sup>306</sup>.  
 ὡς τε αὐτῷ πάντα ἀποβεβήκοι τῇ περ ἐκεῖνος εἶπε, οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον  
 ἐς ἑωυτὸν λέγων ἢ ἐς ἄπαν τὸ ἀνθρώπινον, καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς  
 παρὰ σφίσι αὐτοῖσι δοκέοντας ὀλβίους εἶναι. τὸν μὲν Κροῖσον  
 ταῦτα ἀπηγγέσθαι, τῆς δὲ πυρῆς ἤδη ἀμμένης καλεσθαι τὰ περι-  
 ἔσχατα· καὶ τὸν Κῦρον ἀκούσαντα τῶν ἑρμηνέων τὰ εἶπε Κροῖ- <sup>After the</sup>  
 σος, μεταγρόντα τε καὶ ἐννώσαντα ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς ἄνθρωπος ἐὼν <sup>pile is</sup>  
 ἄλλον ἄνθρωπον γενόμενον ἑωυτοῦ εὐδαιμονίῃ οὐκ ἐλάσσῳ ζῶντα <sup>alight he is</sup>  
 πυρὶ διδοίη, πρὸς τε τούτοισι, δεισαντα τὴν τίσιν καὶ ἐπιλεξά- <sup>reprieved by</sup>  
 μένοι ὡς οὐδὲν εἶη τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποισι ἀσφαλῶς ἔχον, κελεύειν <sup>307</sup>  
 σβεννύναι τὴν ταχίστην τὸ καίόμενον πῦρ, καὶ καταβιβάζειν  
 Κροῖσόν τε καὶ τοὺς μετὰ Κροίσου καὶ τοὺς πειρωμένους οὐ  
 δύνασθαι ἔτι τοῦ πυρὸς ἐπικρατήσαι. Ἐνθαῦτα λέγεται ὑπὸ <sup>87</sup>  
 Λυδῶν <sup>308</sup>, Κροῖσον μαθόντα τὴν Κύρου μετάγνωσιν, ὡς ὦρα πάντα <sup>but only</sup>  
<sup>saved by the</sup>

<sup>305</sup> ἀνενεκάμενον. The word understood after this is τοῦτο. “Upon this thought then occurring to him, he gave vent to it with a groan following a deep silence, calling Solon thrice by name.”

<sup>306</sup> καὶ θεησάμενος πάντα τὸν ἑωυτοῦ ὀλβον ἀποφλαυρίσειε, οἷα δὴ εἶπας. “And, after seeing all his wealth, held it but cheap, saying in such and such wise.”

<sup>307</sup> κελεύειν. Gaisford κελεύει, with the MSS.

<sup>308</sup> ἐνθαῦτα λέγεται ὑπὸ Λυδῶν. The account given by Ctesias (who drew from Persian sources, although probably modified by Hellenic intercourse) of the rescue of Croesus by Apollo is equally miraculous in its character. On Sardis being taken, Croesus flies to the temple of Apollo within the city. He is put in chains there, but three times released by an invisible hand. Afterwards he is removed from the temple and loaded with irons in the royal palace; but

intervention  
of Apollo,  
whom he  
invokes.

μὲν ἄνδρα σβεννύντα τὸ πῦρ δυναμένους δὲ οὐκέτι καταλαβεῖν<sup>309</sup>,  
ἐπιβώσασθαι τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα ἐπικαλούμενον, εἴ τι οἱ κεχαρισμένον  
ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐδωρήθη, παραστήναι καὶ ῥύσασθαι μιν ἐκ τοῦ παρεόντος  
κακοῦ· τὸν μὲν δακρύοντα ἐπικαλέεσθαι τὸν θεόν· ἐκ δὲ αἰθρήης τε  
καὶ νηνεμῆς συνδραμέειν. ἐξαπίνης νέφεα, καὶ χειμῶνά τε καταρ-  
ραγῆναι καὶ ὕσαι ὕδατι λαβροτάτῳ, κατασβεσθῆναι τε τὴν πυρὴν·  
αὐτῷ δὲ μαθόντα τὸν Κύρον ὡς εἶη ὁ Κροῖστος καὶ θεοφιλὴς καὶ  
ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός, καταβιβάσαντα αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς πυρῆς εἵρεσθαι τάδε·  
“Κροῖσε, τίς σε ἀνθρώπων ἀνέγνωσε ἐπὶ γῆν τὴν ἐμὴν στρατευσά-  
μενον πολέμιον ἀντὶ φίλου ἐμοὶ καταστήναι;” ὁ δὲ εἶπε· “ὦ  
βασιλεῦ, ἐγὼ ταῦτα ἔπραξα τῇ σῇ μὲν εὐδαιμονίῃ τῇ ἐμευνοῦ τοῦ δὲ  
κακοδαιμονίῃ· αἷτιος δὲ τούτων ἐγένετο ὁ Ἑλλήνων θεὸς ἐπαιέρας  
ἐμὲ στρατεύεσθαι. αὐδελὺς γὰρ οὕτω ἀνότητός ἐστι ὅς τις πόλεμον  
πρὸ εἰρήνης αἰρέεται. ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῇ οἱ παῖδες τοὺς πατέρας  
θάπτουσιν· ἐν δὲ τῷ, οἱ πατέρες τοὺς παῖδας. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα δαίμοσι  
κου φίλον ἦν οὕτω γενέσθαι.”

88

Cyrus takes  
him into his  
confidence.

‘Ο μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγε. Κύρος δὲ αὐτὸν λύσας κάτισέ τε ἐγγὺς  
ἐωντοῦ<sup>310</sup> καὶ κάρτα ἐν πολλῇ προμηθίῃ εἶχε, ἀπεθώμυζέ τε  
ὀρέων καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ περὶ ἐκείνον ἔντες πάντες. ὁ δὲ συννοίῃ  
ἐχόμενος<sup>311</sup> ἡσυχος ἦν μετὰ δὲ, ἐπιστραφεὶς τε καὶ ιδόμενος τοὺς  
Πέρσας τὸ τῶν Λυδῶν ἄστυ κεραλῶντας, εἶπε· “ὦ βασιλεῦ,  
κότερα λέγειν πρὸς σέ τὰ νοέων τυγχάνω, ἢ σιγᾶν ἐν τῷ παρεόντι  
χρή;” Κύρος δὲ μιν θαρσέοντα ἐκέλευε λέγειν ὅ τι βούλοιο· ὁ δὲ

his release again follows, accompanied with earthquakes and thunderings. (Compare the release of Dionysus in the *Bacchæ* of Euripides.) Cyrus, recognizing in this the favour of the gods for Croesus, makes him ruler over a great city (Barene) in the neighbourhood of Agbatana. It is to be remarked that in Ctesias's account the expedition of Cyrus against the Sacæ was represented as taking place before that against Sardis (ap. Photium, *Biblioth.* p. 36).

The burning of the captives is rather in harmony with the Belus-worship of Babylon than with the Persian religion of Cyrus's time. (See below, § 132.) Many centuries afterwards (in the time of Hadrian) human sacrifices appear to have been offered to Mithras (Cassuzen, *Symbolik.* i. p. 258), but then not by vivi-combustion. The proceeding therefore can hardly be explained as a trait out of the

Median ritual. It is much more in keeping with the notions of an Asiatic Greek. Thus Achilles sacrifices twelve Trojan captives on the pyre of Patroclus (*Iliad* xxiii. 175). I should look for the origin of the narrative in some Apollo-worshipping city which was in commercial relations with Lydia. See note on § 109.

<sup>309</sup> *δυναμένους δὲ οὐκέτι καταλαβεῖν.* The same use of *καταλαμβάνω* is found in *Joh. Evang.* i. 6, τὸ δὲ σκότος αὐτὸ οὐ κατέλαβε, where the English version is very bad.

<sup>310</sup> *κάτισέ τε ἐγγὺς ἐωντοῦ.* This phrase is an oriental feature in the tale. To sit near the sovereign at table would be the most significant mark of favour in an Eastern court. See 1 *Sam.* xx. 25; 2 *Sam.* ix. 7. 11; 1 *Kings* xviii. 19.

<sup>311</sup> *συννοίῃ ἐχόμενος,* “pondering.” So below, § 141, ὀργῇ ἐχόμενος, “angry.”

αὐτὸν εἰρώτα, λέγων "οὗτος ὁ πολλὸς ὄμιλος τί ταῦτα σπουδῇ πολλῇ ἐργάζεται;" ὁ δὲ εἶπε "πόλιν τε τὴν σὴν διαρπάξει καὶ χρήματα τὰ σὰ διαφορέει" Κροῖσος δὲ ἀμείβετο "οὔτε πόλιν τὴν ἐμὴν οὔτε χρήματα τὰ ἐμὰ διαρπάξει· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐμοὶ ἐτι τούτων μέτα· ἀλλὰ φέρουσί τε καὶ ἄγουσι τὰ σά." Κύρῳ δὲ 89 ἐπιμελὲς ἐγένετο τὰ Κροῖσος εἶπε μεταστησάμενος δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους, εἶρετο Κροῖσον ὃ τι οἱ ἐνορφή ἐν τοῖσι ποιευμένοισι; ὁ δὲ εἶπε "ἐπεὶ τε με θεοὶ δῶκαν δοῦλόν σοι, δικαίῳ εἴ τι ἐνορέω πλέον σημαίνειν σοι. Πέρσαι φύσιν ἐόντες ὕβρισται, εἰσὶ ἀχρήματοι· ἦν ὦν σὺ τούτους περιμῶδες διαρπάσαντας καὶ κατασχόντας χρήματα μεγάλα, τάδε τοι ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐπιδόξα γενέσθαι· ὃς ἂν αὐτῶν πλεῖστα κατὰσχῃ, τούτου προσδέκεσθαι τοι ἐπαναστησόμενον. νῦν ὦν ποιήσον ὥδε, εἴ τοι ἀρέσκει τὰ ἐγὼ λέγω· κάτισον τῶν δορυφόρων ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῇσι πύλῃσι φυλάκους, οἳ λεγόντων<sup>112</sup> πρὸς τοὺς ἐκφέροντας τὰ χρήματα ἀπαιρέομενοι, ὥς σφεα ἀναγκαίως ἔχει δεκατευθῆναι τῷ Διὶ. καὶ σὺ τε σφί οὐκ ἀπεχθῆσαι βίῃ ἀπαιρέομενος τὰ χρήματα, καὶ ἐκεῖνοι συγγρόντες ποίειν σε δίκαια, ἐκόντες ποιήσουσι." Ταῦτα ἀκούων ὁ Κύρος ὑπερῆδετο, 90 ὥς οἱ ἐδόκεε εὖ ὑποτίθεσθαι· αἰνέσας δὲ πολλὰ, καὶ ἐντειλάμενος His wrath  
against  
Apollo. τοῖσι δορυφόροις τὰ Κροῖσος ὑπεθήκατο ἐπιτελέειν, εἶπε πρὸς Κροῖσον τάδε "Κροῖσε, ἀναρτημένου σεῦ ἀνδρὸς βασιλέως χρηστὰ ἔργα καὶ ἔπεα ποίειν<sup>113</sup>, αἰτέο<sup>114</sup> τὴν δόσιν ἣν τινα<sup>115</sup> βούλεαι τοι γενέσθαι παραντίκα;" ὁ δὲ εἶπε "ὦ δέσποτα, ἑάσας με χαριεῖ μάλιστα τὸν θεὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὸν ἐτίμησα ἐγὼ θεῶν μάλιστα ἐπέλρεσθαι πέμψαντα τάσδε τὰς πέδας, εἴ ἐξαπατᾶν τοὺς εὖ ποιεῖντας νόμος ἔστι οἱ;" Κύρος δὲ εἶρετο ὃ τι οἱ τοῦτο ἐπηγορεύων

<sup>112</sup> οἳ λεγόντων. This expression is equivalent to καὶ οἱ τοὶ λεγέτωσαν, "who must peremptorily say."

<sup>113</sup> ἀναρτημένου σεῦ ἀνδρὸς βασιλέως . . . ποίειν, "seeing that thou art bound as a prince to work my weal in act and word:" ἔργα καὶ ἔπεα seem a kind of technical form of speech, and are consequently taken like a single substantive in regimen with ποιεῖν. See note 190, above.

<sup>114</sup> αἰτέο. The position of the accent should here be observed. The form is derived from αἰτέω, by the elision of ε, like ἐξηγάτο, iii. 72, line 58; ἀτέο, iii. 40, line 73. See note on i. 180.

<sup>115</sup> τὴν δόσιν ἣν τινα. The MSS vary between τὴν δόσιν τὴν τινα and δόσιν τὴν τινα. Gaisford adopts the latter. Bekker reads δόσιν ἣν τινα. But the article before δόσις seems appropriate. The transaction appears to be a formal pledge of fealty, the vassal being bound (ἀναρτημένος) to his liege-lord, and the latter bestowing upon him some gift, by the acceptance of which his superiority is recognized. It is "the boon" bearing this symbolical meaning to which Cyrus appears to allude. But he leaves to Croesus the choice of what it shall be. See v. 11.

παραιτέοντο ; Κροῖσος δὲ οἱ ἐπανηλόγησε πᾶσαν τὴν ἑωυτοῦ διά-  
νοϊαν, καὶ τῶν χρηστηρίων τὰς ὑποκρίσεις, καὶ μάλιστα τὰ ἀναθή-  
ματα· καὶ ὡς ἐπαρθείς τῷ μαντήϊῳ ἐστρατεύσατο ἐπὶ Πέρσας·  
λέγων δὲ ταῦτα, κατέβαινε αὐτὶς παραιτέμενος<sup>316</sup> ἐπεῖναι οἱ τῷ  
θεῷ τούτῳ<sup>317</sup> ὀνειδίσαι· Κύρος δὲ γελάσας εἶπε· “καὶ τούτου  
τεύξαι παρ’ ἐμεῦ, Κροῖσε, καὶ ἄλλου παντὸς τοῦ ἂν ἐκάστοτε  
δέῃ.” ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ἤκουσε ὁ Κροῖσος, πέμπων τῶν Λυδῶν ἐς  
Δελφοὺς, ἐνετέλλετο τιθέντας τὰς πέδας ἐπὶ τοῦ ιηοῦ τὸν οὐδὸν  
εἰρωτᾶν εἰ οὐ τι ἐπαισχύνεται τοῖσι μαντήϊοις ἐπάρας Κροῖσου  
στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ Πέρσας, ὡς καταπαύσονται τὴν Κύρου δύναμιν  
ἀπ’ ἧς οἱ ἀκροθίνια τοιαῦτα γενέσθαι ; δεικνύντας τὰς πέδας, ταῦτά  
τε ἐπειρωτᾶν καὶ εἰ ἀχαρίστοις νόμος εἶναι τοῖσι Ἑλληνικοῖσι  
θεοῖσι<sup>318</sup> ; Ἀπικομένοις δὲ τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι καὶ λέγουσι τὰ ἐντε-  
ταλμένα τὴν Πυθίην λέγεται εἰπεῖν τάδε· “τὴν πεπρωμένην μοῖραν  
ἀδύνατά ἐστι ἀποφυγέειν καὶ θεῷ· Κροῖσος δὲ πέμπτον γονέος<sup>319</sup>  
ἀμαρτάδα ἐξέπλησε, ὃς ἔων δορυφόρος Ἡρακλειδέων, δόλῳ γυναι-  
κῇ ἐπισπόμενος<sup>320</sup> ἐφόνευσε τὸν δεσπότηα, καὶ ἔσχε τὴν ἐκείνου  
τιμὴν οὐδὲν οἱ προσήκουσαν. προθυμομένου δὲ Λοξίῳ, ὅπως ἂν  
κατὰ τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς Κροῖσου γένοιτο τὸ Σαρδίων πάθος καὶ μὴ  
κατ’ αὐτὸν Κροῖσον, οὐκ οἶός τε ἐγένετο παραγαγεῖν μοίρας· ὅσον  
δὲ ἐνέδωκαν αὐταὶ ἡνύσατο, καὶ ἐχαρίσατό οἱ· τρία γὰρ ἔτεα ἐπ-  
ανεβάλετο τὴν Σαρδίων ἄλωσιν καὶ τοῦτο ἐπιστάσθω Κροῖσος, ὡς  
ὑστερον τοῖσι ἔτεσι τούτοις ἀλούς τῆς πεπρωμένης. δεύτερα δὲ  
τούτων, καιομένη αὐτῷ ἐπῆρκεσε. κατὰ δὲ τὸ μαντήϊον τὸ γενό-

91

Defence set  
up by the  
oracle.

<sup>316</sup> κατέβαινε αὐτὶς παραιτέμενος, “he ended by again imploring.” So below, § 116, κατέβαινε ἐς λιτάς τε καὶ συγγνώμην ἑωυτῷ κελεύων ἔχειν αὐτόν, “he ended by resorting to supplications and urging indulgence towards himself;” § 118, κατέβαινε λέγων κ.τ.λ., “he ended by saying,” &c. &c. The idiom seems derived from the practice of the agora, where the speaker on ending his speech “got down” from the bema.

<sup>317</sup> τούτῳ. This reading is sanctioned by the majority of MSS. Gaisford adopts τούτων on very slender authority.

<sup>318</sup> εἰ ἀχαρίστοις νόμος εἶναι τοῖσι Ἑλληνικοῖσι θεοῖσι; For εἶναι one MS has εἶη and another ἐστὶ,—corruptions which are due to an ignorance of the con-

struction. This would be in full εἰ νόμος [ἐστὶ] τ. Ἑλλ. θ. εἶναι ἀχαρίστοις.

<sup>319</sup> πέμπτον γονέος. Croesus was fifth from Gyges, reckoning, after the manner of the Greeks, both extremes. His fall fulfilled the Delphic oracle (see above, § 13), of which no note was taken until the fulfilment.

<sup>320</sup> ἐπισπόμενος. The majority of MSS have ἐπισπόμενος. But some have the reading in the text, which is well defended by *Odys.* iii. 215 :

ἐπισπόμενοι θεοῦ ὀμφῇ,

and by SOPHOCLES (*Electr.* 967) :

ἀλλ’ ἦν ἐπίσπῃ τοῖς ἐμοῖς βουλευέμασιν.

μενον, οὐκ ὀρθῶς Κροῖσος μέμφεται. προηγόρευε γάρ οἱ Λοξίης, ἣν στρατεύηται ἐπὶ Πέρσας μεγάλην ἀρχὴν αὐτὸν καταλύσειν τὸν δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα χρὴν εὖ μέλλοντα βουλευέσθαι, ἐπειρεσθαι πέμψαντα κότερα τὴν ἑωυτοῦ ἢ τὴν Κύρου λέγει ἀρχήν; οὐ συλλαβὼν δὲ τὸ ῥηθὲν, οὐδ' ἐπανειρόμενος, ἑωυτὸν αἴτιον ἀποφαινέτω· ᾧ καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον χρηστηριαζομένῳ εἶπε τὰ εἶπε<sup>321</sup> Λοξίης περὶ ἡμίονου, οὐδὲ τοῦτο συνέβαλε<sup>322</sup>. ἦν γὰρ δὴ ὁ Κύρος οὗτος ἡμίονος· ἐκ γὰρ δυοῖν οὐκ ὁμοειδέων ἐγεγόνεε, μητρὸς ἀμείνονος πατρὸς δὲ ὑποδεστέρου· ἢ μὲν γὰρ ἦν Μηδὶς καὶ Ἀστυάγεος θυγάτηρ τοῦ Μῆδων βασιλέως, ὁ δὲ Πέρσης τε ἦν καὶ ἀρχόμενος ὑπ' ἐκείνοισι· καὶ ἔνερθε ἐὼν τοῖσι ἅπασι, δεσποίνῃ τῇ ἑωυτοῦ συνοίκεε." ταῦτα μὲν ἡ Πυθίη ὑπεκρίνατο τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι, οἱ δὲ ἀνῆνικαν ἐς Σάρδεις καὶ ἀπήγγειλαν τῷ Κροίσῳ· ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας, συνέγνω ἑωυτοῦ εἶναι τὴν ἁμαρτάδα καὶ οὐ τοῦ θεοῦ. κατὰ μὲν δὴ τὴν Κροίσου τε ἀρχὴν καὶ Ἰωνίης τὴν πρώτην καταστροφὴν ἔσχε οὗτω<sup>323</sup>. Κροίσῳ δὲ ἔστι καὶ ἄλλα ἀναθήματα ἐν τῇ Ἑλ- 92  
λάδι πολλὰ, καὶ οὐ τὰ εἰρημένα μούνα. ἐν μὲν γὰρ Θήβῃσι τῇσι Βοιωτῶν τρίπους χρύσεος, τὸν ἀνέθηκε τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Ἰσμη-  
νίῳ<sup>324</sup>. ἐν δὲ Ἐφέσῳ, αἶ τε βόες αἱ χρύσειαι καὶ τῶν κίωνων αἱ  
πολλαί<sup>325</sup>. ἐν δὲ Προνηΐς τῇς ἐν Δελφοῖσι<sup>326</sup> ἀσπίς χρυσῇ μεγάλῃ.

Other offerings of Cræsus to Hellenic temples.

<sup>321</sup> τὰ εἶπε. The two manuscripts S and V omit these words.

<sup>322</sup> συνέβαλε. This, which is the reading of almost all the MSS, is altered by Gaisford after others into συνέλαβε. But the sense is not improved by the change. The argument of Apollo is, that the oracle about "the mule" would have helped Cræsus to understand the former one, but that he failed to put it together with that former one,—a sense for which συνέβαλε is requisite. The form συνεβόλετο is used (vi. 107) of Hippias in his interpretation of his own dream.

<sup>323</sup> Besides S and V (see above, note 136), the MSS *b* and *d* omit this section. These two last MSS do not often concur with either S or V, but the former of them rather with Wesseling's codices A B C. All except V likewise omit § 93 and § 94 down to καταπορεύουσι. See note 332.

<sup>324</sup> τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Ἰσμηνίῳ. In this temple too were to be seen the golden shield and spear which Cræsus had sent as an offering to Amphiaræus (above, § 52),

and three tripods, upon which inscriptions in Cadmean letters, very nearly resembling the Ionic character, were found. (See notes on v. 59.) The former of these two passages does not exist in S and V, the latter does. MÜLLER (in *Bættiger's Amalihea*, i. p. 129) considers it quite certain that this temple was a colony from that at Delphi.

<sup>325</sup> αἶ τε βόες αἱ χρύσειαι καὶ τῶν κίωνων αἱ πολλαί. This expression (by the use of the articles αἶ βόες and τῶν κίωνων) shows that Herodotus addresses himself to persons to whom these objects were well known, at least by reputation. This would be the case with most; for Ephesus was the port at which all travellers from the East by the great road connecting Susa and Sardis would embark for Europe. (See v. 54, and *Act. Apost.* xix. 1.) Of course no one having the opportunity would omit to visit a temple which was one of the wonders of the world, and thus the details of it would become matter of notoriety all over Hellas. Herodotus puts it together with the temple of Here at

ταῦτα μὲν καὶ ἔτι ἐς ἐμὲ ἦν περιέοντα· τὰ δ' ἐξαπόλωλε τὰ τῶν ἀναθημάτων<sup>327</sup>. τὰ δ' ἐν Βραγχιδρσι τῇσι Μιλησίων ἀναθήματα Κροίσω, ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, ἴσα τε σταθμὸν καὶ ὁμοία τοῖσι ἐν Δελφοῖσι. τὰ μὲν νυν ἕς τε Δελφοὺς καὶ ἐς τοῦ Ἀμφιάρεω ἀνέθηκε οἰκῆιά τε ἑόντα, καὶ τῶν πατρῶων χρημάτων ἀπαρχήν· τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἀναθήματα ἐξ ἀνδρὸς ἐγένετο οὐσίης ἐχθροῦ, ὅς οἱ, πρὶν ἢ βασιλεῦσαι, ἀντιστασιώτης κατεστήκεε, συσπεύδων Πανταλέοντι γενέσθαι τὴν Λυδῶν ἀρχήν. ὁ δὲ Πανταλέων ἦν Ἀλυάττεω μὲν παῖς, Κροίσου δὲ ἀδελφεὸς οὐκ ὁμομήτριος· Κροῖσος μὲν γὰρ ἐκ Καίρης ἦν γυναικὸς Ἀλυάττη, Πανταλέων δὲ ἐξ Ἰάδος. ἐπεὶ τε δὲ, δόντος τοῦ πατρὸς, ἐκράτησε τῆς ἀρχῆς ὁ Κροῖσος, τὸν ἄνθρωπον τὸν ἀντιπρήσσοντα ἐπὶ κνάφου ἔλκων<sup>328</sup> διέφθειρε, τὴν δὲ οὐσίην αὐτοῦ ἔτι πρότερον κατιρώσας, τότε τρόπῳ τῷ εἰρημένῳ ἀνέθηκε ἐς τὰ εἶρηται. καὶ περὶ μὲν ἀναθημάτων τούτων εἰρήσθω.

## 93

Θώματα δὲ γῇ Λυδίῃ ἐς συγγραφὴν οὐ μάλα ἔχει, οἶά τε καὶ ἄλλη χώρα, παρέξ τοῦ ἐκ τοῦ Τμῶλου καταφερομένου ψήγματος.

Topography  
of Lydia.  
Tumulus of  
Halyattes.

Samos (ii. 148). There can be little doubt that he visited it himself; for, although this does not necessarily follow from the words *ἔτι ἐς ἐμὲ ἦν περιέοντα*, yet his description of the alluvial character of the neighbourhood of Ephesus is quite that of an eye-witness (ii. 10); and the incident of the dedication of the city to Artemis in the war with Croesus (i. 26) is undoubtedly a temple-tradition, either Delphic or Ephesian.

<sup>327</sup> *Προνητὴς τῇς ἐν Δελφοῖσι*. This, although not the reading of all the MSS (some of which have *Προνητὸς τοῖς ἐν Δ.*), seems certainly to be the true one. *Æschylus* (*Eumen.* 21) makes the priestess at Delphi, in her enumeration of the local deities, invoke Athene under this title, *Παλλὰς προναία δ' ἐν λόγοις προσβέεται*, where there is no variation in the MSS. The only difficulty arises from the apparent strangeness of describing the goddess, *when first mentioning her*, by a mere local epithet. But this seems susceptible of an explanation. Herodotus had just mentioned the temple of the Ismenian Apollo. Now in *this* there was an Athene *προναία* (PAUSANIAS, ix. 10. 2), the recollection of whom would at once be suggested by the mention of it. Accordingly, just as if

he had actually spoken of the goddess (compare viii. 37), the author goes on to speak of the same similarly located, only at Delphi.

<sup>328</sup> *τὰ τῶν ἀναθημάτων*. These words as they stand are undoubtedly corrupt, and Schweighäuser considers them a gloss. Schaefer and Gaisford omit *τὰ*, but this seems an arbitrary proceeding. The next sentence, too, as it stands, has no verb. I should be almost disposed to suspect the text originally ran thus: *ταῦτα μὲν καὶ ἔτι ἐς ἐμὲ ἦν περιέοντα τῶν ἀναθημάτων, τὰ δὲ ἐξαπόλωλε· ταῦτα δ' ἐν Βραγχιδρσι τῇσι Μιλησίων ἀναθήματα Κρ. κ.τ.λ.* The offerings in the temple were given up by the priests to Xerxes, who burnt the temple afterwards, and hence Herodotus could only speak of them by hearsay (STRABO, x. chap. i. p. 165). With regard to the gender of *Βραγχιδαι*, see note on § 158.

<sup>329</sup> *ἐπὶ κνάφου ἔλκων*, "by drawing him over a rack" (set with points like a fuller's comb). The engine is described by SUIDAS as *ὄργανόν τι ἐν κύκλῳ κέντρα ἔχον, δι' οὗ τοὺς βασανιζομένους κτείνουσι*. Perhaps it is substantially the same with the "harrows of iron" mentioned 2 Sam. xii. 31.

ἐν δὲ ἔργον πολλὸν μέγιστον παρέχεται, χωρὶς τῶν τε Αἰγυπτίων ἔργων καὶ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων. ἔστι αὐτόθι Ἀλυάττω τοῦ Κραίσου πατρὸς σήμα, τοῦ ἡ κρηπὶς μὲν ἔστι λίθων μεγάλων τὸ δὲ ἄλλο σήμα χῶμα γῆς. ἐξεργάσαντο δὲ μιν οἱ ἀγοραῖοι ἄνθρωποι, καὶ οἱ <sup>Legend of its origin.</sup> χειρῶνακτες, καὶ αἱ ἐνεργαζόμεναι παιδίσκαι· οὖροι δὲ, πέντε ἔοντες, ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦσαν ἐπὶ τοῦ σήματος ἄνω καὶ σφι γράμματα ἐνεκεκόλαπτο <sup>329</sup>, τὰ ἕκαστοι ἐξεργάσαντο· καὶ ἐφάνετο μετρούμενον τὸ τῶν παιδισκῶν ἔργον ἕν μόνον μέγιστον. τοῦ γὰρ δὴ Λυδῶν δήμου αἱ θυγατέρες πορνεύονται πᾶσαι <sup>330</sup> συλλέγουσαι σφίσι φερνὰς, ἐς δ' ἂν συνοικήσωσι τοῦτο ποικεύουσαι· ἐκδιδῶσαι δὲ αὐταὶ ἑωντάς. ἡ μὲν δὴ περίοδος τοῦ σήματος εἰς στάδια <sup>Its dimensions.</sup> ἕξ καὶ δύο πλέθρα· τὸ δὲ εὐρὸς ἔστι πλέθρα τριακαίδεκα. λίμνη δὲ ἔχεται τοῦ σήματος <sup>331</sup> μεγάλην, τὴν λέγουσι Λυδοὶ <sup>Gygean lake.</sup>

<sup>329</sup> καὶ σφὶ γράμματα ἐνεκεκόλαπτο. Before forming any theories relative to the existence of letters at a particular epoch from this passage, it is requisite to be certain that here the author is speaking of what he saw close and was able to interpret. But both here and in a similar case this is doubtful. See note 331 and on ii. 106. And at any rate a different legend respecting the origin of the tamulus existed; for CLAUDIUS, a scholar of Aristotle's, in his *Erotica*, related that the monument (which in his time went by the name of τῆς ἐταίρας μνήμα) was built by Gyges (who for the purpose impressed the whole force of the country) in honour of a deceased concubine of his. If the Sardinian deity Cybele was, as seems probable (see note on v. 102), a mere variety of the Syrian goddess described by Lucian, it is probable that this tamulus was connected with her ritual, and was constructed in times earlier than those of which any distinct record remained in the time of Herodotus. If so, there would be a very good reason both for the variation of details in the stories which accounted for its existence, and for the retention, in each one, of a reference to the peculiar character of the goddess. See the story of Cheops's daughter related by the author, ii. 126.

<sup>330</sup> πορνεύονται πᾶσαι. STRABO (xi. cap. 14 ult.) relates exactly the same practice of the Armenians, where it obviously was a Mylitta-worship which gave rise to the proceeding, and the most illustrious persons in the country dedicated their daughters.

tars. In the time of Herodotus Hellenic civilization had done much for Asia Minor; and probably only the *ἄλγος*, the representatives of the old race, retained the characteristics of the Cybele-worship, as it was first brought to Sardis. See note on v. 102.

<sup>331</sup> λίμνη δὲ ἔχεται τοῦ σήματος. STRABO describes the topography rather differently. He says this lake is forty *stadia* from the city, that it was called *Γυγαία* by Homer, but subsequently *Κολήνη*; and that a temple of Artemis Coloëne is there, and the tombs of the kings surround the lake. Then he says, *πρὸς δὲ ταῖς Σάρδεσιν ἔστι τὸ τοῦ Ἀλυάττου ἐπὶ κρηπιδὸς ὀψιλής χῶμα μέγα* (xiii. c. 4, p. 152). He is here probably following Demetrius of Scepsis, who was familiar with the locality. It is rather remarkable that Herodotus should not mention the tombs of the kings about the lake; but this may be explained on the hypothesis that he (or his informant) merely *passed through* Sardis, and just saw the mound and the lake from a distance. "Adjoining [the tamulus of Halyattes] among the hills, in a *situation invisible from below*, are countless tamuli, the forms of which are still quite perfect. The Turks call them *Bin-bir Teppi*, or 'the Thousand and One Hills.'" (FALKNER, *Museum of Classical Antiquities*, Art. xv.) See also note 329. Strabo says that according to some accounts the lake was an artificial reservoir to prevent mischief from the floods of the river.

αίλαιον εἶναι· καλέεται δὲ αὕτη Γυγαίη<sup>332</sup>. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτό ἐστι<sup>333</sup>.

94

Lydians  
the first  
coiners of  
money and  
inventors of  
most games  
known to  
the Hellenic  
race.

Λυδοὶ δὲ νόμοισι μὲν παραπλησίοισι χρέωνται καὶ Ἕλληνες· χωρὶς ἢ ὅτι τὰ θήλεα τέκνα καταπορνεύουσι. πρῶτοι δὲ ἀνθρώπων, τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, νόμισμα χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου κοφάμενοι ἐχρήσαντο· πρῶτοι δὲ καὶ κἀπηλοι ἐγένοντο<sup>334</sup>. φασὶ δὲ αὐτοὶ Λυδοὶ, καὶ τὰς παυγνίας τὰς νῦν σφίσι τε καὶ Ἕλλησι κατεστῆσας ἐωντῶν ἐξεύρημα γενέσθαι· ἅμα δὲ ταύτας τε ἐξευρεθῆναι παρὰ σφίσι λέγουσι καὶ Τυρσηνίην ἀποικίσαι· ὧδε περὶ αὐτῶν λέγοντες· ἐπὶ Ἄττος τοῦ Μάνεω βασιλέος σιτοδητὴν ἰσχυρὴν ἀνὰ τὴν Λυδίην πᾶσαν γενέσθαι· καὶ τοὺς Λυδοὺς τέως μὲν διαγίγειν λυπαρέοντας· μετὰ δὲ, ὡς οὐ παύεσθαι, ἅκεα δίζησθαι· ἄλλον δὲ ἄλλο ἐπιμηχανᾶσθαι αὐτῶν ἐξευρεθῆναι δὴ ὦν τότε καὶ τῶν κύβων καὶ τῶν ἀστραγάλων καὶ τῆς σφαίρης καὶ τῶν ἀλλέων πασέων παυγνιέων τὰ εἶδεα πλὴν πεσσῶν· τούτων γὰρ ὦν<sup>335</sup> τὴν ἐξεύρεσιν οὐκ οἰκηιοῦνται Λυδοί· ποιέειν δὲ ὧδε πρὸς τὸν λιμὸν

<sup>332</sup> καλέεται δὲ αὕτη Γυγαίη. The lake is mentioned by this name in the *Iliad*: ix. 392 (cited in note 277, above). The Villosion scholiast on that passage seems to show that the text of Herodotus hereabouts must have suffered some change. *κῶμη ἐστὶ Λυδίας Ἀλαδα, ἐνθα φησὶν Ἡρόδοτος βαμὸν Ἰφιτίονος καὶ ἑγαλμα λίθινον κολοσσικὸν ἡκρωτηριασμένον ἀρχαίᾳ τύπῃ ἐργασμένον· καὶ τοὺς περὶ τὴν λίμνην καλὰ μους συνδονεῖσθαι ἐλιθίδιαις*. See note 323.

<sup>333</sup> The MSS S, b, and d here again take up the text thus: Λυδοὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ πρῶτοι κ.τ.λ. Instead of the words *φασὶ δὲ αὐτοὶ* Λυδοί, S has *Λυδοὶ δὲ αὐτοὶ*, and all three after these words insert *καὶ ταῖς παύταις ἐξευρεθῆναι λέγονται παρὰ Ἑλλήνων τῶν τε κύβων καὶ τῶν ἀστραγάλων*. See the last note.

<sup>334</sup> πρῶτοι δὲ καὶ κἀπηλοι ἐγένοντο. The general merchant resident in an *entrepôt* of traffic would be a *κἀπηλος*, as opposed to an *ἐμπορος* or trader who brought the wares he sold from a distance. Sardis was an *entrepôt* for Hellenic and Asiatic traffic. The wool produced in Phrygia (*πολυκροβατωτάτη*, v. 49) was brought there to be dyed (PLINY, *N. H.* vii. 47), and the purple dye produced from the *κοχλίας*, taken at Límum, a spot on the southern coast of the Propontis, which

was the best in the world (STRABO, xiii. c. 1), found its way thither by water-carriage. It was likewise a mart for the precious metals. The Spartans sent thither to purchase some gold (i. 69), probably ingots formed from the grains brought down in the sand of the Pactolus. SOPHOCLES, too, speaks of the *electrum* which came from Sardis (*Antig.* 1037: cited in note 154, above). The anecdotes told by Herodotus of Periander (iii. 48) and of Hermotimus (viii. 105) show that Sardis was also a great slave-market. It would also lie conveniently for shipping the dyed goods of the Phrygian Hierapolis, the waters of which possessed such remarkable qualities as to enable the vegetable dyes of that place to compete with the marine productions of Tyre or of the Propontis (STRABO, xiii. c. 4). Under such circumstances a standard of value would in very early times be necessary; and hence minted coins would very soon appear. It does not, however, necessarily follow from what Herodotus says that the Lydian sovereigns coined on their own account, and there are some reasons to believe that they did not. See note on iv. 166.

<sup>335</sup> τούτων γὰρ ὦν. The MSS S, V, b, d omit what follows until the words *δομασθῆναι Τυρσηνός*, nearly at the end of the chapter.



ἔξευρόντας τὴν μὲν ἑτέραν τῶν ἡμερέων παίλζειν πᾶσαν ἵνα δὴ μὴ  
 ζητέοιεν σιτία· τὴν δὲ ἑτέραν σιτέεσθαι πανομένους τῶν παυγνέων  
 τοιοῦτῃ τρόπῳ διάγειν ἐπ' ἕτεα δυνῶν δέοντα εἰκοσι· ἐπεὶ τε δὲ οὐκ  
 ἀνίεναι τὸ κακὸν <sup>236</sup> ἀλλ' ἐπὶ μᾶλλον ἔτι βιάζεσθαι, οὕτω δὴ τὸν  
 βασιλέα αὐτῶν, δύο μοίρας διελόντα Λυδῶν πάντων, κληρῶσαι  
 τὴν μὲν ἐπὶ μονῇ τὴν δὲ ἐπὶ ἐξόδῳ ἐκ τῆς χώρας· καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τῇ  
 μένειν αὐτοῦ λαρχανούσῃ τῶν μοιρῶν ἑωυτὸν τὸν βασιλέα προσ-  
 τάσσειν, ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ ἀπαλλασσομένῃ τὸν ἑωυτοῦ παῖδα, τῷ οὐνομα  
 εἶναι Τυρσηνόν· λαχόντας δὲ αὐτῶν τοὺς ἑτέρους ἐξίεναι ἐκ τῆς <sup>Τυρσηνῶν,</sup>  
 χώρας, καταβῆναι ἐς Σμύρνην <sup>237</sup> καὶ μνηχανῆσθαι πλοῖα, ἐς τὰ <sup>a Lydian,</sup>  
 ἐσθεμένους τὰ πάντα ὅσα σφί ἦν χρηστὰ ἐπίπλοα, ἀποπλέειν κατὰ <sup>colonizes</sup>  
 βίου τε καὶ γῆς ζήτησιν· ἐς δ' ἔθνεα πολλὰ παραμειψαμένους  
 ἀπικέσθαι ἐς Ὀμβρικούς· ἔνθα σφέας ἐνιδρύσασθαι πόλιας καὶ  
 οἰκέειν τὸ μέχρι τούδε· ἀντὶ δὲ Λυδῶν μετονομασθῆναι αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ  
 τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ παιδὸς ὃς σφέας ἀνήγαγε, ἐπὶ τούτου τὴν ἑπωνυ-  
 μίην ποιευμένους, ὀνομασθῆναι Τυρσηνοὺς. Λυδοὶ μὲν δὴ ὑπὸ  
 Πέρσῃ δεδοῦλυντο.

Ἐπιδικᾶται δὲ δὴ τὸ ἐνθεύτεν ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος τὸν τε Κύρον ὅστις 95

ἑὼν τὴν Κροίσου ἀρχὴν κατέειλε, καὶ τοὺς Πέρσας ὅτεφ τρόπῳ <sup>History of</sup>  
<sup>Cyrus, who</sup>

<sup>236</sup> ἐπεὶ τε δὲ οὐκ ἀνίεναι τὸ κακόν.  
 DIONYSIUS of Halicarnassus (*Archæol.*  
 i. 28), by quoting the substance of this  
 account, shows that he used a copy in  
 which this paragraph appeared. That the  
 tradition is a genuine *Sardian* one is  
 plain from the pleadings of the authorities  
 of the city before the Roman senate in the  
 time of Tiberius (TACITUS, *Annal.* iv. 65).  
 Its historical accuracy is quite a different  
 question. XANTHUS, the historian, did  
 not mention it. HORACE uses it for the  
 purpose of a compliment to Mæcenas  
 (*Sat.* i. vi. 1):

"Non quia, Mæcenas, Lydorum quidquid  
*Etruscas*

Incoluit fines, nemo generosior est te;"

and VIRGIL, for whom a recondite tradi-  
 tion always had attractions, speaks of the  
 "Lydius Tybris" (*Æn.* ii. 782); but  
 these allusions imply no real belief in the  
 legend on which they are based. The  
 substantial truth which lies at the bottom  
 of the story seems to be the affinity be-  
 tween the Etruscan and the early Lydian

racæ, as being two swarms of the same  
 tribe whose tutelary deity was worshipped  
 with orgiastic and impure rites. This  
 affinity is expressed by making the epo-  
 nyms of the two nations children of a  
 common ancestor, who himself is the  
 hierophant of the goddess. (See note on  
 v. 102.) The ancestors of the Etruscans  
 probably passed by Lampsacus and the  
 Hellespont into Thrace, where Atys be-  
 came Otys or Cotys, and the goddess  
 Cotytto (*ÆSCHYLUS, Fragment* 54, ed.  
 Dindorf), and thence descended into the  
 north of Italy in course of time. Those  
 of the Lydians on the other hand spread  
 through Phrygia into the valleys of the  
 Mæander, Hermus, and Cayster. When  
 we get to the *historical* times, Hero-  
 dotus distinctly asserts that the *Pho-*  
*cæans* were the discoverers of Tyrrhenia  
 (§ 193).

<sup>237</sup> ἐς Σμύρνην. It seems not impro-  
 bable that the town here mentioned was  
 really *Ephesus*. See the note on § 150,  
 ὁδε ἀπέβαλον.

subdued  
Cressus.

The Medes  
were the  
first to  
throw off  
the Assy-  
rian su-  
premacy,  
which had  
lasted 520  
years.  
They re-  
main free  
for a time.

96

Deioces  
changes  
their free  
government  
to a mon-  
archy by  
making  
himself  
necessary  
to them.

ἡγήσαντο τῆς Ἀσίας. ὡς ἂν Περσέων μεταξέτεροι λέγουσι<sup>322</sup>, οἱ μὴ βουλόμενοι σεμνοῦν τὰ περὶ Κύρον, ἀλλὰ τὸν ὄντα λέγειν λόγον, κατὰ ταῦτα γράψω, ἐπιστάμενος περὶ Κύρου καὶ τριφασίας ἄλλας λόγων ὁδοὺς φῆναι<sup>323</sup>. Ἀσσυρίων<sup>324</sup> ἀρχόντων τῆς ἅνω Ἀσίας ἐπ' ἕτεα εἴκοσι καὶ πεντακάσια<sup>325</sup>, πρῶτοι ἀπ' αὐτῶν Μῆδοι ἡρξάντο ἀπίστασθαι καὶ κως οὗτοι περὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας μαχεσάμενοι τοῖσι Ἀσσυρίοισι, ἐγένοντο ἄνδρες ἀγαθοί καὶ ἀπασσάμενοι τὴν δουλοσύνην, ἡλευθερώθησαν. μετὰ δὲ τούτους, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἔθνεα ἐποίησε τὸ αὐτὸ τοῖσι Μήδοισι ὄντων δὲ αὐτονόμων πάντων<sup>326</sup> ἀνὰ τὴν ἡπειρον ὧδε αὐτὶς ἐς τυραννίδας περὶ ἡλθον. Ἀνὴρ ἐν τοῖσι Μήδοισι ἐγένετο σοφὸς τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Δηϊόκης, παῖς δὲ ἦν Φραόρτεω· οὗτος ὁ Δηϊόκης ἐρασθεὶς τυραννίδος ἐποίησε τοιαύδε. κατοικημένων τῶν Μήδων κατὰ κάμας, ἐν τῇ ἐαυτοῦ ἐὼν καὶ πρότερον δόκιμος καὶ μᾶλλον τι καὶ προθυμότερον δικαιοσύνην ἐπιθέμενος ἥσκει· καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι, εὐσύης ἀνομίης πολλῆς ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν Μῆδικην, ἐποίησε ἐπιστάμενος ὅτι τῷ δικαίῳ τὸ ἀδικον πολέμιόν ἐσται· ὅτι δ' ἐκ τῆς

<sup>322</sup> ὡς ἂν Περσέων μεταξέτεροι λέγουσι. It must not be assumed from this expression that Herodotus derived his account of Cyrus from Persian sources direct. He may very well have heard the story he adopts (as well as the other three he knows) from merchant-travellers at Phasis; and these may have reported it (with more or less authority for so doing) as derived from Persian traditions. Herodotus criticizes it with reference to its likelihood rather than the external evidence on which it rests. See notes on § 189, and on ii. 43, τὸ οὐνομα τοῦ Ἡρακλέους.

<sup>323</sup> ἐπιστάμενος περὶ Κύρου καὶ τριφασίας ἄλλας λόγων ὁδοὺς φῆναι, "although on the subject of Cyrus I could mention three other courses besides which the narratives take."

<sup>324</sup> Ἀσσυρίων ἀρχόντων κ.τ.λ. The MSS B, V, δ, δ omit what follows until the beginning of § 101, Δηϊόκης μὲν νυν. In the place of it they have the following summary: Ἀνὴρ ἐν τοῖσι Μήδοισι ἐγένετο σοφὸς, τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Δηϊόκης, παῖς δὲ ἦν Φραόρτεω. οὗτος ὁ Δηϊόκης διὰ τὴν ἐαυτοῦ ἐννομίην . . . ἐβασίλευε Μήδων ποιεῖν δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Μῆδοι οἰκοδομούνσι τε οἰκοδομήματα μεγάλα, καὶ θορυφῶντες αὐτῷ ἐπιτρέπουσιν ἐκ πάντων Μήδων καταλέξασθαι, πρὸς τὸ μὴ εἰσέναι παρὰ βασι-

λέα μηδὲνα συγχωρεῖν, δι' ἀγγέλων δὲ πάντα χρεῖσθαι, ὁρᾶσθαι δὲ βασιλέα ὑπὸ μηδενός· πρὸς τε τούτοις ἐτι γελᾶν τε καὶ πῦναι αὐτίον, καὶ ἅπασιν εἶναι τοῦτό γε αἰσχρόν. ταῦτα δὲ περὶ ἐαυτὸν ποιεῖνται, ὅπως μὴ ὁρῶντες οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ ἐόντες καὶ σύντροφοι ἀγαθοὶ τε καὶ ἄλκιμοι, λυπεῖσθαι καὶ ἐπιβουλεύειν.

<sup>325</sup> ἐπ' ἕτεα εἴκοσι καὶ πεντακάσια. This is an interval of time as long as that from the death of Edward I. to that of George IV., as that from the establishment of the republic to the consolidation of the empire of Rome, or that from the very first dawn of traditional history in Hellas to its absorption by Rome. Yet all that Herodotus says of this time is, that during it the Assyrians were dominant in Upper Asia. Surely there is here very strong evidence of the absence of any thing like authentic records of the period accessible to the author; and, if so, it is hazardous to attempt to reconcile, by arbitrary hypotheses, his chronology with the entirely distinct traditions of Cressus and others. The Assyrians spoken of had Nineveh for the seat of their empire. See § 102, below.

<sup>326</sup> ὄντων δὲ αὐτονόμων πάντων. See note 353.

αὐτῆς κόμης Μῆδοι ὀρώντες αὐτοῦ τοὺς τρόπους, δικαστὴν μιν ἑωυτῶν αἰρέοντο· ὁ δὲ δὴ, οἷα μνεώμενος ἀρχήν, ἰθύς τε καὶ δίκαιος ἦν. ποιέων τε ταῦτα ἔπαινον εἶχε οὐκ ὀλίγον πρὸς τῶν πολιτῶν, οὕτω ὥστε πυνθανόμενοι οἱ ἐν τῇσι ἄλλῃσι κόμῃσι ὡς Δηϊόκης εἶη. ἀνὴρ μούνος κατὰ τὸ ὀρθὸν δικάζων, πρότερον περιπίπτοντες ἀδίκουσι γνώμῃσι, τότε ἐπεὶ τε ἤκουσαν, ἄσμενοι ἐφοίτεον παρὰ τὸν Δηϊόκεα καὶ αὐτοὶ δικασόμενοι· τέλος δὲ, οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ ἐπετράποντο. Πλεῦνος δὲ αἰεὶ γινόμενου τοῦ ἐπιφουτέοντος, οἷα πυνθανομένων τὰς δίκας ἀποβαίνειν κατὰ τὸ ἐόν, γνοὺς ὁ Δηϊόκης ἐς ἑωυτὸν πᾶν ἀνακείμενον, οὕτε κατίζειν ἔτι ἤθελε ἔνθα περ πρότερον προκατίζειν ἐδίκασε<sup>343</sup>, οὐτ' ἔφη δικᾶν ἔτι· οὐ γὰρ οἱ λυσιτελέειν, τῶν ἑωυτοῦ ἐξημεληκότα τοῖσι πέλας δι' ἡμέρης δικάζειν. εὐούσης ὦν ἀρπαγῆς καὶ ἀνομίης ἔτι πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἀνὰ τὰς κόμας ἢ πρότερον ἦν, συνελέχθησαν οἱ Μῆδοι ἐς τὸντοῦ, καὶ ἐδίδουσαν σφίσι λόγον λέγοντες περὶ τῶν κατηκόντων<sup>344</sup>. ὡς δ' ἐγὼ δοκέω, μάλιστα ἔλεγον οἱ τοῦ Δηϊόκεω φίλοι· “οὐ γὰρ δὴ τρῶπῃ τῷ παρεόντι χρεώμενοι δυνατοὶ εἶμεν οἰκέειν τὴν χώραν, φέρε στήσωμεν ἡμέων αὐτῶν βασιλέα· καὶ οὕτω ἢ τε χώρα εὐνομήσεται καὶ αὐτοὶ πρὸς ἔργα τρεψόμεθα, οὐδὲ ὑπ' ἀνομίης ἀνάστατοι ἐσόμεθα.” ταῦτά κη λέγοντες πειθούσι ἑωυτοὺς βασιλεύεσθαι. Αὐτίκα δὲ προβαλλομένων τὸν τινα<sup>345</sup> στήσονται βασιλέα, ὁ Δηϊόκης ἦν πολλὸς ὑπὸ παντὸς ἀνδρὸς καὶ προβαλλόμενος<sup>346</sup> καὶ αἰνεόμενος· ἐς δ' τοῦτον καταινέουσι βασιλέα σφίσι εἶναι. ὁ δ' ἐκέλευε αὐτοὺς οἰκία τε ἑωυτῷ ἄξια τῆς βασιληΐης οἰκοδομῆσαι, καὶ κρατῦναι αὐτὸν δορυφόροισι. ποιεῖσι δὴ ταῦτα οἱ Μῆδοι· οἰκοδομούσιν τε γὰρ αὐτῷ οἰκία μεγάλα τε καὶ ἰσχυρά, ἵνα αὐτὸς ἐφρασε τῆς χώρας, καὶ

97

98

<sup>343</sup> προκατίζειν ἐδίκασε. An expression derived from the simple usage of early times, when the judgment-seat was a stone in front of the dwelling of the sovereign. See Exodus xviii. 13; 2 Samuel xix. 8.

<sup>344</sup> περὶ τῶν κατηκόντων, “about the actual state of things.” τὰ καθήκοντα are those matters which touch a person, as contradistinguished from those which being at a distance do not affect him. The fundamental idea appears in the technical use of the word in the Stoic philosophy, where τὸ καθήκον is equivalent to the Latin *officium*, that which

stands in an immediate relation with man as a moral agent.

<sup>345</sup> τὸν τινα. This is the reading in Gaisford. If correct, it is equivalent to *δοτινα*, which is found in some copies. But perhaps the true reading is, τὸ τίνα στήσονται β., “on proposing the question, whom were they to make king?”

<sup>346</sup> ἦν πολλὸς ὑπὸ παντὸς ἀνδρὸς καὶ προβαλλόμενος καὶ αἰνεόμενος, “was zealously by every one both proposed and lauded.” See vii. 158, πολλὸς ἐνέκειτο, “zealously urged;” ix. 91, ὡς δὲ πολλὰς ἦν λισσόμενος, “as he was pressing in his solicitation.”

He causes them to build Agbatana, surrounding it with seven ramparts.

Its magnitude.

δορυφόρους αὐτῷ ἐπιτρέπουσι ἐκ πάντων Μήδων καταλέξασθαι. ὁ δὲ ὡς ἔσχε τὴν ἀρχὴν, τοὺς Μήδους ἠνάγκασε ἐν πόλισμα ποιήσασθαι, καὶ τοῦτο περιστέλλοντας<sup>347</sup> τῶν ἄλλων ἥσσον ἐπιμέλεσθαι· πειθόμενων δὲ καὶ ταῦτα τῶν Μήδων, οἰκοδομείει τείχεα μεγάλα τε καὶ καρτερά, ταῦτα τὰ νῦν Ἀγβάτανα κέκληται<sup>348</sup>, ἕτερον ἐτέρῳ κύκλῳ ἐνεστεῶτα. μεμηχάνηται δὲ οὕτω τοῦτο τὸ τεῖχος, ὥστε ὁ ἕτερος τοῦ ἐτέρου κύκλος τοῖσι προμαχεῶσι μούνοισι ἐστὶ ὑψηλότερος. τὸ μὲν κου τι καὶ τὸ χωρίον συμμαχεῖει κολωνὸς ἐὼν ὥστε τοιοῦτο εἶναι, τὸ δὲ καὶ μᾶλλον τι ἐπετηδεύθη, κύκλων ἐόντων τῶν συναπάντων ἑπτὰ· ἐν δὲ τῷ τελευταίῳ τὰ βασιλῆα ἐνεστί καὶ οἱ θησαυροί. τὸ δὲ αὐτῶν μέγιστόν ἐστι τεῖχος κατὰ τὸν Ἀθηναίων κύκλον<sup>349</sup> μάλιστα κη τὸ μέγαθος. τοῦ μὲν δὴ πρώτου κύκλου οἱ προμαχεῶνές εἰσι λευκοί· τοῦ δὲ δευτέρου μέλανες· τρίτου δὲ κύκλου φοινίκεον· τετάρτου δὲ κυάνεον· πέμπτου δὲ σαυδαράκινοι. οὕτω πάντων τῶν κύκλων οἱ προμαχεῶνες ἡνθισμένοι εἰσὶ φαρμάκοισι<sup>350</sup>. δύο δὲ οἱ τελευταῖοι

<sup>347</sup> καὶ τοῦτο περιστέλλοντας, "and bestowing their pains on securing this." Compare ἰσχυρῶς περιστέλλοντες, ii. 147; τὸν νόμον περιστέλλοντες, iii. 31.

<sup>348</sup> ταῦτα τὰ νῦν Ἀγβάτανα κέκληται. It does not appear from this expression that this was the original name of the town or fortress. RAWLINSON (*London Geographical Journal*, vol. x.) conjectures that the name signified "a place of strength for treasures." Its meaning appears from the form Akmetha (the Chaldaic form for Agbatana, where *m* takes the place of *b* or *p*, as in *μεμβράς* for *βεμβράς*, *δμμα* for the *Æolic* *δμμα*, *μετὰ* for the *Æolic* *πεδὰ*, *μόρος* for a form *βόρος*, which has left a trace of itself in the word *βροτός*). This word Akmetha is derived by Hebraists from a root signifying "to collect together;" so that the word seems equivalent to *συνουκία*, a most appropriate name for a city formed as Athens was by Theseus, or Megalopolis by Epaminondas, by a centralization of strength. The modern form of the word is said to be Ahmethán in Syrian, and Hamadán in Persian; but it does not follow (especially if the meaning of the word be what we have supposed) that the modern Hamadán is the Agbatana of Herodotus's Deiocees. It pro-

bably is that of POLYBIUS (i. 27), who describes the citadel as an artificial elevation.

<sup>349</sup> κατὰ τὸν Ἀθηναίων κύκλον. It has been inferred, most gratuitously, from these words and the minute description of the walls, that Herodotus had visited Agbatana. But the vagueness of its site and dimensions should have guarded against this conclusion. Rawlinson fixes it not at Hamadán, but at Takti-Soleimán, where there is a very striking hill rising to 150 feet above the plain, still fortified, and about three quarters of a mile in circuit. This is sufficiently near to the acropolis at Athens to allow of comparison in a *caravanserai* story, but the circuit of the Agbatana of DIONORUS (xvii. f.), 250 stadia, cannot be brought into agreement either with the whole of Athens within fortifications, which was, in the time of Thucydides, 174½ stadia (LEAKE, p. 273), or with the circuit of the *ἀκρον*, which was forty-three. But the *mere hill* of the citadel would be much less, only this precinct would be inaccurately described by the word *κύκλος*.

<sup>350</sup> ἡνθισμένοι φαρμάκοισι, "diapered with paint."

εἰσι ὁ μὲν καταγυρωμένους ὁ δὲ κατακεχυρωμένους<sup>331</sup> ἔχων τοὺς προμαχεύοντας.

Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ὁ Δηϊόκης ἐνωτῷ τε ἐτέλχεε<sup>332</sup> καὶ περὶ τὰ ἐνω- 99  
τοῦ οἰκία· τὸν δὲ ἄλλον δῆμον πέριξ ἐκέλευε τὸ τεῖχος οἰκέειν. Court cere-  
οἰκοδομηθέντων δὲ πάντων, κόσμον τόνδε Δηϊόκης πρῶτός ἐστι ὁ monial of  
καταστησάμενος· μήτε ἐσιέναι παρὰ βασιλέα μηδένα, δι' ἀγ- Deiocea.  
γέλων δὲ πάντα χρέεσθαι<sup>333</sup>, ὁρᾶσθαι τε βασιλέα ὑπὸ μηδενός·  
πρὸς τε τούτοις ἔτι, γελᾶν τε καὶ πτύειν ἀντίον καὶ ἅπασιν εἶναι  
τούτῳ γε αἰσχρόν<sup>334</sup>. ταῦτα δὲ περὶ ἐνωτὸν ἐσέμνυνε τῶνδε εἵνε-  
κεν, ὅπως ἂν μὴ ὁρῶντες οἱ ὀμήλικες, ὄντες σύντροφοί τε ἐκέλευν

\* <sup>331</sup> ὁ δὲ κατακεχυρωμένους. RAWLIN-  
SON remarks that the seven colours men-  
tioned by Herodotus are those employed  
by the Orientals to denote the seven plane-  
tary bodies. He quotes a poet (Nisáms)  
who describes a palace of seven colours like  
those of Herodotus. In this the palace  
dedicated to Saturn was *black*; that to Ju-  
piter, *orange* (sandal-wood colour); that  
to Mars, *scarlet*; that to the Sun, *golden*;  
that to Venus, *white*; that to Mercury,  
*azure*; and that to the Moon, *green*  
(which the Orientals regard as the hue of  
silver). These circumstances would in-  
duce one to regard the story in Herodotus  
as proceeding originally from Chaldean  
sources. But it does not seem easy to  
suit the order of the walls in the narrative  
to that of the heavenly bodies in the dis-  
position of their orbits, according to Chal-  
dean or Egyptian notions,—or to discover  
any principle in the deviation from that  
order. If, indeed, we suppose that by an  
inadvertence (from whatever source aris-  
ing) the colours of the first and second  
ramparts, and those of the third and fifth,  
have been interchanged in the description,  
we shall get an order corresponding with  
that of the deities presiding over the days  
of the week. See note 349.

<sup>332</sup> ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ὁ Δηϊόκης ἐνωτῷ  
τε ἐτέλχεε. DIODORUS, who professes  
to give a careful comparison of the  
diverse statements of Herodotus and Cte-  
sias relative to the overthrow of the As-  
syrian supremacy by the Medes, relates,  
on the alleged authority of Herodotus,  
that after this event took place no at-  
tempt to gain the supremacy was made  
for many generations, but that, at last,  
after many years had passed by, αἰρεθῆναι  
βασιλέα παρὰ τοῖς Μήδοις ἐνῆρα δικαιοσύνην

διάφορον, ὄνομα Κυαξάρην (ii. 32). This  
is taken by Wesseling and others as a slip  
of memory on the part of Diodorus; and  
such is not an improbable solution of the  
difficulty. But the emphasis which Dio-  
dorus lays upon the length of time dur-  
ing which the isonomy existed contrasts  
strongly with the entire absence of any  
such statement in Herodotus, as the text  
exists at present; and it seems also not  
improbable that the MSS to which Dio-  
dorus had access varied in this respect.  
(See note on § 180, *τριπόρφον*.) If so, it  
is very possible that in them a Cyaxares,  
and not Deiocea, was represented as the  
founder of the Median monarchy. (See  
above, note 332.) It is to be remarked that  
in the Armenian traditions, as represented  
by MOSÉS of Chorene, five Median sove-  
reigns are interposed between the over-  
throw of the effeminate Chonus Conco-  
lerus (= Sardanapalus) and the reign of  
Deiocea.

<sup>333</sup> χρέεσθαι. A word appropriate to  
the consulting an oracle. See note 290,  
above.

<sup>334</sup> ἀντίον καὶ ἅπασιν εἶναι τούτῳ γε αἰ-  
σχρόν. The words καὶ ἅπασιν are to be  
taken both with ἀντίον and with αἰσχρόν.  
Herodotus represents it as an institution  
of Deiocea, that to laugh or to spit, not  
only in the presence of the sovereign, but  
of any person whatever, should be a breach  
of decorum, and held so not only by cour-  
tiers, but by all persons whatever. XENO-  
PHON (*Cyropædia*, i. 2. 16) speaks of a  
similar decorum prevailing among the  
Persians, and brings it forward as an evi-  
dence of the dedicating effect of their  
corporal training that such a custom  
should have become possible. See below,  
§ 133.

καὶ οἰκίης οὐ φλαυροτέρης, οὐδὲ ἐς ἀνδραγαθίην λειπόμενοι, λυ-  
 100 ποεῖατο καὶ ἐπιβουλεύειν, ἀλλ' ἑτεροῖός σφι δοκεῖοι εἶναι μὴ  
 ὁρῶσι. Ἐπεὶ τε δὲ ταῦτα διεκόσμησε καὶ ἐκράτυνε ἐωυτὸν τῇ  
 τυραννίδι, ἣν τὸ δίκαιον φυλάσσωσιν χαλεπός· καὶ τὰς τε δίκας  
 γράφοντες εἰσω παρ' ἐκείνους ἐσπέμπεσκεν, καὶ ἐκείνους διακρίνων  
 τὰς ἐσφερομένας ἐκπέμπεσκε. ταῦτα μὲν κατὰ τὰς δίκας ἐποίεε·  
 τὰ δὲ δὴ ἄλλα ἐκεκοσμέατό οἱ· εἴ τινα πυθθάνοιτο ὑβρίζοντα,  
 τοῦτον ὅκως μεταπέμψαιτο, κατ' ἀξίην ἐκάστου ἀδικήματος ἐδι-  
 κάειν καὶ οἱ κατάσκοποι τε καὶ κατήκοοι<sup>355</sup> ἦσαν ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν  
 χώραν τῆς ἡρχε.

101 Δηϊόκης μὲν νυν<sup>356</sup> τὸ Μηδικὸν ἔθνος συνέστρεψε μῶνον, καὶ  
 τούτου ἡρξε. ἔστι δὲ Μήδων τοσάδε γένηα· Βουσαι, Παρη-  
 τακηνοί<sup>357</sup>, Στρούχατες, Ἀρίζαντοι, Βούδιοι, Μάγοι. γένηα μὲν δὴ  
 102 Μήδων ἐστὶ τοσάδε. Δηϊόκεω δὲ παῖς γίνεταί Φραόρτης<sup>358</sup>, ὃς  
 τελευτήσαςτος Δηϊόκεω βασιλεύσαςτος τρία καὶ πεντήκοντα ἔτεα,  
 παρεδέξατο τὴν ἀρχὴν παραδεξάμενος δὲ, οὐκ ἀπεχρέετο\* μῶνων  
 ἄρχειν τῶν Μήδων ἀλλὰ στρατευσάμενος ἐπὶ τοὺς Πέρσας,  
 πρώτοις τε τούτοις ἐπεθήκατο, καὶ πρώτους Μήδων ὑπηκόους  
 ἐποίησε· μετὰ δὲ, ἔχων δύο ταῦτα ἔθνηα καὶ ἀμφοτέρω ἰσχυρά,  
 κατεστρέφετο τὴν Ἀσίην ἀπ' ἄλλου ἐπ' ἄλλο ἰὼν ἔθνος· ἐς δὲ  
 στρατευσάμενος ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀσσυρίους, καὶ Ἀσσυρίων τούτους οἱ  
 Νῖνον εἶχον καὶ ἡρχον πρότερον πάντων, τότε δὲ ἦσαν μεμουνω-  
 μένοι μὲν συμμάχων ἅτε ἀπεστεώτων ἄλλως μέντοι ἐωυτῶν  
 εὖ ἤκοντες, ἐπὶ τούτους δὴ στρατευσάμενος ὁ Φραόρτης, αὐτός  
 τε διεφθάρη ἄρξας δύο καὶ εἴκοσι ἔτεα καὶ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ ὁ  
 πολλός.

He reigns  
 fifty-three  
 years over  
 the Medes  
 alone.  
 His son  
 Phraortes  
 conquers  
 the Per-  
 sians, and  
 with their  
 aid other  
 nations of  
 Asia.  
 He is slain  
 in a fruit-  
 less attack  
 on Nineveh,  
 after reign-  
 ing twenty-  
 two years.

<sup>355</sup> κατάσκοποι τε καὶ κατήκοοι. See below, note on i. 114.

<sup>356</sup> Δηϊόκης μὲν νυν. S, V, δ, d here resume the thread of the narrative. See note 340.

<sup>357</sup> Παρητακηνοί. The manuscripts S and V have Παρηκοντακηνοί. It has been conjectured that these people are the same with the Paricani mentioned in iii. 94. But there is nothing to shew whether the γένηα here are local tribes, or castes, or houses in the Hellenic sense. The vagueness of Herodotus's information appears from his statement (vii. 62) that the Medes were anciently called Ἀριοι (a word which is interpreted by orientalists as equivalent to

'worshipful'), and that the name Μῆδοι came from Medea. STRABO's indefiniteness in laying down a boundary for Ariana (xv. c. 2), perhaps comes from a similar mistake of a personal attribute for a gentile name, in some of his predecessors.

<sup>358</sup> Φραόρτης. This name appears, according to RAWLINSON, on ancient inscriptions in the arrow-headed character. Its genuine form is *Fvāurtiaš*. It is to be observed that the father of Deioces was named Phraortes, which accords with the Hellenic fashion to name the grandson after the grandfather. See above, § 96.

\* οὐκ ἀπεχρέετο, "was not contented." See above, note 126.

Φραόρτεω δὲ τελευτήσαντος ἐξεδέξατο Κυαζάρης<sup>350</sup> ὁ Φραόρτεω 103  
 τοῦ Δηϊόκεω παῖς. οὗτος λέγεται πολλὸν ἔτι γενέσθαι ἀλκιμώ- His son  
 τερὸς τῶν προγόνων καὶ πρῶτός τε ἐλόχισε κατὰ τέλεα τοὺς ἐν Cyazares  
 τῇ Ἀσίῃ, καὶ πρῶτος διέταξε χωρὶς ἐκάστους εἶναι, τοὺς τε introduces a  
 αἰχμοφόρους καὶ τοὺς τοξοφόρους καὶ τοὺς ἰππέας· πρὸ τοῦ δὲ military or-  
 ἀναμίξῃ ἦν πάντα ὁμοίως ἀναπεφυρμένα. (οὗτος ὁ τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι ganization,  
 ἐστὶ μαχεσάμενος ὅτε νύξ ἡ ἡμέρῃ<sup>351</sup> ἐγένετό σφι μαχομένοισι, separating  
 καὶ ὁ τὴν Ἄλλος ποταμοῦ ἄνω Ἀσίην<sup>351</sup> πᾶσαν συστήσας the different  
 ἔωντῳ.)<sup>352</sup> συλλέξας δὲ τοὺς ὑπ' ἔωντῳ ἀρχομένους πάντας, arms.  
 ἐστρατεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν Νῖνον, τιμωρέων τε τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τὴν πόλιν  
 ταύτην θέλων ἐξελεῖν καὶ οἱ, ὡς συμβαλὼν ἐνίκησε τοὺς Ἀσσυ- He besieges  
 ρίους, περικατημένῳ τὴν Νῖνον ἐπῆλθε Σκυθῶν στρατὸς μέγας· Niniveh,  
 ἄγε δὲ αὐτοὺς βασιλεὺς ὁ Σκυθῶν Μαδύης, Πρωτοθύεω παῖς· but is di-  
 οἱ ἐσέβαλον μὲν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην Κιμμερίου ἐκβαλόντες ἐκ τῆς verted from  
 Εὐρώπης, τοῦτοισι δὲ ἐπισπόμενοι φεύγουσι οὕτω ἐς τὴν Μηδικὴν his purpose  
 χώραν ἀπίκοντο. (Ἔστι δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς λίμνης τῆς Μαυρίτιδος ἐπὶ by the great  
 Φᾶσιω ποταμὸν καὶ ἐς Κόλχους τριήκοντα ἡμερῶν εὐζώνῃ δόδος· Scythian  
 ἐκ δὲ τῆς Κολχίδος οὐ πολλὸν ὑπερβῆναι ἐς τὴν Μηδικὴν<sup>353</sup>, ἀλλὰ invasion.  
 104  
 Distance  
 from Col-  
 chis to  
 Media.

<sup>350</sup> Κυαζάρης. RAWLINSON says that this name is a compound of the Persian *Kei* (a royal epithet applied to the early kings of Persia), and *Arares*. This last is the Hellenic form of the name *Khsyarsa*, with the definite article *Al* prefixed. Without this prefix the name is equivalent to the Hellenic *Xerxes*; with it, to *Arares*, *Assuerus*, or *Ahasuerus*.

<sup>351</sup> ὅτε νύξ ἡ ἡμέρῃ ἐγένετο. See above, § 74, note 254. This sentence connects the Median list of kings with the Lydian traditions.

<sup>352</sup> τὴν Ἄλλος ποταμοῦ ἄνω Ἀσίην. This very unusual expression raises a suspicion that the passage may be corrupt. Perhaps we should read τὴν ἄνω Ἄλ. ποτ. Ἀσίην. (See below, § 130, note 437.) Perhaps the word *ἀπὸ* originally stood before Ἄλλος, and being left out by the transcriber, was placed in the margin and then altered into *ἄνω*. The words τὴν ἀπ' Ἄλ. Ἀσίην would be in the mouth of a Greek on the western side of the Helix, exactly the equivalent expression for τὴν ἄνω Ἀσίην. See above, § 72. Indeed it may be doubted whether the whole clause is not a later addition. See notes 352 and 438.

<sup>353</sup> συλλέξας δὲ τοὺς ὑπ' ἔωντῳ κ.τ.λ. The manuscripts S, V, δ, d omit from these words inclusive to nearly the end of § 106. See note 374.

<sup>354</sup> ἐκ δὲ τῆς Κολχίδος οὐ πολλὸν ὑπερβῆναι ἐς τὴν Μηδικὴν. Herodotus, or at any rate an individual with whom he identifies himself, was himself among the Colchians on the Phasis (see ii. 104), and doubtless got this information from the merchants there. The town at the mouth of the river was a great emporium; flax, hemp, wax, and pitch being exported from thence, and also manufactured linen. It was only two or three days' sail from Sinope and Amisus. The river was navigable up to a place called *Σαραπανῶν ἔρυμα*, from whence there was a road by which, in four days, loaded wagons reached the river Cyrus (the modern *Kuru* or *Koura*) (STRABO, xi. c. 2). If in the time of Herodotus the eastern traffic which passed this way was carried on in Median bottoms through the Caspian Sea and along the Cyrus (a route which ARISTOBULUS, *op. Strab.* xi. c. 7, p. 427, asserted that it did take), the statement which he gives above would be commercially, although not geographically,

The Scythians beat the Medes and overrun Asia.

105

They proceed towards Egypt, and are bribed off by king Psammithicus.

ἐν τὸ διὰ μέσου ἔθνος αὐτῶν ἐστὶ, Σάσπειρες· τοῦτο δὲ παραμειβομένοισι εἶναι ἐν τῇ Μηδικῇ. οὐ μέντοι οἱ γε Σκύθαι ταύτην ἐσέβαλον<sup>363</sup>, ἀλλὰ τὴν κατύπερθε ὁδὸν<sup>364</sup> πολλῷ μακροτέρην ἐκτραπόμενοι, ἐν δεξιῇ ἔχοντες τὸ Καυκάσιον ὄρος.) ἐνθαῦτα οἱ μὲν Μῆδοι συμβαλόντες τοῖσι Σκύθησι καὶ ἐσσωθέντες τῇ μάχῃ τῆς ἀρχῆς κατελύθησαν, οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι τὴν Ἀσίην πᾶσαν ἐπέσχον. Ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἦσαν ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον καὶ ἐπεὶ τε ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ Συρίῃ Ψαμμίτιχός σφεας Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς ἀντιάσας δάροισί τε καὶ λιτῇσι ἀποτρέπει τὸ προσωτέρω μὴ πορεύεσθαι· οἱ δὲ ἐπεὶ τε ἀναχωρόντες ὀπίσω ἐγένοντο τῆς Συρίας ἐν Ἀσκάλωνι πόλει<sup>365</sup>, τῶν πλεόνων Σκυθῶν παρεξελθόντων

correct. The travelling merchant would have to pass no frontiers except those of the Saspire, which one will probably be right in considering to be some portion of the tribes inhabiting the mountain ribs which branch from the southern side of the main Caucasian range, possibly that district which Strabo calls *Iberia*. No difficulty will be presented either by this passage or the one in iv. 37, if we consider Herodotus as merely speaking on the authority of a Phasian mercantile itinerary. See notes on iv. 40 and iv. 86, and the last note on vi. 9.

<sup>364</sup> οὐ μέντοι οἱ γε Σκύθαι ταύτην ἐσέβαλον. Here (I conceive) is a union of two different traditions. The Scythians known to the merchants of Herodotus's time, and who attacked the Cimmerians, are the inhabitants of the plains to the north of the Black Sea and Sea of Azof; whereas the invaders of the Median story are nomads from Independent Tartary, and the east of the Caspian,—the two being distinct swarms of the same race, whose home is to be looked for in the steppes of central Asia. (See note on iv. 11.) A glance at the map shows the difficulty of the route here assigned to the former. The road along the western coast of the Caspian would oblige them to cross a vast number of rivers, among them the Cyrus itself. But from the nature of the country it is likely that a nomad tribe, immediately on passing the eastern spur of the Caucasus, would have spread up the valley of the Cyrus, where they would find abundance of pasture for their herds,—i. e. would have turned towards the Saspire, instead of pursuing the track along the sandy coast, where

they would find no food, till they reached Media. See note on iv. 12.

<sup>365</sup> τὴν κατύπερθε ὁδόν. The road attributed to the invaders would, in every sense of the word, have been a *lower* one than the track which an unencumbered traveller would take. But it would be farther from the coast of the Euxine, and therefore would be described in these terms by a Phasian merchant, ignorant of its particular character. See first note on iv. 40.

<sup>366</sup> ἐν Ἀσκάλωνι πόλει. Ascalon, Azotus (Ashdod), Ekron, Gaza, and Gitta (Gath), are the five confederate states of the Philistines mentioned *Josh.* xiii. 3; *1 Sam.* vi. 17. The name under which Aphrodite was worshipped at Ascalon appears to have been originally *Derceto*, a female form of Dagon, who was the tutelary deity of Azotus. These two deities stood to one another in the same relation as Janus (Dianus) and Diana, Mithras and Mitra, Hecatus and Hecate, Combabus and Cybebe. (See note on v. 102.) They were symbolized by a figure half-human half-piscine. The legend followed by Ctesias (*ap. Diodor. Sic.* ii. 8) makes Derceto a priestess of Aphrodite, changed into a fish, just as the Arcadian legend made *Callisto* an attendant on Artemis, changed into a bear, and the Pylian legend *Menike* a concubine of Hades, changed into the plant *mint* (STRABO, viii. p. 155). Semiramis is in the same tradition made the daughter of Derceto, and changed into a dove. But the dove and the fish, the one from its salaciousness, the other from its enormous power of reproduction, were appropriate symbols of the particular characteristic assigned to Aphrodite, and no doubt originally represented *Aer*. It



ἀσινέων, ὀλίγοι τινὲς αὐτῶν ὑπολειφθέντες ἐσύλησαν τῆς Οὐρανίης Ἀφροδίτης τὸ ἱρόν. ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἱρόν, ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθανόμενος εὐρίσκω, πάντων ἀρχαιοτάτων ἱρῶν ὅσα ταύτης τῆς θεοῦ καὶ γὰρ τὸ ἐν Κύπρῳ ἱρόν ἐνθεύτην ἐγένετο, ὡς αὐτοὶ λέγουσι Κύπριοι καὶ τὸ ἐν Κυθήροισι<sup>367</sup> Φοίνικές εἰσι οἱ ἰδρυσάμενοι, ἐκ ταύτης τῆς Συρίας ἔοντες. τοῖσι δὲ τῶν Σκυθῶν συλήσασι τὸ ἱρόν τὸ ἐν Ἀσκάλωνι, καὶ τοῖσι τούτων αἰεὶ ἐσγόνουσι, ἐνέσκηψε ἡ θεὸς θήλειαν νοῦσον ὥστε ἅμα λέγουσί τε οἱ Σκύθαι διὰ τοῦτο σφεας νοσέειν, καὶ ὁρᾶν παρ' ἐωυτοῖσι τοὺς ἀπικνεομένους ἐς τὴν Σκυθικὴν χώραν ὡς διακέαται τοὺς καλέουσι Ἐναρέας<sup>368</sup> οἱ Σκύθαι. Ἐπὶ μὲν νυν ὀκτῶ καὶ εἴκοσι ἔτεα ἦρχον τῆς Ἀσίης οἱ Σκύθαι, 106 καὶ τὰ πάντα σφι ὑπὸ τε ὕβριος καὶ ὀλγωρῆς ἀνάστατα ἦν χωρὶς μὲν γὰρ φόρων, (ἐπρησσον γὰρ<sup>369</sup> ἐκάστων τὸ ἐκάστοισι ἐπιβάλλον<sup>370</sup>), χωρὶς δὲ τοῦ φόρου<sup>371</sup> ἥρπαζον περιελαύνοντες τοῦτο ὃ τι ἔχοιεν ἕκαστοι. καὶ τούτων μὲν τοὺς πλεῖνας Κυαζάρης τε καὶ Μῆδοι ξεινίσαντες καὶ καταμεθύσαντες<sup>372</sup> κατεφόνευσαν

On their homeward march some sack the temple of Aphrodite at Ascalon, and bring a curse on their descendants.

After twenty-eight years' tenure of Asia, they are crushed by Cyaxares, who re-

then became the function of a poetic mythology to frame narratives accounting for the symbols. (See note 164, above.) *Atargatis*, the name which STRABO (xvi. c. 1, p. 351) gives to the Syrian goddess at Hierapolis, is etymologically identical with *Dereto*.

<sup>367</sup> καὶ τὸ ἐν Κυθήροισι. HERODOTUS (*Theog.* 192) makes Cythera the first place touched by Aphrodite after her birth from the foam of the sea, and sends her thence to Cyprus. Τὸ ἐν Κύπρῳ ἱρόν is doubtless the temple at Paphos: but it must not be assumed that Herodotus was necessarily there, because he quotes the assertion of the Cyprians, that the ritual came thither from Ascalon. It is a curious circumstance that the figure of the goddess at Paphos was a stone of the shape of a sugar-loaf (TACITUS, *Hist.* ii. 3), like the ὀμφαλὸς at Delphi, a simplicity which bespeaks very high antiquity. The stone at Delphi probably belonged to the ritual of the *πρωτόμαντις γαῖα* (ÆSCH. *Eumenid.* 2).

<sup>368</sup> τοὺς καλέουσι Ἐναρέας οἱ Σκύθαι. Here there seems to be a reference to some Scythian word, perhaps one etymologically equivalent to the Latin *venerens*. This to Hellenic ears might sound as if connected with the words ἐν ἄρᾳ, just as the oblique cases of *Μαλῆις* reminded the Romans of *male ventum*, and induced them to change the name to *Beneventum*, for the sake of

the omen. From this circumstance, I should infer that the story in its existing form is possibly due to Greek merchants, whose transactions both took them to Egypt, and brought them into contact with the Scythians on the shores of the Euxine. HIPPOCRATES says that the sufferers are called *ἀνανδρεῖς*, which seems to be another misapprehension, aided by the apparent symptoms of the disease, of the same word. He also says that they attribute their sufferings to the anger of Aphrodite—as might naturally be expected—but makes no reference to any special offence. See the citation in note on iv. 67.

<sup>369</sup> γὰρ. The MSS and Gaisford have *παρ'*.

<sup>370</sup> τὸ ἐκάστοισι ἐπιβάλλον, "the sum which each was rated to pay." See iv. 115, ἀπολαχόντες τῶν κτημάτων τὸ ἐπιβάλλον: vii. 23, ὅσον αὐτοῖσι ἐπέβαλλε. The MSS have ἐπέβαλλον, which Gaisford retains.

<sup>371</sup> χωρὶς δὲ τοῦ φόρου. These words appear to Dobree to be an alternative reading to *χωρὶς μὲν γὰρ φόρων*, and to have passed from the margin into the text. He would retain *παρ'* in the last line and erase the words *ἥρπαζον* . . . *ἕκαστοι*. But the slight alteration I have adopted shows the distinction between the tribute imposed by the authorities and the arbitrary exactions of individual plunderers.

<sup>372</sup> καταμεθύσαντες. This feature in the legend points to the well-known in-

covers his power and takes Nini-veh, subduing all Assyria except Babylon.

## 107

After reigning forty years he is succeeded by his son *Astyages*, whose daughter *Mandane* marries *Cambyzes*, son of *Cyrus*, a Persian, in consequence of a dream of her father's.

## 108

A second dream alarms him yet more, and he determines to kill her

καὶ οὕτω ἀνεσώσαντο τὴν ἀρχὴν Μῆδοι καὶ ἐπεκράτεον τῶν περ καὶ πρότερον· καὶ τὴν τε Νίνων εἶλον, (ὥς δὲ εἶλον, ἐν ἑτέροισι λόγοισι δηλώσω<sup>375</sup>), καὶ τοὺς Ἀσσυρίους ὑποχειρίους ἐποίησαντο πλὴν τῆς Βαβυλωνίης μοίρης· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, Κναζάρης μὲν<sup>376</sup>, βασιλεύσας τεσσαράκοντα ἔτεα σὺν τοῖσι Σκύθαι ἦρξαν, τελευτᾷ.

Ἐκδέκεται δὲ Ἀστυάγης Κναζάρῳ παῖς<sup>375</sup> τὴν βασιληίην καὶ οἱ ἐγένετο θυγάτηρ<sup>376</sup> τῇ οὐνομα ἔθετο Μανδάνην· τὴν ἐδόκεε Ἀστυάγης ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ<sup>377</sup> οὐρῆσαι τοσοῦτον ὥστε πλῆσαι μὲν τὴν ἑωυτοῦ πόλιν, ἐπικατακλύσάι δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἀσίην πᾶσαν ὑπερθέμενος<sup>378</sup> δὲ τῶν μάγων τοῖσι ὄνειροπόλοισι τὸ ἐνύπνιον, ἐφοβήθη παρ' αὐτῶν αὐτὰ ἕκαστα μαθῶν. μετὰ δὲ, τὴν Μανδάνην ταύτην, εἴουσιν ἤδη ἀνδρὸς ὥραιην, Μῆδων μὲν τῶν ἑωυτοῦ ἀξίων οὐδενὶ διδοῖ γυναικὰ δεδοικώς τὴν ὄψιν· ὁ δὲ Πέρσῃ διδοῖ τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Καμβύσης, τὸν εὗρισκε οἰκίης μὲν ἔοντα ἀγαθῆς τρόπου δὲ ἡσυχίου, πολλῶν ἔνευθε ἄγων αὐτὸν μέσου ἀνδρὸς Μῆδου. Συνουκεούσης δὲ τῷ Καμβύσῃ τῆς Μανδάνης, ὁ Ἀστυάγης τῷ πρώτῳ

ἔτει εἶδε ἄλλην ὄψιν. ἐδόκεε δὲ οἱ ἐκ τῶν αἰδοίων τῆς θυγατρὸς ταύτης φῦναι ἄμπελον, τὴν δὲ ἄμπελον ἐπισχεῖν τὴν Ἀσίην πᾶσαν· ἰδὼν δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ὑπερθέμενος<sup>379</sup> τοῖσι ὄνειροπόλοισι, μετεπέμφατο ἐκ τῶν Περσέων τὴν θυγατέρα ἐπίτεκα<sup>380</sup> εἴουσιν,

temperance which characterized the nomad races of Asia, and continued among their descendants, so that "Threïcia amystis" was a proverbial expression in the time of Horace. For the probable basis on which this particular story rests, see note on § 211.

<sup>375</sup> ἐν ἑτέροισι λόγοισι δηλώσω. See note on i. 184.

<sup>376</sup> Κναζάρης μὲν. The manuscripts S, V, δ, d here resume the thread of the narrative, having omitted the episode relative to the Scythian invasion. See note 362. They omit too the words σὺν τοῖσι Σκύθαι ἦρξαν.

<sup>377</sup> Κναζάρῳ παῖς. Some of the MSS which Gaisford follows prefix δ.

<sup>378</sup> If the Median and the Lydian history belong to the same cycle of traditions, the mother of Mandane will have been Aryenis, sister of Croesus. See § 74.

<sup>379</sup> ἐδόκεε—ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ. This vision of Astyages is said (by *Tertullian*, *De animâ*, § 46) to have been related by CHARON of Lampsacus, who wrote two books of *Περσικά* (*SUIDAS*, *sub v.*). See note 482.

<sup>380</sup> ἐπίτεκα. This is a conjectural

reading (all the MSS having *υποθέμενος*), but is adopted by all the editors since Wesseling. And no doubt *υπερθεσθαι* is the common phrase that would be used, if what Astyages did was to recount his dream as it happened. But the words which follow (παρ' αὐτῶν αὐτὰ ἕκαστα μαθῶν) raise the suspicion that the transaction was one like that related in DANIEL (ii. 3, *seqq.*); and that, on the king merely stating that he had had a vision, the soothsayers supplied all the details. For this case the word *υποθέμενος* seems not inappropriate, and I should be inclined to replace it; as then the meaning of the author would be that Astyages told the fact of his fright to the magians, as a *basis* upon which to employ their art.

<sup>379</sup> *υπερθέμενος*. Two MSS here have *υποθέμενος*. But *υπερθέμενος* is in this instance undoubtedly the true reading; for all that the soothsayers did was to interpret the meaning of the vision, not relate its particulars.

<sup>380</sup> *ἐπίτεκα*. The nominative *ἐπιτέκα* occurs below, § 111.

ἀπικομένην δὲ ἐφύλασσε βουλόμενος τὸ γεννώμενον ἐξ αὐτῆς δια- child when  
φθεῖραι· ἐκ γάρ οἱ τῆς θυγίος οἱ τῶν μάγων ὄνειροπόλοι ἐσήμαινον, born.  
ὅτι μέλλοι ὁ τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτοῦ γόνος βασιλεύσειν ἀντὶ ἐκείνου.  
ταῦτα δὴ ὦν φυλασσόμενος ὁ Ἀστυάγης, ὡς ἐγένετο ὁ Κῦρος, κα-  
λέσας Ἀρπαγον ἄνδρα οἰκῆιον<sup>321</sup>, καὶ πιστότατόν τε Μήδων καὶ  
πάντων ἐπίτροπον τῶν ἐωυτοῦ, ἔλεγέ οἱ τοιαύδε· “Ἀρπαγε,  
πρήγμα τὸ ἂν τοι προσθέω μηδαμῶς παραχρήσῃ· μηδὲ ἐμέ τε  
παραβάλλῃ καὶ ἄλλους ἐλόμενος ἐξ ὑστέρης<sup>322</sup> σὺ ἐωυτῷ περι-  
πέσης. λάβε τὸν Μανδάνην ἔτεκε παῖδα, φέρων δὲ ἐς σεωυτοῦ  
ἀπόκτεινον μετὰ δὲ, θάψον τρόπῳ ὅτεφ αὐτὸς βούλει.” ὁ δὲ He puts the  
ἀμείβεται· “ὦ βασιλεῦ, οὔτε ἄλλοτέ κω παρεῖδες ἀνδρὶ τῷδε ἄχαρι infant in  
οὐδὲν, φυλασσόμεθά τε<sup>323</sup> ἐς σὲ καὶ ἐς τὸν μετέπειτα χρόνον μηδὲν of Harpagus  
ἐξαμαρτεῖν· ἀλλ’ εἴ τοι φίλον τοῦτο οὕτω γίνεσθαι, χρὴ δὴ τό γε to be de-  
ἐμὸν ὑπηρετέεσθαι ἐπιτηδέως.” Τοῦτοισι ἀμειψάμενος ὁ Ἀρπαγος, 109  
ὥς οἱ παρεδόθη τὸ παιδίον κεκοσμημένον τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ<sup>324</sup> ἦιε  
κλαίων ἐς τὰ οἰκία. παρελθὼν δὲ ἔφραξε τῇ ἐωυτοῦ γυναικὶ τὸν  
πάντα Ἀστυάγεος ῥηθέντα λόγον, ἡ δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν λέγει· “νῦν ὦν  
τί σοι ἐν νόφ ἐστὶ ποιεῖν;” ὁ δὲ ἀμείβεται· “οὐκ ἦ ἐνετέλλετο  
Ἀστυάγης· οὐδ’ εἰ παραφρονήσῃ τε καὶ μανεῖται κάκιον ἢ νῦν  
μαίνεται, οὐ οἱ ἔγωγε προσθήσομαι τῇ γνώμῃ, οὐδὲ ἐς φόνον τοιοῦ-  
τον ὑπηρετήσω. πολλῶν δὲ εἵνεκα οὐ φονεύσω μιν· καὶ ὅτι αὐτῷ  
μοι συγγενὴς ἐστὶν ὁ παῖς, καὶ ὅτι Ἀστυάγης μὲν ἐστὶ γέρων καὶ  
ἄπαις ἔρσηνος γόνου· εἰ δὲ θελήσει<sup>325</sup>, τοῦτου τελευτήσαντος, ἐς Harpagus  
τὴν θυγατέρα ταύτην ἀναβῆναι ἢ τυραννῖς, ἥς νῦν τὸν υἱὸν κτείνει adopts a  
δι’ ἐμεῦ, ἄλλο τί ἡ λείπεται τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ἐμοὶ κινδύνων ὁ μέγιστος; middle  
ἀλλὰ τοῦ μὲν ἀσφαλῆος εἵνεκα<sup>326</sup> ἐμοὶ δεῖ τοῦτον τελευτᾶν τὸν course,  
of Man- dane, fearing the  
future anger  
of Man- dane,

<sup>321</sup> οἰκῆιον, not merely “an intimate friend,” but “one of the same house,” for, as appears from the next section, the child was a συγγενὴς to Harpagus.

<sup>322</sup> ἐξ ὑστέρης. The same expression is used in v. 106; vi. 85. The substantive understood is probably πλῆγῃς, the metaphor being taken apparently from the riposte made by a swordsman after parrying his enemy’s blow.

<sup>323</sup> τε. Gaisford and the MSS δέ.

<sup>324</sup> τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ. Understand σολῆν, “with the garb of death upon it.” The description of the sumptuous nature of the child’s dress below is no objection to this interpretation. It was to be buried

as a royal infant, and as such, according to Greek notions, would have been arrayed χρυσῷ τε καὶ ἐσθῆτι ποικίλῃ. See below, §§ 111. 113. It would not occur to a Phasian merchant that gold, as the symbol of fire, would not by a Persian be used as an ornament for a corpse (ΣΤΕΛΛΟ, xv. c. 3, p. 328), although for the same reason it was the favourite ornament of the living. Compare note 308, above.

<sup>325</sup> θελήσει. Compare above, § 74: ἄνευ ἀναγκαῖης ἰσχυρῆς συμβάσεως ἰσχυραὶ οὐκ ἐθέλουσι συμμένειν. ii. 14: εἴ σφι θέλοι ἡ χάρις ἢ ἐνερθε Μήμφιος . . . ἀνέλκεσθαι.

<sup>326</sup> ἀλλὰ τοῦ μὲν ἀσφαλῆος εἵνεκα.

- 110 *and delivers the child to Mitrades, the royal herdsman, to be exposed on the northern mountains.* παῖδα· δεῖ μέντοι τῶν τινὰ Ἀστυάγεος αὐτοῦ φονέα γενέσθαι, καὶ μὴ τῶν ἐμῶν." Ταῦτα εἶπε, καὶ αὐτίκα ἄγγελον ἔπεμπε ἐπὶ τῶν βουκόλων τῶν Ἀστυάγεος τὸν ἡπίστατο νομάς τε ἐπιτιθεωτάτας νέμοντα καὶ οὖρεα θηριωδέστατα· τῷ οὔνομα ἦν Μιτραδάτης, συνοίκεε δὲ τῇ ἐωυτοῦ συνδούλῳ· οὔνομα δὲ τῇ γυναικὶ ἦν τῇ συνοίκεε Κυνὴ κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλήνων γλῶσσαν, κατὰ δὲ τὴν Μηδικὴν, Σπακὼν· τὴν γὰρ κύνα καλέουσι σπάκα Μῆδοι. αἱ δὲ ὑπάρεαι εἰσι τῶν οὐρέων ἔνθα τὰς νομάς τῶν βοῶν εἶχε οὗτος δὴ ὁ βουκόλος, πρὸς βορέω τε ἀνέμου τῶν Ἀγβατάνων<sup>387</sup>, καὶ πρὸς τοῦ πόντου τοῦ Εὐξείνου. ταύτῃ μὲν γὰρ ἡ Μηδικὴ χώρα πρὸς Σασπείρων<sup>388</sup> ὄρεινὴ ἐστὶ κάρτα· [καὶ ὑψηλὴ τε καὶ ἰδρσι συνηρεφής· ἡ δὲ ἄλλη Μηδικὴ χώρα ἐστὶ πᾶσα ἄπεδος<sup>389</sup>.] ἐπεὶ ὦν ὁ βουκόλος σπουδῇ πολλῇ καλεόμενος ἀπύκετο, ἔλεγε ὁ Ἀρπαγος τάδε· "καλεῖ σε Ἀστυάγης τὸ παιδίον τοῦτο λαβόντα θείναι ἐς τὸ ἐρμηότατον τῶν οὐρέων, ὅπως ἂν τάχιστα διαφθαρείῃ. καὶ τάδε τοι ἐκέλευσε εἰπεῖν, ἦν μὴ ἀποκτείνῃς αὐτὸ ἀλλὰ τεφρὸν τρόπον περιποιήσῃ, ὁλέθρῳ τῷ κακίστῳ σε διαχρήσεσθαι· ἐπορᾶν δὲ ἐκ-  
111 κείμενον διατέταγμαί ἐγώ." Ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ βουκόλος καὶ ἀναλαβὼν τὸ παιδίον ἤιε τὴν αὐτὴν ὀπίσω ὁδὸν, καὶ ἀπικνέεται ἐς τὴν ἑπαυλιν. τῷ δ' ἄρα καὶ αὐτῷ ἡ γυνὴ, ἐπίτεξ' ἐούσα πᾶσαν ἡμέρην, τότε κως κατὰ δαίμονα τίκτει οἰχομένου τοῦ βουκόλου ἐς πόλιν· ἦσαν δὲ ἐν φροντίδι ἀμφοτέροι ἀλλήλων πέρι, ὁ μὲν τοῦ τόκου τῆς γυναικὸς ἀρρωδέων, ἡ δὲ γυνὴ ὅτι οὐκ ἐωθῶς ὁ Ἀρπαγος μεταπέμφαιτο αὐτῆς τὸν ἄνδρα. ἐπεὶ τε δὲ ἀπουροστήσας ἐπέστη, οἶα ἐξ ἀέλπτου ἰδοῦσα ἡ γυνὴ εἶρετο προτέρη, ὃ τι μιν οὕτω προθύμως Ἀρπαγος μεταπέμφαιτο; ὁ δὲ εἶπε· "ὦ γύναι, εἰδὼν τε ἐς πόλιν ἔλθων καὶ ἤκουσα τὸ<sup>390</sup> μήτε ἰδεῖν ὄφελον

Translate "No; for my safety's sake, indeed."

<sup>387</sup> πρὸς βορέω τε ἀνέμου τῶν Ἀγβατάνων, "in a northerly direction from Agbatana." See note 292.

It will be observed that the geographical bearings are the same as those in iv. 37 and § 104, above. The word Σπακὼν too is said not to be Median, but Hyrcanian, i.e. belonging to the country to the s. e. of the Caspian Sea, but n. of the Elbruz mountains.

<sup>388</sup> πρὸς Σασπείρων. See note 363, above.

<sup>389</sup> καὶ ὑψηλὴ τε . . . πᾶσα ἄπεδος. In the manuscripts S and V these words are omitted, and the next sentence goes on thus: σπουδῇ οὖν καλεόμενος ἀπύκετο καὶ ἔλεγεν. So it does in the MS δ, but the preceding sentence is not left out.

<sup>390</sup> τὸ μήτε ἰδεῖν ὄφελον μήτε κοτὴ γενέσθαι. It is observable here that the relative τὸ is to be taken as the accusative case in the first clause of the sentence, but as the nominative (with the ellipse of ὄφελος) in the second.

μήτε κοτὲ γενέσθαι ἐς δεσπότης τοὺς ἡμετέρους. οἶκος μὲν πᾶς Ἀρπάγου κλαυθμῷ κατείχετο, ἐγὼ δὲ ἐκπλαγεὶς ἦια ἔσω ὥς δὲ τάχιστα ἐσθλὸν, ὁρέω παιδίον προκειμένον, ἀσπαῖρόν τε καὶ κραυγαῖνον, κεκοσμημένον χρυσῷ τε καὶ ἐσθῇτι ποικίλῃ<sup>351</sup>.

Ἄρπαγος δὲ ὡς εἶδε με, ἐκέλευε τὴν ταχίστην ἀναλαβόντα τὸ παιδίον οἴχεσθαι φέροντα, καὶ θείναι ἐνθα θηριωδέστατον εἴη τῶν οὐρέων, φᾶς Ἀστυάγεα εἶναι τὸν ταῦτα ἐπιθέμενόν μοι, πολλὰ ἀπειλίσσας εἰ μὴ σφεα ποιήσαιμι· καὶ ἐγὼ ἀναλαβὼν ἔφερον, δοκέων τῶν τιнос οἰκετέων εἶναι· οὐ γὰρ ἂν κοτε κατέδοξα ἐνθεν γε ἦν. ἐθάμβεον δὲ ὁρέων χρυσῷ τε καὶ εἵμασι κεκοσμημένον, πρὸς δὲ, καὶ κλαυθμὸν κατεστῶτα ἐμφανέα ἐν Ἀρπάγῳ καὶ πρόκατε<sup>352</sup> δὴ κατ' ὁδὸν πυθάνομαι τὸν πάντα λόγον θεράπωντος, ὃς ἐμὲ προπέμπων ἔξω πόλιος ἐνεχείρισε τὸ βρέφος ὡς ἄρα Μανδάνης τε εἴη παῖς τῆς Ἀστυάγεω<sup>353</sup> θυγατρὸς, καὶ Καμβύσῳ τοῦ Κύρου καὶ μιν Ἀστυάγης ἐντέλλεται ἀποκτείνειν· νῦν τε ὁδε ἐστί."

Ἄμα δὲ ταῦτα ἔλεγε ὁ βουκόλος καὶ ἐκκαλύντας ἀπεδείκνυε· ἡ δὲ 112 ὡς εἶδε τὸ παιδίον μέγα τε καὶ εὐεῖδὲς ἔδν, δακρύσασα καὶ λαβομένη τῶν γυνάτων τοῦ ἀνδρὸς, ἔχρηξε μηδεμιῇ τέχνῃ ἐκθῆναι μιν ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἔφη οἷός τε εἶναι ἄλλως αὐτὰ ποιέειν· ἐπιφουιτήσῃν γὰρ κατασκόπους ἐξ Ἀρπᾶγου ἐποφρομένους· ἀπολέεσθαι τε κάκιστα ἦν μὴ σφεα ποιήσῃ· ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἔπειθε ἄρα τὸν ἄνδρα, δεῦτερα λέγει ἡ γυνὴ τᾶδε· "ἐπεὶ τοίνυν οὐ δύναμαί σε πείθειν μὴ ἐκθῆναι, σὺ δὲ ὥδε ποιήσον, εἰ δὴ πᾶσά γε ἀνάγκη<sup>354</sup> ὀφθῆναι ἐκκείμενον· τέτοκα γὰρ καὶ ἐγὼ, τέτοκα δὲ τεθνεὺς τοῦτο μὲν φέρων πρόδες, τὸν δὲ τῆς Ἀστυάγεω<sup>355</sup> θυγατρὸς παῖδα ὡς ἐξ ἡμέων ἔοντα τρέφωμεν· καὶ οὕτω οὔτε σὺ ἀλώσσαι ἀδικέων τοὺς δεσπότης, οὔτε ἡμῖν κακῶς βεβουλευμένα ἔσται· ὃ τε γὰρ τεθνεὺς βασιλεὺς

Cyno, the wife of Mitradates, persuades him to expose her own still-born child in the place of the living one, and to bring the latter up as his own.

<sup>351</sup> κεκοσμημένον χρυσῷ τε καὶ ἐσθῇτι ποικίλῃ. A similar phrase occurs in the description of the bridal dress of Aprie's daughter (iii. 1).

<sup>352</sup> πρόκατε. The same form (instead of the ordinary πρόκα) is used in Herodotus below, vi. 134; viii. 65. 135.

<sup>353</sup> Ἀστυάγεω. The MSS vary between this form and Ἀστυάγεος. Gaisford adopts the former, principally on the authority of S, although in the next section he selects the other form, under similar circumstances.

<sup>354</sup> πᾶσά γε ἀνάγκη. Some of the best MSS leave out the particle γε, and thus the phrase appears in several other passages. ii. 22. 35; iv. 179; v. 52. But an additional force seems to be given by the insertion of the word to the inevitability of the necessity; and the other being the more usual expression is not likely to have been wilfully altered by a copyist.

<sup>355</sup> Ἀστυάγεω. Gaisford with the majority of MSS has Ἀστυάγεος. See note 303.

- 113 ταφῆς κυρήσει, καὶ ὁ περιεὼν οὐκ ἀπολέει τὴν ψυχὴν." Κάρτα τε ἔδοξε τῷ βουκόλῳ πρὸς τὰ παρόντα εὖ λέγειν ἢ γυνή, καὶ αὐτίκα ἐπο'εε ταῦτα. τὸν μὲν ἔφερε θανατώσων παῖδα τοῦτον μὲν παραδιδού τῇ ἑωυτοῦ γυναικί, τὸν δὲ ἑωυτοῦ ἔοντα νεκρὸν λαβὼν ἔθηκε ἐς τὸ ἄγγος ἐν τῷ ἔφερε τὸν ἕτερον κοσμήσας δὲ τῷ κόσμῳ παντὶ τοῦ ἐτέρου παιδὸς, φέρων ἐς τὸ ἐρημότατον τῶν οὐρέων τιθεῖ. ὡς δὲ τρίτῃ ἡμέρῃ τῷ παιδίῳ ἐκκειμένῳ ἐγένετο, ἥϊε ἐς πόλιν<sup>396</sup> ὁ βουκόλος τῶν τινα προβόσκων<sup>397</sup> φύλακον αὐτοῦ καταλιπὼν, ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐς τοῦ Ἀρπάγου ἀποδεικνύναι ἔφη ἐτοῖμος εἶναι τοῦ παιδίου τὸν νέκυν πέμψας δὲ ὁ Ἀρπαγος τῶν ἑωυτοῦ δορυφόρων<sup>398</sup> τοὺς πιστοτάτους, εἶδε τε διὰ τούτων καὶ ἔθαψε τοῦ βουκόλου τὸ παιδίον καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐτέθαπτο· τὸν δὲ ὕστερον τούτων Κύρον ὀνομασθέντα παραλαβοῦσα ἔτρεφε ἢ γυνή τοῦ βουκόλου, οὐνομα ἄλλο κού τι καὶ οὐ Κύρον<sup>399</sup> θεμένη. Καὶ ὅτε δὴ ἦν δεκαέτης ὁ παῖς, πρῆγμα ἐς αὐτὸν τοιόνδε γενόμενον ἐξέφηνέ μιν ἔπαιξε ἐν τῇ κώμῃ ταύτῃ ἐν τῇ ἦσαν καὶ αἱ βουκολαὶ αὐται, ἔπαιξε δὲ μετ' ἄλλων ἡλικῶν ἐν ὁδῷ καὶ οἱ παῖδες παίζοντες εἶλοντο ἑωυτῶν βασιλέα εἶναι τοῦτον δὴ τὸν τοῦ βουκόλου ἐπὶ κλησιν παῖδα· ὁ δὲ αὐτῶν διέταξε τοὺς μὲν οἰκίας οἰκοδομέειν, τοὺς δὲ δορυφόρους εἶναι, τὸν δὲ κου τινὰ αὐτῶν ὀφθαλμὸν βασιλέος<sup>400</sup>

114 At the age of ten years the child afterwards called Cyrus discovers himself by his conduct in play with his companions.

<sup>396</sup> ἥϊε ἐς πόλιν. From this phrase, which recurs throughout the narrative, it would seem that, in the tradition which Herodotus is here following, the name of the royal city (Agbatana) did not appear, but that the mountainous region was represented in its immediate neighbourhood.

<sup>397</sup> προβόσκων. This word, if not corrupt, would seem to mean "under-herdsmen." But it is a strange phrase. Possibly Herodotus wrote προβατοβόσκων, after the analogy of αἰγοβόσκων, which word itself is supposed by Valckenaer to have stood here. See note 454, below.

<sup>398</sup> δορυφόρων. Harpagus is made below to call these messengers ἐβνύχοι (§ 117) an expression much more in accordance with Asiatic usages. The δορυφόροι belong to the Greek notion of a prince.

<sup>399</sup> οὐνομα ἄλλο κού τι καὶ οὐ Κύρον. By this expression it would seem that the story followed by Herodotus did not give any particular name imposed upon the child by his foster-mother. In later times when the account came to be criticized with reference to its probability, he was posi-

tively said to have been called *Agradates*, and to have changed that name for Cyrus at Pasargadæ (ΣΤΡΑΒΟ, xv. c. 3, p. 320). But in Herodotus's narrative his grandfather's name is Cyrus, and according to Greek habits he would naturally be called by that same name. See note 358, above.

<sup>400</sup> ὀφθαλμὸν βασιλέος. This is probably the literal rendering of the Persian phrase for the royal inspectors mentioned above, § 100. It was an expression become familiar to Hellenic ears at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, and furnishes ARISTOPHANES with a jest in the *Acharnians* (v. 91), where a sham Persian envoy is introduced with a mask, of which the eyes are so gigantic as to suggest the notion of the painting on the cat-heads of a ship:

καὶ νῦν ἄγοντες ἡγομεν Ψευδαργάβαν  
τὸν βασιλέως ὀφθαλμόν. ΔΙΚ. ὄναξ ἡρά-  
κλεις·  
πρὸς τῶν θεῶν, ἀνθρώπε, ναύφρακτον βλέ-  
πεις;  
ἢ περὶ ἑκῶν κάμπτων νεώσκιον σκοπεῖς;

εἶναι, τῇ δὲ τινι τὰς ἀγγελίας ἐσφέρειν<sup>401</sup> ἐδίδου γέρας ὡς ἐκάστῳ  
 ἔργον προστάσων. εἰς δὴ τούτων τῶν παιδίων συμπαίζων,  
 ἔων Ἀρτεμβάρεος παῖς ἀνδρὸς δοκίμου ἐν Μήδοισι, οὐ γὰρ δὴ  
 ἐποίησε τὸ προσταχθέν ἐκ τοῦ Κύρου, ἐκέλευε αὐτὸν τοὺς ἄλλους  
 παῖδας διαλαβεῖν<sup>402</sup>. He flogs the  
child of a  
man of high  
rank, Ar-  
tembares. πειθόμενον δὲ τῶν παιδίων, ὁ Κῦρος τὸν  
 παῖδα τρηχέως κάρτα περιέσπε μαστιγέων ὁ δὲ, ἐπεὶ τε μετεῖθῃ  
 τάχιστα, ὥς γε δὴ ἀνάξια ἐυντοῦ παθὼν μᾶλλον τι περιημέκτεε,  
 κατελθὼν δὲ ἐς πόλιν<sup>403</sup> πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ἀποκτικίζετο τῶν ὑπὸ  
 Κύρου ἡντησε, λέγων δὲ οὐ Κύρου, (οὐ γάρ κω ἦν τοῦτο τοῦνομα,) 115  
 ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοῦ βουκόλου τοῦ Ἀστυάγεος παιδός· ὁ δὲ Ἀρτεμ-  
 βάρης ὀργῇ, ὡς εἶχε, ἐλθὼν παρὰ τὸν Ἀστυάγεα καὶ ἅμα ἀγύ-  
 μενος τὸν παῖδα, ἀνάρσια πρήγματα ἔφη πεπονθέναι, λέγων  
 “ὦ βασιλεῦ, ὑπὸ τοῦ σου δούλου βουκόλου δὲ παιδὸς ὧδε  
 περιῦβρίσμεθα,” (δεικνὺς τοῦ παιδὸς τοὺς ὤμους.) Ἀκούσας  
 δὲ καὶ ἰδὼν ὁ Ἀστυάγης, θέλων τιμωρῆσαι τῇ παιδί τιμῇ  
 τῆς Ἀρτεμβάρεος εἵνεκα, μετεπέμπετο τὸν τε βουκόλου καὶ  
 τὸν παῖδα· ἐπεὶ τε δὲ παρήσαν ἀμφοτέροι, βλέψας πρὸς τὸν  
 Κῦρον ὁ Ἀστυάγης ἔφη “σὺ δὴ ἔων τοῦδε τοιοῦτου ἐντος  
 παῖς, ἐτόλμησας τὸν τοῦδε παῖδα ἐντος πρώτου παρ’ ἐμοὶ  
 ἀεκέειν<sup>404</sup> τοιγδε περισπεῖν;” ὁ δὲ ἀμαίβετο ὧδε “ὦ δέ- His bold  
bearing  
when  
brought  
before As-  
tyages  
causes him  
to be re-  
cognized.  
 σποτα, ἐγὼ δὲ ταῦτα τοῦτον ἐποίησα σὺν δίκῃ· οἱ γὰρ με  
 ἐκ τῆς κόμης παῖδες, τῶν καὶ ὧδε ἦν, παίζοντες σφέων αὐτῶν  
 ἐστήσαντο βασιλεῶ· ἐδόκεον γάρ σφι εἶναι ἐς τοῦτο ἐπιτηδεώ-  
 τατος. οἱ μὲν νυν ἄλλοι παῖδες τὰ ἐπιτασσόμενα ἐπετέλεον,  
 οὗτος δὲ ἀνηκούστες τε καὶ λόγον εἶχε οὐδένα, ἐς ὃ ἔλαβε τὴν  
 δίκην· εἰ ὦν δὴ τοῦδε εἵνεκα ἀξίως τευ κακοῦ εἰμι, ὧδε τοι  
 πάρεμι.” Ταῦτα λέγοντος τοῦ παιδός, τὸν Ἀστυάγεα ἐσῆει 116

In *Æschylus* (*Perse*, 380), the chorus, speaking to Xerxes of one of the slain, call him τὸν σὺν πιστὸν πάντ’ ὀφθαλμῶν, μυρία, μυρία πεμπαστάν.

<sup>401</sup> τὰς ἀγγελίας ἐσφέρειν. This office (ἀσγγελεῖν) was a servile one, although in a despotic government that would be compatible with high honour. It appears to have been filled by eunuchs (iii. 77).

<sup>402</sup> διαλαβεῖν, “to secure him,” i. e. by some seizing hold of each arm, and others of each leg, so as, in a manner, to separate him. See iv. 68, and iv. 94. So the term διαλελημμένος is applied by *Aristo-*

*phanes* (*Eccles.* 1090) to a young man whom two old women are dragging in different directions. The use of the word below, § 190, is easily referable to the original notion of διαλαβεῖν.

<sup>403</sup> κατελθὼν δὲ ἐς πόλιν. See above, note 396.

<sup>404</sup> ἀεκέειν, Gaisford reads ἀεκέειν, but the text is sanctioned by the majority of the MSS, and this form is the only one given in i. 73, which falls however in a part where S is deficient. See note on iii. 100, ἀεκέειν.

ἀνάγνωσις αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ ὃ τε χαρακτήρ τοῦ προσώπου προσφέρεσθαι ἐδόκεε ἐς ἑαυτὸν<sup>405</sup> καὶ ἡ ὑπόκρισις ἐλευθερωτέρη εἶναι· ὃ τε χρόνος τῆς ἐκθέσιος τῇ ἡλικίᾳ τοῦ παιδὸς ἐδόκεε συμβαίνειν. ἐκπλαγεῖς δὲ τοῖτοισι, ἐπὶ χρόνον ἄφθογγος ἦν· μόγις δὲ δὴ κοτε ἀνευειχθεὶς εἶπε, θέλων ἐκπέμψαι τὸν Ἀρτεμβάρεα ἵνα τὸν βουκόλον μῦνον λαβὼν βασανίσῃ· “Ἀρτέμβαρεις, ἐγὼ ταῦτα ποιήσω ὥστε σὲ καὶ τὸν παῖδα τὸν σὸν μηδὲν ἐπιμέμψεσθαι.” τὸν μὲν δὴ Ἀρτεμβάρεα πέμπει· τὸν δὲ Κύρον ἦγον ἔσω οἱ θεράποντες, κελεύσαντος τοῦ Ἀστυάγεος. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὑπελέλειπτο ὁ βουκόλος μῦνος, μουνωθέντα δὴ<sup>406</sup> αὐτὸν εἶρετο ὁ Ἀστυάγης, κόθεν λάβοι τὸν παῖδα καὶ τίς εἴη ὁ παραδούς; ὁ δὲ ἐξ ἑωυτοῦ τε ἔφη γεγενῆσθαι καὶ τὴν τεκοῦσαν αὐτὸν ἔτι εἶναι παρ’ ἑωυτῷ· Ἀστυάγης δὲ μιν οὐκ εὖ βουλευέσθαι ἔφη ἐπιθυμῶντα ἐς ἀνάγκας μεγάλας ἀπικνέεσθαι· ἅμα τε λέγων ταῦτα ἐσήμαινε τοῖσι δορυφόροις<sup>407</sup> λαμβάνειν αὐτόν· ὁ δὲ ἀγόμενος ἐς τὰς ἀνάγκας, οὕτω δὴ ἔφαινε τὸν ἔοντα λόγον, ἀρχόμενος<sup>408</sup> δὲ ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς διεξήκει τῇ ἀληθείᾳ χρωόμενος, καὶ κατέβαινε<sup>409</sup> ἐς λιτάς τε καὶ συγγνώμην ἑωυτῷ κελεύων ἔχειν αὐτόν.

## 117

Harpagus, being summoned, relates what he did.

Ἀστυάγης δὲ, τοῦ μὲν βουκόλου τὴν ἀληθείην ἐκφώναντος, λόγον ἤδη καὶ ἐλάσσω ἐποιέετο· Ἀρπᾶγος δὲ καὶ μεγάλως μεμφόμενος, καλέειν αὐτὸν τοὺς δορυφόρους ἐκέλευε. ὡς δὲ οἱ παρὴν ὁ Ἀρπαγος, εἶρετό μιν ὁ Ἀστυάγης· “Ἀρπαγε, τέφ δὴ μόρφ<sup>410</sup> τὸν παῖδα κατεχρήσαο τὸν τοι παρέδωκα ἐκ θυγατρὸς γεγονότα τῆς ἐμῆς;” ὁ δὲ Ἀρπαγος ὡς εἶδε τὸν βουκόλον ἔνδον ἔοντα, οὐ τρέπεται ἐπὶ ψευδέα ὁδὸν, ἵνα μὴ ἐλεγχόμενος ἀλίσκηται· ἀλλὰ

<sup>405</sup> ἐς ἑαυτόν. This is the reading of Gaisford and some of the MSS. But others have ἐς αὐτόν, and, if either of these has been changed by a transcriber into the other, this appears to have the best claim to be original. αὐτόν must refer to the parents of Cyrus, Cambyses and Mandane, who have not been mentioned in this part of the narrative as it stands: there is therefore no inducement for adopting the reading which would influence a copyist, but there is for changing it into ἑαυτόν.

<sup>406</sup> μουνωθέντα δὴ. The MSS vary between μουνωθέντα δὲ, μουνωθέντα δὲ τὰδε, μουνωθέντα τὰδε and μόνονθεν τὰδε, which

last Gaisford adopts, punctuating μόνον μόνονθεν, τὰδε. But μόνον μόνονθεν can hardly mean “alone face to face,” and either the reading in the text (which is the conjecture of Valcknaer), or μουνωθέντα τὰδε, seems the most probable correction.

<sup>407</sup> τοῖσι δορυφόροις. See note 398.

<sup>408</sup> ἀρχόμενος δὴ. This is the reading of the manuscript S. Gaisford and others have ἀρχόμενος δὴ. But this particle would be out of place here. See note 6, above.

<sup>409</sup> κατέβαινε. See note 316.

<sup>410</sup> τέφ δὴ μόρφ τὸν παῖδα κατεχρήσαο; “By what death, *illegible*, was it you



λέγει τάδε "ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐπεὶ τε<sup>411</sup> παρέλαβον τὸ παιδίον, ἐβούλευον σκοπῶν ὅπως σοὶ τε ποιήσω κατὰ νόον, καὶ ἐγὼ πρὸς σέ γινόμενος ἀναμάρτητος, μήτε θυγατρὶ τῇ σῇ μήτε αὐτῷ σοι εἶην αὐθέντης<sup>412</sup>. ποιέω δὴ ὥδε καλέσας τὸν βουκόλον τόνδε, παραδίδωμι τὸ παιδίον, φὰς σέ τε εἶναι τὸν κελεύοντα ἀποκτεῖναι αὐτό—καὶ λέγων τούτῳ γε οὐκ ἐψευδόμην· σὺ γὰρ ἐνετέλλεο οὕτω—παραδίδωμι μέντοι τῷδε κατὰ τάδε, ἐντειλάμενος θεῖναι μιν ἐς ἐρήμον οὖρος καὶ παραμένοντα φυλάσσειν ἄχρι οὗ τελευτήσῃ, ἀπειλήσας παντοῖα τῷδε ἦν μὴ τάδε ἐπιτελέα ποιήσῃ· ἐπεὶ τε δὲ ποιήσαντος τούτου τὰ κελευόμενα ἐτελεύτησε τὸ παιδίον, πέμψας τῶν εὐνούχων τοὺς πιστοτάτους, καὶ εἶδον δι' ἐκείνων καὶ ἔθαψά μιν. οὕτως ἔσχε, ὦ βασιλεῦ, περὶ τοῦ πρήγματος τούτου· καὶ τοιοῦτ' ἄνθρωπος ἐχρήσατο ὁ παῖς."

"Ἄρπαγος μὲν δὴ τὸν ἴθην ἔφαινε λόγον. Ἄστυάγης δὲ κρύπτων τὸν οἱ ἐνείχεε χόλον διὰ τὸ γεγονὸς, πρῶτα μὲν, κατὰ περ 118  
ἤκουσε αὐτὸς πρὸς τοῦ βουκόλου τὸ πρήγμα, πάλιν ἀπηγγέετο τῷ 118  
'Ἀρπάγῳ' μετὰ δὲ, ὥς οἱ ἐπαλλλόγητο, κατέβαινε λέγων<sup>413</sup> ὥς 118  
"περὶ ἐστὶν τε ὁ παῖς καὶ τὸ γεγονὸς ἔχει καλῶς· τῷ τε γὰρ πε-  
ποιημένῳ," ἔφη λέγων<sup>414</sup>, "ἐς τὸν παῖδα τούτον ἔκαμνον μεγάλως,  
καὶ θυγατρὶ τῇ ἐμῇ διαβεβλημένος οὐκ ἐν ἐλαφρῷ ἐποιεύμην  
ὥς ὦν τῆς τύχης εὐ μετεστεώσης, τούτῳ μὲν τὸν σεωντοῦ παῖδα  
ἀπόπεμψον παρὰ τὸν παῖδα τὸν νεήλυδα, τοῦτο δὲ, (σῶστρα γὰρ  
τοῦ παιδὸς μέλλω θύειν τοῖσι θεῶν τιμῇ αὕτη προσκέεται,) πά-  
ρισθί μοι ἐπὶ δεῖπνον." Ἄρπαγος μὲν ὥς ἤκουσε ταῦτα, προσ- 119

despatched the child?" See note 6, above.

<sup>411</sup> ἐπεὶ τε. This Ionic form stands in the same relation to ἐπεὶ as πρόκατε to πρόκα. See above, note 392.

<sup>412</sup> ὅπως σοὶ τε ποιήσω κατὰ νόον, καὶ . . . εἶην αὐθέντης. The combination of the subjunctive ποιήσω with the optative εἶην under the common regimen of the particle ὅπως is to be remarked. It is peculiarly appropriate; although the different shades of meaning conveyed by the employment of the different moods cannot be exhibited in another language without periphrasis. Harpagus, by his answer, represents the performance of his master's behest as the direct object of his care, the other as a remote and contingent one.

Hence the change of mood. (See note 40, above.) But there is another delicacy of expression to observe, viz. the substitution of εἶην for the word which would express what Harpagus really had in his mind, such as νομίζομαι. Court etiquette forbade him to use any expression implying caprice in the monarch, or censure of the results of such caprice, supposing it to arise at any future time. Translate, *Sire, as soon as I took the infant, I deliberated how to act as you desired, while at the same time I hoped keeping clear of offence towards you, neither in your daughter's presence nor in yours ever to stand a homicide.*

<sup>413</sup> κατέβαινε λέγων. See note 316.

<sup>414</sup> ἔφη λέγων. This and similar paraphrastic expressions are common with

but slays  
his son,  
and serves  
the flesh  
up to the  
father at a  
banquet.

κινήσας, καὶ μεγάλα ποιησάμενος ὅτι τε ἡ ἁμαρτὰς οἱ ἐς δέον ἐγεγόνειε καὶ ὅτι ἐπὶ τύχησι χρηστέσι ἐπὶ δαίπνον κέκλητο, ἥϊε ἐς τὰ οἰκία· ἐσελθὼν δὲ τὴν ταχίστην, ἣν γὰρ οἱ παῖς εἰς μούνος ἔτεα τρία καὶ δέκα κου μάλιστα γεγονώς, τοῦτον ἐκπέμπει, ἵεναι τε κελεύων ἐς Ἀστυάγεος καὶ ποιέειν ὃ τι ἂν ἐκεῖνος κελεύῃ αὐτὸς δὲ περιχαρὴς ἔων, φράζει τῇ γυναικὶ τὰ συγκυρήσαντα. Ἀστυάγης δὲ, ὡς οἱ ἀπίκετο ὁ Ἀρπάγου παῖς, σφάξας αὐτὸν καὶ κατὰ μέλεα διελθὼν, τὰ μὲν ᾤπησε τὰ δὲ ἔψησε τῶν κρεῶν εὐτυχτα δὲ ποιησάμενος εἶχε ἐτοῖμα· ἐπεὶ τε δὲ, τῆς ὥρης γινομένης τοῦ δείπνου, παρήσαν οἱ τε ἄλλαι δαιτυμόνες καὶ ὁ Ἀρπαγος, τοῖσι μὲν ἄλλοισι καὶ αὐτῷ Ἀστυάγει παρετιθέατο τράπεζαι ἐπιπλέαι μηλείων κρεῶν, Ἀρπάγῳ δὲ τοῦ παιδὸς τοῦ ἑωυτοῦ πλήν κεφαλῆς τε καὶ ἄκρων χειρῶν τε καὶ ποδῶν τὰ ἄλλα πάντα· ταῦτα δὲ χωρὶς ἔκειτο ἐπὶ κανέῳ κατακεκαλυμμένα· ὡς δὲ τῷ Ἀρπάγῳ ἐδόκεε ἄλλος ἔχειν τῆς βορῆς, Ἀστυάγης εἰρετό μιν εἰ ἡσθεῖη τι τῇ θοίνῃ; φαμένου δὲ Ἀρπάγου καὶ κάρτα ἡσθῆναι παρέφερον, τοῖσι προσέκειτο, τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ παιδὸς κατακεκαλυμμένην καὶ τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τοὺς πόδας, Ἀρπαγον δὲ ἐκέλευον προστάντες ἀποκαλύπτειν τε καὶ λαβεῖν τὸ βούλεται αὐτῶν· πειθόμενος δὲ ὁ Ἀρπαγος καὶ ἀποκαλύπτων ὁρᾷ τοῦ παιδὸς τὰ λείμματα, ἰδὼν δὲ οὔτε ἐξεπλάγη ἐντὸς τε ἑωυτοῦ γίνεται· εἰρετό δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀστυάγης, εἰ γινώσκου ὅτευ θηρίου κρέα βεβρώκοι; ὁ δὲ καὶ γινώσκειν ἔφη καὶ ἀρεστὸν εἶναι πᾶν τὸ ἂν βασιλεὺς ἔρδῃ<sup>415</sup>. τοῦτοις δὲ ἀμεινόμενος, καὶ ἀναλαβὼν τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν κρεῶν, ἥϊε ἐς τὰ οἰκία· ἐνθεύτεν δὲ ἔμελλε, ὡς ἐγὼ δοκέω, ἀλίστας θάψειν τὰ πάντα.

Harpagus,  
on discover-  
ing the fact,  
restrains his  
feelings.

120 Ἀρπάγῳ μὲν Ἀστυάγης δίκην ταύτην ἐπέθηκε. Κύρου δὲ πέρι βουλεύων, ἐκάλεε τοὺς αὐτοὺς τῶν μάγων οἱ τὸ ἐνύπνιον οἱ ταύτην ἔκριναν, ἀπικομένους δὲ εἰρετό ὁ Ἀστυάγης τῇ ἔκρινάν οἱ τὴν θψιν; οἱ δὲ κατὰ ταῦτα εἶπαν, λέγοντες ὡς βασιλεύσαι χρὴν τὸν παῖδα εἰ ἐπέξωσε καὶ μὴ ἀπέθανε πρότερον ὁ δὲ ἀμείβεται αὐ-

Herodotus. See § 122, ἔλεγε φῶς: § 125, ἔφη λέγων, v. 36.

<sup>415</sup> καὶ ἀρεστὸν εἶναι πᾶν τὸ ἂν βασιλεὺς ἔρδῃ. This same answer is put by William of Malmesbury into the mouth of the son of Ethelwold, to whom King Ed-

gar showed his father's corpse, after slaying him in the royal forest. Similarly, the story of Zopyrus was adapted by Italian legend-writers to Sextus Tarquinus.

τοὺς τοῖσδε “ ἔστι τε ὁ παῖς ” [καὶ περίεστι] καὶ μιν ἐπ’ ὄγκου διαιωόμενον οἱ ἐκ τῆς κώμης παῖδες ἐστήσαντο βασιλέα· ὁ δὲ πάντα, ὅσα περ οἱ ἀληθεῖ λόγῳ βασιλέες, ἐτελέωσε ποιήσας· καὶ γὰρ δορυφόρους καὶ θυρωροὺς καὶ ἀγγελιηφόρους<sup>117</sup>, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα διατάξας εἶχε· καὶ νῦν ἐς τί ὑμῖν ταῦτα φαίνεται φέρειν ;” εἶπαν οἱ μάγοι· “ εἰ μὲν περίεστί τε καὶ ἐβασίλευσε ὁ παῖς μὴ ἐκ προνοίας τινὸς, θάρσει τε τούτου εἵνεκα καὶ θυμὸν ἔχε ἀγαθόν· οὐ γὰρ ἔτι τὸ δεύτερον ἄρξει· παρὰ σμικρὰ γὰρ καὶ τῶν λογίων ἡμῖν ἔνια κεχώρηκε· καὶ τά γε τῶν ὄνειράτων ἐχόμενα τέλεως ἐς ἀσθενὲς ἔρχεται.” ἀμείβεται Ἀστυάγης τοῖσδε “ καὶ αὐτὸς, ὦ μάγοι, ταύτῃ πλείστος γνώμῃν εἰμι, βασιλέος ὀνομασθέντος τοῦ παιδὸς ἐξήκειν τε τὸν ὄνειρον καὶ μοι τὸν παῖδα τούτον εἶναι δεινὸν οὐδὲν ἔτι· ὅμως μὲν γε τοι συμβουλευσάτε μοι εὖ περισκεψάμενοι τὰ μέλλει ἀσφαλέστατα εἶναι οἴκῳ τε τῷ ἐμῷ καὶ ὑμῖν.” εἶπαν πρὸς ταῦτα οἱ μάγοι· “ ὦ βασιλεῦ, καὶ αὐτοῖσι ἡμῖν περὶ πολλοῦ ἐστὶ κατορθοῦσθαι ἀρχὴν τὴν σὴν· κείνως μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοτριούται ἐς τὸν παῖδα τούτον περιιούσα ἔοντα Πέρσῃν, καὶ ἡμεῖς, ἔοντες Μῆδοι, δουλούμεθά τε καὶ λόγου οὐδενὸς γινόμεθα πρὸς Περσέων, ἔοντες ξεῖνοι· σέο δ’ ἐνεστεῶτος βασιλέος ἔοντος πολήτῳ, καὶ ἄρχομεν τὸ μέρος καὶ τιμὰς πρὸς σέο μεγάλας ἔχομεν. οὕτω ὦν πάντως ἡμῖν σέο τε καὶ τῆς σῆς ἀρχῆς προσπτέον ἐστί· καὶ νῦν εἰ φοβερόν τι ἐωρῶμεν, πᾶν ἂν σοι προεφράζομεν· νῦν δὲ ἀποσκήψαντος τοῦ ἐνυπνίου ἐς φλαῦρον, αὐτοὶ τε θαρσέομεν καὶ σοὶ ἕτερα τοιαῦτα παρακελευόμεθα· τὸν δὲ παῖδα τούτον ἐξ ὀφθαλμῶν ἀπόπεμψαι ἐς Πέρσας τε καὶ τοὺς γειναμένους.” Ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Ἀστυάγης, ἐχάρη τε καὶ καλέσας τὸν Κῦρον ἔλεγέ οἱ τάδε· “ ὦ παῖ, σὲ γὰρ ἐγὼ δι’ ὄψιν ὄνειρου οὐ τελέην ἠδίκηον τῇ σεωυτοῦ δὲ μοίρῃ· περὶς, νῦν ὦν ἴθι χαίρων ἐς Πέρσας, πομποὺς δ’ ἐγὼ ἅμα πέμψω· ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐκεῖ, πατέρα τε καὶ μητέρα<sup>118</sup> εὐρήσεις οὐ κατὰ Μιτραδάτην<sup>119</sup>· τε τὸν βουκόλον καὶ τὴν γυναικα αὐτοῦ.”

The Magians consider that the risk from Cyrus is past.

121

He is sent to his parents in Persia.

<sup>116</sup> ἔστι τε ὁ παῖς [καὶ περίεστι]. I suspect that here two alternative readings have been incorporated, the one having been ἔστι τε ὁ παῖς καὶ μιν, &c.; and the other, ὁ παῖς καὶ περίεστι καὶ μιν, &c.

necessarily be regarded as the same as that, τὰς ἀγγελίας ἐσφέρειν. See note on iii. 34.

<sup>118</sup> μητέρα. Two MSS have the variation, τὴν μητέρα σὴν λεγομένην γυναικα δ’ αὐτοῦ.

<sup>119</sup> οὐ κατὰ Μιτραδάτην, “not of the

122

Origin of the fable that he had been suckled by a bitch.

Ταῦτα εἶπας ὁ Ἀστυάγης ἀποπέμπει τὸν Κύρον νοστήσαντα δέ μιν ἐς τοῦ Καμβύσεω τὰ οἰκία ἐδέξαντο οἱ γεγαμένοι, καὶ δεξάμενοι [ὡς ἐπίθοντο<sup>420</sup>] μεγάλως ἀσπάζοντο, οἷα δὴ ἐπιστάμενοι αὐτίκα τότε τελευτήσαι· ἰστόρεόν τε ὅτεφ' τροφῇ περιγένοιτο; ὁ δέ σφι ἔλεγε, φὰς πρὸ τοῦ μὲν οὐκ εἶδέναι ἀλλὰ ἡμαρτηκέναι πλείστον, κατ' ὁδὸν δὲ πυθέσθαι πᾶσαν τὴν ἑωυτοῦ πάθην ἐπίστασθαι<sup>421</sup> μὲν γὰρ ὡς βουκόλου τοῦ Ἀστυάγεος εἶη παῖς, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς κείθεν ὁδοῦ τὸν πάντα λόγον τῶν πομπῶν πυθέσθαι· τραφῆναι δὲ ἔλεγε ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ βουκόλου γυναικός· ἥτις τε ταύτην αἰνέων διὰ παντός· ἦν τέ οἱ ἐν τῇ λόγῳ τὰ πάντα ἡ Κυνώ. οἱ δὲ τοκέες παραλαβόντες τὸ οὖνομα τοῦτο, ἵνα θειοτέρως δοκῇ τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι περιεῖναι σφι ὁ παῖς, κατέβαλον φάτιν ὡς ἐκκείμενον Κύρον κύων ἐξέθρεψε<sup>422</sup>. ἐνθεῦτεν μὲν ἡ φάτις αὕτη κεχώρηκε.

123

Harpagus makes him a means of revenging himself upon Astyages.

Κύρῳ δὲ ἀνδρευμένῳ καὶ ἔοντι τῶν ἡλικίων ἀνδρειοτάτῳ καὶ προσφιλεστάτῳ προσέκειτο ὁ Ἀρπαγος, δῶρα πέμπων, τίσασθαι Ἀστυάγεα ἐπιθυμέων. ἀπ' ἑωυτοῦ γὰρ, ἔοντος ἰδιώτεω, οὐκ ἐνεώρα τιμωρίην ἐσομένην ἐς Ἀστυάγεα· Κύρον δὲ ὀρέων ἐπιτρεφόμενον<sup>423</sup> ἐποίεετο σύμμαχον, τὰς πάθας τὰς Κύρου τῇσι

rank of Mitrdates." It is to be observed that the Pontine kings who bore this name professed to be descended lineally from one of the seven conspirators who slew the Magian usurper, and to have held their kingdom hereditarily from the time of Darius Hystaspes (POLYBIUS, v. 43). The presumption therefore is, that the name was a noble one in the Persian highlands. APPIAN makes the kings of Pontus to be Achæmenids of the royal house of Persia (*MitAr.* § 9). It is not unlikely however, if the habits of the genuine Persians were so simple as is stated, and if the Persian nation were vassals of the Median crown, like the old Swiss cantons of the house of Hapsburg, that a Persian chieftain would be described in Median traditions, in such a way as to turn him into "a royal herdsman." If, in addition to this, a new locality were given to the story of the infancy of Cyrus, by placing the adventure in the immediate neighbourhood of the Sapires (above, § 110), the real position of Mitrdates would be entirely lost sight of, and such a phrase as that in the text might readily be used.

<sup>420</sup> [ὡς ἐπίθοντο]. These words are certainly out of place here, although they

are found in all the MSS. It seems not improbable that they originally stood one line back, between οἰκία and ἐδέξαντο.

<sup>421</sup> ἐπιστάσθαι μὲν γὰρ, "for that he made sure," in the same sense in which the word is used of Cyrus's parents just before.

<sup>422</sup> κατέβαλον φάτιν ὡς ἐκκείμενον Κύρον κύων ἐξέθρεψε. It is not the Persian but the Median language in which, according to Herodotus's story, the word Σπακὼ signifies a dog (§ 110). Therefore, unless the two languages were identical, the name of Cyrus's foster-mother could not help the reception of the miraculous nature of his escape among the Persians. And, in fact, the word is said to belong to a country on the northern side of the Elbruz mountains (see note 387); consequently, far away from the Persia of the Achæmenids. But the parallel case of Romulus would induce one to prefer the theory that the poetic form of the narrative is the original one,—that the fostering "bitch" was rationalized into the female Spako, rather than the woman Spako poeticised into an animal.

<sup>423</sup> ἐπιτρεφόμενον, "growing up as a successor to him." This is the force of

ἑαυτοῦ ὁμοιούμενος. πρὸ δ' ἔτι τούτου τάδε οἱ κατέργαστο· ἔον-  
τος τοῦ Ἀστυάγεος πικροῦ ἐς τοὺς Μήδους, συμμίσγων ἐνὶ ἐκάστῳ  
ὁ Ἀρπαγος τῶν πρώτων Μήδων, ἀνέπειθε ὡς χρή Κύρον προ-  
στηραμένους τὸν Ἀστυάγεα παῦσαι τῆς βασιλείης. κατειρ-  
γασμένοι δέ οἱ τούτου καὶ ἔντος ἐτοίμου, οὕτω δὴ τῷ Κύρῳ  
διαιωμένῳ ἐν Πέρσῃσι βουλόμενος ὁ Ἀρπαγος δηλώσαι τὴν  
ἑαυτοῦ γνώμην, ἄλλως μὲν οὐδαμῶς εἶχε, ἅτε τῶν ὁδῶν φυλασσο-  
μένων<sup>11</sup>, ὁ δὲ ἐπιτεχνᾷται τοιόνδε· λαγὸν μηχανησάμενος, καὶ  
ἀνασχίσας τούτου τὴν γαστέρα καὶ οὐδὲν ἀποτίλας, ὡς δὲ εἶχε,  
οὕτω ἐσέθηκε βιβλίον, γράψας τὰ οἱ ἐδόκεε· ἀπορράψας δὲ τοῦ  
λαγοῦ τὴν γαστέρα, καὶ δίκτυα δούς ἅτε θηρευτῇ τῶν οἰκετῶν τῷ  
πιστοτάτῳ, ἀπέστειλε ἐς τοὺς Πέρσας· ἐντειλάμενός οἱ ἀπὸ γλώσ-  
σης, δίδοντα τὸν λαγὸν Κύρῳ ἐπειπεῖν, αὐτοχειρῇ μιν διελεῖν,  
καὶ μηδὲνα οἱ ταῦτα ποιεῖντι παρῆναι. Ταῦτά τε δὴ ὦν ἐπιτελέα 124  
ἐγίνετο, καὶ ὁ Κύρος παραλαβὼν τὸν λαγὸν ἀνέσχισε· εὐρὼν δὲ  
ἐν αὐτῷ τὸ βιβλίον ἐνεὸν λαβὼν ἐπελέγετο· τὰ δὲ γράμματα  
ἔλεγε τάδε· “ὦ παῖ Καμβύσewe, σὲ γὰρ θεοὶ ἐπορέωσι· οὐ γὰρ ἂν  
κοτε ἐς τοσοῦτον τύχης ἀπῖκευ· σὺ νῦν Ἀστυάγεα τὸν σεαυτοῦ  
φονέα τίσαι· κατὰ μὲν γὰρ τὴν τούτου προθυμίην τέθηκας<sup>12</sup>, τὸ  
δὲ κατὰ θεοῦς τε καὶ ἐμὲ περιεῖς· τὰ σε καὶ πάλοι δοκέω πάντα  
ἐκμεμαθηκέναι, σέο τε αὐτοῦ πέρι ὡς ἐπρήχθη καὶ οἷα ἐγὼ ὑπὸ  
Ἀστυάγεος πέπονθα, ὅτι σε οὐκ ἀπέκτεινα ἀλλὰ ἔδωκα τῷ βου-  
κόλῳ. σὺ νῦν ἢν βούλῃ ἐμοὶ πείθεσθαι, τῆσπερ Ἀστυάγῃς ἄρχει  
χώρης ταύτης ἀπάσης ἄρξεις. Πέρσας γὰρ ἀναπείσας ἀπίστα-  
σθαι στρατηλάτεις ἐπὶ Μήδους· καὶ ἦν τε ἐγὼ ὑπὸ Ἀστυάγεος

Sends him  
a letter  
urging him  
to revolt  
against As-  
tyages, and  
promising  
support  
from the  
Median  
nobles.

the preposition. See above, § 100, *ei* δὲ θελήσει, τοῦτον τελευτήσαντος, ἐς τὴν θυγατέρα ταύτην ἀναβῆναι ἢ τυραννίς. The effect of the compound is similar to that in the words *ἐφελθον* and *ἐφέεσθαι*, which are applied to the athlete who, in a wrestling match, sits out, waiting to engage the victor of two champions already competing. See the phrase *ἐφελθον βασιλέα*, v. 41.

<sup>11</sup> ἅτε τῶν ὁδῶν φυλασσομένων. This feature in the narrative was probably suggested by some barriers which existed in the great road from Media to the south. RAWLINSON (*Journal of the Geograph. Soc.* ix. p. 34) describes such a one, called *Taki-Girrah* (the arch which holds the

road), as standing in a pass which in all ages must have been the thoroughfare between Media and Babylonia. It is “a solitary arch of solid masonry, built of immense blocks of white marble, which is met with on the ascent of the mountain; it is apparently very ancient, and the name and position suggest the idea of a toll-house for the transit-duty upon merchandise crossing the Median frontier.” The *Taki-Girrah* is placed by Rawlinson in about lat. 34° 20', long. 46° 30'. It constitutes “the gate of Mount Zagros.”

<sup>12</sup> κατὰ μὲν γὰρ τὴν τούτου προθυμίην τέθηκας, “for, so far as this man’s earnest desire could effect it, you are dead.”

ἀποδεχθῶ στρατηγὸς ἀντὶα σου<sup>426</sup>, ἔστι τοι τὰ σὺ βούλει, ἦν τε τῶν τις δοκίμων ἄλλος Μήδων· πρῶτοι γὰρ οὗτοι ἀποστάντες ἀπ' ἐκείνου καὶ γενόμενοι πρὸς σέο<sup>427</sup>, Ἀστυάγεα καταίρειν πειρήσονται· ὡς ὦν ἐτοίμου τοῦ γε ἐνθάδε ἐόντος, ποίεις ταῦτα, καὶ ποίεις κατὰ τάχος."

125

Cyrus enters into the scheme,

professes to be appointed general of the Persians.

Various Persian tribes.

Ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Κύρος, ἐφρόντιζε ὅτεφ τρόπῳ σοφωτάτῳ Πέρσας ἀναπείσει ἀπίστασθαι· φροντίζων δὲ εὐρίσκεται ταῦτα καιριώτατα εἶναι· ἐποίησε δὲ τάδε· γράψας ἐς βιβλίον τὰ ἐβούλετο, ἀλήν τῶν Περσέων ἐποίησατο· μετὰ δὲ, ἀναπτύξας τὸ βιβλίον καὶ ἐπιλεγόμενος, ἔφη Ἀστυάγεά μιν στρατηγὸν Περσέων ἀποδεικνύναι, "νῦν τε," ἔφη λέγων<sup>428</sup>, "ὦ Πέρσαι, προσαγορεύω ὑμῶν παρῆναι ἕκαστον ἔχοντα δρέπανον." Κύρος μὲν ταῦτα προηγόρευσε. (ἔστι δὲ Περσέων συχὰ γένεα<sup>429</sup>. καὶ τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν ὁ Κύρος συνάλισε καὶ ἀνέπεισε ἀπίστασθαι ἀπὸ Μήδων· ἔστι δὲ τάδε, ἐξ ὧν ὅλλοι πάντες ἀρτέαται Πέρσαι· Πασαργάδαι, Μαράφιοι, Μάσπιοι<sup>430</sup>. τούτων Πασαργάδαι εἰσὶ ἄριστοι· ἐν τοῖσι καὶ Ἀχαιμενίδαι εἰσὶ φρήτηρ, ἐνθεν οἱ βασιλεῖς οἱ Περσίδαι γεγόνασι. ἄλλοι δὲ Πέρσαι εἰσὶ οἷδε<sup>431</sup>. Πανθιαλαῖοι, Δηρουσιαῖοι, Γερμάνιοι<sup>432</sup>. οὗτοι μὲν πάντες ἀροτῆρές εἰσι, οἱ δὲ

<sup>426</sup> ἀντὶα σου. This is the reading of Gaisford with some of the MSS. Others have ἀντῆσαι, which seems not unlikely to be an original reading.

<sup>427</sup> γενόμενοι πρὸς σέο, "having come over to your side." See πρὸς βορέω ἀνέμου above, § 110, and the note 292.

The uncertainty of dialectal forms in the MSS is illustrated by the circumstance, that the same copies which have the contracted form σέῃ three lines back here have the open form σέο.

<sup>428</sup> "νῦν τε," ἔφη λέγων, "ὦ Πέρσαι. Gaisford, who follows most of the MSS, reads νῦν, ἔφη τε λέγων, ὁ Π., which necessitates a full stop after ἀποδεικνύναι. The reading in the text rests on the authority of the Sancroft MS.

<sup>429</sup> συχὰ γένεα. The expression γένεα instead of φύλαι here seems to arise from the circumstance, that the idea of common descent was more strongly preserved in the Oriental than the Hellenic tribes. Indeed it is very probable that the three principal Persian γένεα were the descendants of distinct, although cognate, races. A parallel case to this would be the divi-

sion at Cyrene related by Herodotus, iv. 161.

<sup>430</sup> Πασαργάδαι, Μαράφιοι, Μάσπιοι. Herodotus makes mention of individuals belonging to the two former of these tribes in iv. 167. The third is not mentioned elsewhere, and some MSS of credit here read Μάσπιοι. It seems not impossible that the word Ἀριμασπῶν (iii. 116) may have some etymological connexion with Μάσπιοι, as Ἀριμαρδός with Μάρδος. It is to be observed that there is no trace to be found in Herodotus of the city Pasargadæ, and the tomb of Cyrus there, of which Strabo speaks (xv. c. 3) on the authority of ARISTOBULUS, who was there with Alexander.

<sup>431</sup> ἄλλοι δὲ Πέρσαι εἰσὶ οἷδε. Herodotus appears to separate the three first tribes from all the rest, as being in the position of a dominant race compared with the others. The words ἄλλοι δὲ, &c. seem to answer to τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν, and the meaning of the author to be, that the revolt of Cyrus extended to the Pasargadæ, Maraphii, and Maspii alone.

<sup>432</sup> Πανθιαλαῖοι, Δηρουσιαῖοι, Γερμάν-

ἄλλοι νομάδες Δάοι, Μάρδοι, Δροπικοί, Σαγάρτιοι<sup>433</sup>.) Ὡς δὲ 126  
 παρήσαν ἅπαντες ἔχοντες τὸ προειρημένον, ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Κῦρος, ἣν  
 γὰρ τις χώρος τῆς Περσικῆς ἀκανθῶδης ὅσον τε ἐπὶ ὀκτωκαίδεκα <sup>Cyrus's de-  
 vice to  
 make the  
 Persians  
 see the  
 stake at  
 issue.</sup>  
 σταδίου ἢ εἴκοσι πάντη, τοῦτόν σφι τὸν χώρον προεῖπε ἐξημερῶ-  
 σαι ἐν ἡμέρῃ ἐπιτελεσάντων δὲ τῶν Περσέων τὸν προκείμενον  
 ἄεθλον, δευτέρᾳ σφι προεῖπε ἐς τὴν ὑστεραίην παρεῖναι λελου-  
 μένους· ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τὰ τε αἰπόλια καὶ τὰς ποιμένας καὶ τὰ βουκό-  
 λια ὁ Κῦρος πάντα τοῦ πατρὸς συναλίσας ἐς τῶντ', ἔθυε καὶ  
 παρεσκεύαζε ὡς δεξόμενος τῶν Περσέων τὸν στρατόν, πρὸς δὲ,  
 οἴνῳ τε καὶ σιτίοισι ὡς ἐπιτηδεωτάτοις. ἀπικομένους δὲ τῇ  
 ὑστεραίῃ τοὺς Πέρσας κατακλίνας ἐς λειμῶνα εὐώχῃ. ἐπεὶ τε δὲ  
 ἀπὸ δέλπνου ἦσαν, εἰρετό σφεας ὁ Κῦρος κότερα τὰ τῇ προτεραίῃ  
 εἶχον ἢ τὰ παρεόντα σφι εἴη αἰρετώτερα; οἱ δὲ ἔφασαν πολλὸν  
 εἶναι αὐτῶν τὸ μέσον· τὴν μὲν γὰρ προτέρην ἡμέρην πάντα  
 σφι κακὰ ἔχειν, τὴν δὲ τότε παρεούσαν πάντα ἀγαθὰ παραλα-  
 βῶν δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος ὁ Κῦρος παρεγύμνου τὸν πάντα λόγον,  
 λέγων "ἄνδρες Πέρσαι, οὕτω ὑμῖν ἔχει· βουλομένοισι μὲν ἐμέο  
 πειθεσθαι ἔστι τάδε τε καὶ ἄλλα μυρία ἀγαθὰ, οὐδένα πόνον  
 δουλοπρεπέα ἔχουσι· μὴ βουλομένοισι δὲ ἐμέο πειθεσθαι εἰσι

νοί. STEPHANUS BYZANTINUS has for the first of these *Περσιῶδες*, and for the third *Καρμάνιοι*. The Saneft MS has *Πανθήλαιοι*. Whatever reading is adopted, nothing is known of the people denoted by the first two names. The third probably refers to tribes inhabiting that district afterwards called *Καρμανία* (whichever reading be adopted), i. e. from Cape Jask at the entrance of the Persian Gulf, northwards to the desert, and north-eastwards to the boundaries of Persis Proper. NEAR-CHUS (*ap. Strabon.* xv. c. 3) remarked that its inhabitants were in most of their habits and their language identical with the Medes and Persians.

The name *Γερμάνιοι* has been considered as etymologically identical with the modern "German," and this idea has been confirmed by a comparison of several words in the two languages. But, whatever was the original seat of the Teutonic races which subsequently over-spread Europe, there can be little doubt that the word "German" is equivalent to "armatus," "heer-man," "war-man," personified in the warrior Arminius, and

in the deity Ermin. And, if the *Γερμάνιοι* had been so called from their warlike character, they would hardly have been put last of the three tribes.

<sup>433</sup> Δάοι, Μάρδοι, Δροπικοί, Σαγάρτιοι. These tribes seem not to be nomads of the same kind with the Scythians. The second apparently are the mountaineers leading a pastoral life in the hills between Media and Persia (ARRIAN, *Indic.* 40), and expert in climbing. See above, § 84. The Sagartii on the other hand are an equestrian people, who went to war armed with the lasso. See vii. 85. In the fiscal scheme of the Persian monarch they are included in the fourteenth nome, which comprises also the islands at the mouth of the Euphrates (iii. 93). Perhaps they are to be looked for in the plains on the eastern bank of the lower Tigris. Of the Dai and Dropici nothing whatever is known, except that the former are perhaps the same as the Dae, a name which STRABO (xi. c. 7, p. 425) says was given in his time to the tribes on the eastern shore of the Caspian, separated by a desert from Hyrcania.

ὑμῖν πόνοι τῷ χθιζῷ παραπλήσιοι ἀναριθμητοὶ νῦν ὦν ἐμέο πειθόμενοι γίνεσθε ἐλεύθεροι· αὐτὸς τε γὰρ δοκέω θείῃ τύχῃ γεγρονῶς τάδε ἐς χεῖρας ἄγεσθαι<sup>434</sup>, καὶ ὑμέας ἡγήμαι ἀνδρας Μήδων εἶναι οὐ φαυλοτέρους, οὔτε τὰ ἄλλα οὔτε τὰ πολέμια· ὥς ὦν ἐχόντων ὦδε, ἀπίστασθε ἀπ' Ἀστυάγεος τὴν ταχίστην."

127  
They readily revolt.

Astyages loses two armies, the first by the treachery of Harpagus,

Πέρσαι μὲν νυν προστάτω ἐπιλαβόμενοι, ἄσμενοι ἐλευθεροῦντο, καὶ πύλαι δεινὸν ποιούμενοι ὑπὸ Μήδων ἄρχεσθαι· Ἀστυάγης δὲ ὥς ἐπύθετο Κῦρον πρήσσοντα ταῦτα, πέμψας ἄγγελον ἐκάλεε αὐτόν· ὁ δὲ Κῦρος ἐκέλευε τὸν ἄγγελον ἀπαγγέλλειν, ὅτι πρότερον ἤξοι παρ' ἐκείνων ἢ αὐτὸς Ἀστυάγης βούλεται<sup>435</sup>. ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Ἀστυάγης Μήδους τε ὥπλισε πάντας, καὶ στρατηγὸν αὐτῶν ὥστε θεοβλαβὴς ἑὸν ἀπέδεξε Ἀρπαγον, λήθην ποιούμενος τὰ μιν ἐόργεε· ὥς δ' οἱ Μῆδοι στρατευσάμενοι τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι συνένμισγον, οἱ μὲν τινες αὐτῶν ἐμάχοντο ὅσοι μὴ τοῦ λόγου μετέσχον, οἱ δὲ αὐτομόλεον πρὸς τοὺς Πέρσας· οἱ δὲ πλείστοι ἐθε-

and is himself taken prisoner.

129  
His reply to the insult of Harpagus.

128  
λακάκούν τε καὶ ἔφευγον. Διαλυθέντος δὲ τοῦ Μηδικοῦ στρατεύματος αἰσχροῦς, ὥς ἐπύθετο τάχιστα ὁ Ἀστυάγης, ἔφη, ὑπειλέων τῷ Κύρῳ· "ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὥς ὁ Κῦρός γε χαίρήσει." τοσαῦτα εἶπας, πρῶτον μὲν τῶν μάγων τοὺς ὄνειροπόλους οἳ μιν ἀνέγνωσαν μετεῖναι τὸν Κῦρον, τούτους ἀνεσκολόπισε, μετὰ δὲ ὥπλισε τοὺς ὑπολειφθέντας τῶν Μήδων ἐν τῷ ἄστει, νέους τε καὶ πρεσβύτας ἀνδρας· ἐξαγαγὼν δὲ τούτους καὶ συμβαλὼν τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι ἐσώθη<sup>436</sup>. καὶ αὐτὸς τε Ἀστυάγης ἐξωγήθη, καὶ τοὺς ἐξήγαγε τῶν Μήδων ἀπέβαλε. Ἔόντι δὲ αἰχμαλώτῳ τῷ Ἀστυάγῃ προστὰς ὁ Ἀρπαγὸς κατέχειρέ τε καὶ κατεκερτόμει, καὶ ἄλλα λέγων ἐς αὐτὸν θυμαλγέα ἔπεα καὶ δὴ καὶ εἶρετό μιν, πρὸς τὸ ἑωυτοῦ δεῦπνον τό μιν ἐκείνος σαρξὶ τοῦ παιδὸς ἐθόιησε, "ὅ τι εἴη ἢ

<sup>434</sup> τάδε ἐς χεῖρας ἄγεσθαι, "to take this cause in hand." The expression is used in iv. 79: μέλλοντι δὲ οἱ ἐς χεῖρας ἄγεσθαι τὴν τελετὴν, and in vii. 8: ὡς ἔμελλε ἐς χεῖρας ἄγεσθαι τὸ στράτευμα τὸ ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας.

<sup>435</sup> βούλεται. This is the reading of S. Most MSS have βουλήσεται, a reading adopted by Gaisford.

<sup>436</sup> ἐσώθη. Herodotus's authorities have this in common with the tradition followed by Ctesias, and that by Strabo (which last is probably the local account

found at Pasargadæ by Aristobulus when there), that the victory over Astyages is not consummated in a single battle. Strabo says that Cyrus founded a palace at Pasargadæ, on account of that being the site of the last and decisive victory which transferred the empire of the East from the Median to the Achaemenid dynasty (xv. c. 3, p. 322). In the story followed by Herodotus, Cyrus is obviously conceived as advancing upon the Median ἄστυ, wherever it may have been. See note 396.



ἐκείνου δουλосύνη ἀντὶ τῆς βασιλεῖας ;" ὁ δὲ μιν προσιδὼν ἀντ-  
είρετο, "εἰ ἐωυτοῦ ποιέεται τὸ Κύρου ἔργον ;" Ἀρπαγος δὲ ἔφη,  
αὐτὸς γὰρ γράφαι, τὸ πρῆγμα δὴ ἐωυτοῦ δικαίως εἶναι. Ἀστυά-  
γης δὲ μιν ἀπέφαινε τῷ λόγῳ "σκαϊότατόν τε καὶ ἀδικώτατον  
έόντα πάντων ἀνθρώπων σκαϊότατόν μὲν γε, εἰ παρὲν αὐτῷ  
βασιλέα γενέσθαι, (εἰ δὴ δι' ἐωυτοῦ γε ἐπρήχθη τὰ παρεόντα,)   
ἄλλω περιέθηκε τὸ κράτος· ἀδικώτατον δὲ, ὅτι τοῦ δείπνου εἵνεκεν  
Μήδους κατεδούλωσε· εἰ γὰρ δὴ δέον πάντως περιβεῖναι ἄλλω  
τέφ τὴν βασιλεῖαν καὶ μὴ αὐτὸν ἔχειν, δικαιοτέρου εἶναι Μήδων  
τέφ περιβαλεῖν τοῦτο τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἢ Περσέων· νῦν δὲ Μήδους  
μὲν ἀναιτίους τοῦτου έόντας δούλους ἀντὶ δεσποτέων γεγονέναι,  
Πέρσας δὲ δούλους έόντας τὸ πρὶν Μήδων νῦν γεγονέναι δε-  
σπότης."

Ἀστυάγης μὲν νυν, βασιλεύσας ἐπ' ἕτεα πέντε καὶ τριήκοντα, 130  
οὕτω τῆς βασιλεῖας κατεπαύσθη· Μῆδοι δὲ ὑπέκυψαν Πέρσῃ <sup>Astyages</sup>  
διὰ τὴν τοῦτου πικρότητα, ἄρξαντες τῆς ἄνω Ἄλως ποταμοῦ <sup>had reigned</sup>  
Ἀσίης <sup>thirty-five</sup> ἐπ' ἕτεα τριήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν δυὼν δέοντα <sup>years at the</sup>  
ἔσον οἱ Σκύθαι ἥρχον· (ὑστέρῳ μέντοι χρόνῳ <sup>time the</sup> <sup>Median</sup> <sup>supremacy</sup> μετεμέλησέ τέ

<sup>427</sup> τῆς ἄνω Ἄλως ποταμοῦ Ἀσίης. Is the true reading τῆς ἐπὶ Ἀλ. π. Ἀσίης? See note 361. But the text may stand.

<sup>428</sup> ἐπ' ἕτεα τριήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν δυὼν δέοντα, παρὲς ἢ ἔσον οἱ Σκύθαι ἥρχον. The chronological difficulties of this passage are very great, and perhaps do not admit of a perfectly satisfactory solution. CLINTON cuts the knot by supposing that the first twenty-two years of Deioces's reign were passed by him in a judicial capacity, and that Herodotus considered the Median empire only to commence in his twenty-third year. But Herodotus does expressly say that Deioces was king for 63 years (§ 102), and, what is perhaps even more important, he says that he only organized the Medes themselves, and did not seek to extend the limits of his power over the neighbouring nations (§ 101). The empire began to grow under his son Phraortes (οὗτος λέγεται πολλὸν ἔτι γενέσθαι ἀλκιμώτερος τῶν προγόνων, § 103), and if the passage § 103, οὗτος . . ἐωυτῷ, be genuine, the commencement of the supremacy over Upper Asia must date from some period in his reign. But, as the text stands at present, the interval from the very beginning of his reign to

the dethronement of Astyages gives only ninety-seven years. (See note 352, from which appears a possibility of the MSS having greatly varied.) If the present text be relied upon, the omission of the words τριήκοντα καὶ seems the easiest way out of the difficulty. The word ΕΤΕΑ may have been accidentally written ΕΤΕΑ, and this taken for ἕτεα λ', i.e. ἕτεα τριήκοντα, in which case the copula would naturally be inserted by the next copyist. Thus ninety-eight years would be got for the duration of the supremacy, and, reckoning from the beginning of Phraortes's reign, the number amounts to ninety-seven. It is very conceivable that, from some cause unknown to us, a new era should be made to date from some point a little back. Suppose, for instance, that Phraortes was regent for the last year of his father's life.

<sup>429</sup> ὑστέρῳ μέντοι χρόνῳ. This expression has been supposed to refer to the revolt under Darius Nothus, which was put down in the year 408 B.C., and an argument relative to the time of Herodotus's writing his history has been deduced from it. But the sentence, if proceeding from the hand of the author, seems

was overthrown, which had lasted 128 years, except during the time the Scythians overran the country.

## 131

The gods and the ritual of the early Persians.



σφι ταῦτα ποιήσασι καὶ ἀπέστησαν ἀπὸ Δαρείου ἀποστάντες δὲ ὀπίσω κατεστράφησαν<sup>440</sup>, μάχῃ νικηθέντες.) τότε δὲ ἐπὶ Ἀστυάγεος οἱ Πέρσαι τε καὶ ὁ Κύρος ἐπαναστάντες τοῖσι Μήδοισι, ἥρχον τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου τῆς Ἀσίας. Ἀστυάγεα δὲ Κύρος κακὸν οὐδὲν ἄλλο ποιήσας εἶχε παρ' ἐωυτῷ ἐς δ' ἐτελεύτησε. οὕτω δὴ Κύρος γενόμενός τε καὶ τραφεὶς ἐβασίλευσε<sup>441</sup>, καὶ Κροῖσον ὑστερον τούτων ἄρξαντα ἀδικίῃς κατεστρέψατο, ὥς εἰρηγαί μοι τὸ πρότερον, τούτων δὲ καταστρεφάμενος, οὕτω πάσης τῆς Ἀσίας ἦρξε.

Πέρσας δὲ οἶδα νόμοισι τοῖσδε χρεωμένους· ἀγάλματα μὲν καὶ νηὺς καὶ βωμὸς οὐκ ἐν νόμῳ ποιευμένους ἰδρύεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖσι ποιέεσι μωρίην ἐπιφέρουσι, ὥς μὲν ἐμοὶ δοκέει<sup>442</sup>, ὅτι οὐκ

more likely to relate to the troubles which took place under the Pseudo-Smerdis, the Magian. See note on iii. 126. It is apparently a mere memorandum, although there is no reason to dispute its genuineness.

<sup>440</sup> κατεστράφησαν. Several MSS have κατεστράφησαν.

<sup>441</sup> οὕτω δὴ Κύρος γενόμενός τε καὶ τραφεὶς ἐβασίλευσε. The authorities for the overthrow of the Median empire by Cyrus may be divided into three distinct classes. 1. Those followed by HERODOTUS. 2. Those followed by CTESIUS. 3. Those followed by MOSSES OF CHORENE, the historian of Armenia. In every one of these, Astyages is the name of the Median monarch under whom the dynasty is overthrown, and in every one Astyages is not put to death, but kept in an honourable captivity by the victor. In the Armenian traditions, however, it is Tigranes, prince of Armenia, who is the chief opponent of Astyages, and Cyrus only appears as his friend and ally. In all these traditions too, the revolution appears in the form of the overthrow of a dynasty by the champion of a vassal people, which is in consequence placed in a position of independence, and even superiority. Moreover, in all a connexion by marriage enters into the story. In the Armenian tradition Astyages marries a sister of Tigranes, and endeavours to make her a tool for the destruction of her brother. In that followed by Ctesias, although Cyrus is no relation of Astyages by birth, he is made to adopt as his mother, and afterwards to marry, Amytis, the daughter of Astyages, — a strange feature in the narrative, but

one prominently put forward, and perhaps symbolizing Cyrus's adoption as a Magian. (See CATULLUS, 90.) So important was this fact considered, that the Bactrians, who had advanced in force after Cyrus's obtaining possession of the person of Astyages, and had fought a drawn battle with his troops, ἐπεὶ Ἀστυάγην μὲν πατέρα Κύρου γεγενημένον, Ἀμύτιν δὲ μητέρα καὶ γυναῖκα ἔμαθον, ταυτοὺς ἐκόντες Ἀμύτι καὶ Κύρῳ παρέδωκαν (CTESIUS *ap. Photium, Biblioth.* p. 38). The main historical fact, therefore, of the transfer of an empire in the hands of a Magian dynasty to an Achaemenid race, may be regarded as ratified by all three. But the *personal* history of Cyrus is peculiar to Herodotus. In the Armenian tradition Tigranes is represented as having the same bodily and mental qualities which XENOPHON (in the *Cyropædia*) and Herodotus ascribe to Cyrus. And, in the case of Tigranes, the source of the tradition is expressly said to be "the popular songs which were sung to the sound of cymbals." The hypothesis that the story of Cyrus had a similar origin, but that the substance of it passed to Herodotus through Greek channels, is at least not an improbable one. See note 339. DIXON, the historian, expressly related (*ap. Athenæum*, p. 633) that the *future* deeds of Cyrus were prophesied by a Median bard in a song at the table of Astyages.

<sup>442</sup> δοκέει. Gaisford has δοκέειν, with the majority of MSS. But the Sarraceni Codex has δοκέει, and so has ORIGEN (*c. Celsum*, vii. p. 738), who cites the passage.

ἀνθρωποφύεας ἐνόμισαν τοὺς θεοὺς, κατάπερ οἱ Ἕλληνες, εἶναι. Their original religion an elemental one.  
οἱ δὲ νομίζουσι Διτ μὲν ἐπὶ τὰ ὑψηλότατα τῶν οὐρέων ἀναβαίνοντες [θυσίας<sup>443</sup>] ἔρδευ, τὸν κύκλον πάντα<sup>444</sup> τοῦ οὐρανοῦ Δία καλέοντες· θύουσι δὲ ἡλίῳ τε καὶ σελήνῃ καὶ γῇ καὶ πυρὶ καὶ ὕδατι καὶ ἀνέμοισι· τοῦτοις μὲν δὴ μούνουσι<sup>445</sup> θύουσι ἀρχήθεν.

Ἐπιμεμαθήκασι δὲ καὶ τῇ Οὐρανίῃ<sup>446</sup> θύειν, παρά τε Ἄσσυ- Superadded deities.  
ρίων μαθόντες καὶ Ἀραβίων καλέονσι δὲ Ἀσσύριοι τὴν Ἀφροδί-  
την Μύλιττα, Ἀράβιοι δὲ Ἄλιττα<sup>447</sup>, Πέρσαι δὲ Μίτραν. Θυσίη 132  
δὲ τοῖσι Πέρσησι περὶ τοὺς εἰρημένους θεοὺς ἦδε κατέστηκε·  
οὔτε βωμοὺς ποιεῖνται οὔτε πῦρ ἀνακαίουσι· μέλλοντες θύειν οὐ  
σπονδῇ χρέωνται, οὐκ αὐλῶ, οὐ στέμμασι, οὐκ οὐλῇσι· τῶν δὲ ὡς  
ἐκάστῳ<sup>448</sup> θύειν θέλει, ἐς χώρον καθαρὸν ἀγαγὼν τὸ κτήνος καλεῖ  
τὸν θεόν, ἐστεφανωμένος τὸν τιάραν<sup>449</sup> μυρσίνῃ μάλιστα. ἐωυτῷ  
μὲν δὴ τῷ θύοντι ἰδίῃ μούνῳ οὗ οἱ ἐγγίνεται ἀρᾶσθαι ἀγαθὰ· ὁ δὲ  
πᾶσι τοῖσι Πέρσησι κατεύχεται εὖ γίνεσθαι, καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐν  
γὰρ δὴ τοῖσι ἅπασι Πέρσησι καὶ αὐτὸς γίνεται· ἐπεὶ δὲ διαμι-  
στύλας κατὰ μέρεα τὸ ἱρήϊον ἐψήσῃ τὰ κρέα, ὑποπάσας πόλιν ὡς  
ἀπαλωτάτην μάλιστα δὲ τὸ τρίφυλλον, ἐπὶ ταύτης ἔθηκε ὦν πάντα  
τὰ κρέα· διαθέντος δὲ αὐτοῦ, μάγος ἀνὴρ παρεστῶς ἐπαεῖδει<sup>450</sup> θεο-  
γονίην οἴην δὴ ἐκείνοι λέγουσι εἶναι τὴν ἐπαοιδὴν· ἄνευ γὰρ δὴ μάγου  
οὐ σφὶ νόμος ἐστὶ θυσίας ποιεῖσθαι. ἐπισχὼν δὲ ὀλίγον χρόνον,  
ἀποφέρεται ὁ θύσας τὰ κρέα καὶ χρᾶται ὃ τι μιν λόγος αἰρέει.

<sup>443</sup> [θυσίας]. This word is omitted in the manuscripts S and V, and appears to have been introduced as a gloss of the word ἔρδευ, which, like the Latin *facere*, is used in the sense of "sacrifice."

<sup>444</sup> τὸν κύκλον πάντα. See note 450.

<sup>445</sup> τοῦτοις μὲν δὴ μούνουσι. From these words S, V, δ, and d pass to the beginning of § 133, except that S has the word ἀρχήθεν.

<sup>446</sup> τῇ Οὐρανίῃ. See note on v. 102.

<sup>447</sup> Ἀράβιοι δὲ Ἄλιττα. Perhaps the true reading is ἈΛΙΛΑΤ, which (or ἈΛΙΑΤ) is the reading of all the MSS in iii. 8.

<sup>448</sup> ἐκάστῳ. Perhaps the true reading is ἐκαστος. The s written C may have been overlooked on account of the following Θ, and the resulting ἐκαστο corrected by the next copyist into ἐκδοτω. It should be remembered that in the uncial MSS the ι adscriptum of the dative case

is rarely written, neither are accents employed in most cases.

<sup>449</sup> τὸν τιάραν. The usual form of the nominative of this word is ἡ τιάρα. But HESYCHIUS, s.v. says, Τιάρα ἡ λεγομένη κυρβάσια· ταύτῃ δὲ οἱ Πέρσαι βασιλεῖς μόνοι ἐχρῶντο ὁρῶν, οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ ὑποκεκλιμένην. Ἡρόδοτος δὲ ἐν α' ἀββε-  
νικῶς.

<sup>450</sup> μάγος ἀνὴρ παρεστῶς ἐπαεῖδει. In the Behistun Inscription, Darius is represented as having, after he became king, prohibited the Magian worship, and restored the sacred chants and ritual, entrusting it to the families which the usurper had dispossessed. See note on iii. 79. It seems doubtful here whether Herodotus is not following the account of some person who confused the genuine Persian with a Median ritual. The Inscription makes Ormuzd essentially a personal deity,—not an elemental one identical with the κύκλος οὐρανοῦ. See note on iii. 35.

133

Their most solemn day is their birth-day, on which they make a great feast.

Ἡμέρην δὲ ἀπασέων μάλιστα ἐκείνην τιμᾶν νομίζουσι τῇ ἑκάστος ἐγένετο <sup>451</sup>. (ἐν ταύτῃ δὲ <sup>452</sup> πλέω δαῖτα τῶν ἄλλων δικαιοῦσι προτίθεσθαι· ἐν τῇ οἱ εὐδαίμονες αὐτῶν βοῦν καὶ ἵππον καὶ κάμηλον καὶ ὄνον <sup>453</sup> προτιθέσθαι, ὅλους ὅπτους ἐν καμίνουσι· οἱ δὲ πένητες αὐτῶν τὰ λεπτὰ τῶν προβάτων <sup>454</sup> προτιθέσθαι. σίτοισι δὲ ὀλίγοισι χρέωνται, ἐπιφορήμασι <sup>455</sup> δὲ πολλοῖσι καὶ οὐκ ἄλεσι· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο φασὶ Πέρσαι “τοὺς Ἕλληνας σιτεομένους πεινῶντας παύεσθαι, ὅτι σφί ἀπὸ δείπνου <sup>456</sup> παραφορέεται οὐδὲν λόγου ἄξιον· εἰ δέ τι παραφέρουτο, ἐσθίοντας ἂν οὐ παύεσθαι.”) οἶνῳ δὲ κάρτα προσκέσθαι· καὶ σφί οὐκ ἐμέσαι ἔξεστι, οὐκὶ οὐρήσαι ἀντίον ἄλλου <sup>457</sup>.

Their mode of deliberating.

Ταῦτα μὲν νυν οὕτω φυλάσσεται <sup>458</sup>. μεθυσκόμενοι δὲ ἐώθασιν βουλευέσθαι τὰ σπουδαιέστατα <sup>459</sup> τῶν πρηγμάτων· τὸ δ' ἂν ἄδη σφί βουλευομένοισι, τοῦτο τῇ ὑστεραίῃ νήφουσι προτιθεῖ ὁ στέγαρχος ἐν τοῦ ἂν ἔοντες βουλευόμεναι· καὶ ἦν μὲν ἄδη καὶ νήφουσι, χρέωνται αὐτέῳ· ἦν δὲ μὴ ἄδη, μετιεῖσι· τὰ δ' ἂν νήφοντες προβουλευόμεναι, μεθυσκόμενοι ἐπιδιαγωνώσκουσι. Ἐν-τυγχάνοντες δ' ἀλλήλοισι ἐν τῇσι ὁδοῖσι, τῷδε ἂν τις διαγνοίῃ εἰ ὁμοῖοι εἰσὶ οἱ συντυγχάνοντες· ἀντὶ γὰρ τοῦ προσαγορεύειν ἀλλήλους, φιλέουσι τοῖσι στόμασι· ἦν δὲ ἢ οὔτερος ὑποδέεστος ὀλίγῳ, τὰς παρειὰς φιλέουσι· ἦν δὲ πολλῶν ἢ οὔτερος ἀγεννέστερος, προσ-πίπτων προσκυνεῖ τὸν ἕτερον. τιμῶσι δὲ ἐκ πάντων τοὺς ἀγχιστα ἐωυτῶν οἰκέοντας, μετὰ γε ἐωυτούς· δεύτερα δὲ τοὺς δευ-

134

Etiquette observed between different ranks.

Respect in proportion to vicinity.

<sup>451</sup> τῇ ἑκάστος ἐγένετο. See note on ix. 110.

<sup>452</sup> ἐν ταύτῃ δέ. The manuscripts S, V, b, and d omit this passage, resuming the text again with the words οἶνῳ δὲ κάρτα προσκέσθαι. The omitted portion is quoted together with the context by ATHENÆUS (iv. p. 144).

<sup>453</sup> βοῦν καὶ ἵππον καὶ κάμηλον καὶ ὄνον. See the last note on § 216.

<sup>454</sup> τὰ λεπτὰ τῶν προβάτων. “The smaller quadrupeds.” The word πρόβατα is used by Herodotus for any edible four-footed animal. See iv. 61: τὰ ἄλλα πρόβατα καὶ ἵππους μάλιστα, also viii. 137.

<sup>455</sup> ἐπιφορήμασι, “dishes brought in afterwards;” called also ἐπιδορπίσματα and τραγήματα, and answering to the *dessert* of modern times. They were not brought in all at once (ἄλεσι) but one

after the other, as at a German table-d’hôte.

<sup>456</sup> ἀπὸ δείπνου, “after supper.” So above, § 126, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπὸ δείπνου ἦσαν.

<sup>457</sup> ἀντίον ἄλλου. The manuscript S omits these two words. It is observable that the passage in which similar customs are ascribed to the Medes, and represented to be an institution of Deioceas (§ 99), is one of the few parts of the text between § 95 and § 101 which are retained by the manuscripts S, V, b, and d.

<sup>458</sup> ταῦτα μὲν νυν οὕτω φυλάσσεται. From these words to Αἰγυπτίους θάρκας (§ 135), are omitted in the manuscripts S, V, b, and d.

<sup>459</sup> σπουδαιέστατα. The MSS a and c and Athenæus have σπουδαίεστατα. See above, note 36. M, K, and F have the form in the text.

τέρους· μετὰ δὲ, κατὰ λόγον προβαίνοντες τιμῶσι, ἥκιστα δὲ τοὺς ἐωυτῶν ἐκαστάτω οἰκημένους ἐν τιμῇ ἄγονται· νομίζοντες ἐωυτοὺς εἶναι ἀνθρώπων μακρῷ τὰ πάντα ἀρίστους, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους κατὰ λόγον τὸν λεγόμενον<sup>400</sup> τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀντέχεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ ἐκαστάτω οἰκέοντας ἀπὸ ἐωυτῶν κακίστους εἶναι. ἐπὶ δὲ Μῆδων ἀρχόντων καὶ ἤρχε τὰ ἔθνεα ἀλλήλων συναπάντων μὲν Μῆδοι, καὶ τῶν ἄγχιιστα οἰκούντων σφίσι, οὔτοι δὲ καὶ τῶν ὁμούρων, οἱ δὲ, μάλιστα τῶν ἐχομένων. κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ λόγον καὶ οἱ Πέρσαι τιμῶσι· προέβαινε γὰρ δὴ τὸ ἔθνος ἄρχον τε καὶ ἐπιτροπεύον. Ξεινικά δὲ νόμαια Πέρσαι προσίενται ἀνδρῶν μάλιστα· καὶ γὰρ 135 δὴ τὴν Μηδικὴν ἐσθῆτα νομίσαντες τῆς ἐωυτῶν εἶναι καλλίω φορέουσι, καὶ ἐς τοὺς πολέμους τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους θώρηκας<sup>401</sup>.

Καὶ εὐπαθείας τε παντοδαπὰς πυνθανόμενοι ἐπιτηδεύουσι<sup>402</sup>, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀπ' Ἑλλήνων μαθόντες παισὶ μίσγονται. γαμέουσι δ' ἕκαστος αὐτῶν πολλὰς μὲν κουριδίας γυναικάς<sup>403</sup>, πολλὰ δ' ἔτι πλεῖνας παλλακὰς κτῶνται. Ἀνδραγαθίῃ δ' αὕτη ἀποδέδεκται, 136 μετὰ τὸ μάχεσθαι εἶναι ἀγαθὸν, ὃς ἂν πολλοὺς ἀποδέξῃ παῖδας· τῷ δὲ τοὺς πλείστους ἀποδεικνύντι δῶρα ἐκπέμπει ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος<sup>404</sup>. τὸ πολλὸν δ' ἡγέεται ἰσχυρὸν εἶναι<sup>405</sup>. παιδεύουσι δὲ τοὺς παῖδας ἀπὸ πενταέτεος ἀρξάμενοι μέχρι εικοσαέτεος, τρία μῶνα, ἱππεύειν καὶ τοξεύειν καὶ ἀληθίζεσθαι. πρὶν δὲ ἢ πενταέτης γένηται, οὐκ ἀπικνέεται ἐς ὄψιν τῷ πατρὶ ἀλλὰ παρὰ τῇσι γυναιξὶ δίαται· ἔχει· τοῦδε εἵνεκα τοῦτο οὕτω

The Persians readily adopt foreign manners. Their polygamy.

136 Pride in the numbers of their children. Education of the boys.

<sup>400</sup> τὸν λεγόμενον. This is a conjectural emendation adopted generally. The MSS have τῷ λεγομένῳ. It is not easy to see how the corruption could have arisen.

<sup>401</sup> τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους θώρηκας. These appear to have been made of linen, quilted so as to make a considerable substance, and covered with a surface of metallic scales. Such a one is described as having been worn by Masistius (ix. 22), and by the Persians in Xerxes's army (vii. 61). The skill of the Egyptians in workmanship appears from the *thorax* which Amasis sent to Lindus, for an offering to Athens (iii. 47).

<sup>402</sup> καὶ εὐπαθείας τε παντοδαπὰς πυνθανόμενοι ἐπιτηδεύουσι. The manuscripts S, V, ὁ, and d have ἐπιτηδεύουσι δὲ καὶ εὐπαθείας παντοδαπὰς πυνθανόμενοι, and

then continue the text with the words παιδεύουσι δὲ τοὺς παῖδας, &c. (§ 136.)

<sup>403</sup> κουριδίας γυναικάς. The same expression is used below (v. 18, and vi. 138), and in the same sense, i. e. "wedded wives." The word *κουριδίας* is several times used by Homer, almost always in the conjunction *κουριδίῃ ἄλοχος*: but, though its sense is plain, its origin has not yet been satisfactorily explained. See BUTTMANN (*Lexilogus*, sub v.) for an account of what has been hitherto proposed.

<sup>404</sup> ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος. This would probably be on his birthday. See note on ix. 110.

<sup>405</sup> τὸ πολλὸν δ' ἡγέεται ἰσχυρὸν εἶναι. The same thought appears in *Psalm cxxvii. 5*. It is the men of many children who will "not be ashamed when they speak with their enemies in the gate."

ποιέεται, ἵνα ἦν ἀποθάνη τρεφόμενος μηδεμίαν ἄσπην<sup>466</sup> τῷ πατρὶ προσβάλλη.

137

Indulgence  
to first of-  
fenders.

Disbelief in  
parricides  
existing.

Αἰνέω μὲν νυν τόνδε τὸν νόμον αἰνέω δὲ καὶ τόνδε, τὸ μὴ μῆς αἰτίης εἵνεκα μῆτε αὐτὸν τὸν βασιλέα μηδένα φονεῖν, μῆτε τῶν ἄλλων Περσέων μηδένα τῶν ἑωυτοῦ οἰκετέων ἐπὶ μὴ αἰτίῃ ἀνῆκεστον πάθος ἔρδειν ἀλλὰ λογισάμενος<sup>467</sup> ἦν εὐρίσκη πλέω τε καὶ μέζω τὰ ἀδικήματα ἔοντα τῶν ἱπουργημάτων, οὕτω τῷ

θυμῷ χρᾶται. ἀποκτεῖναι δὲ οὐδένα κω λέγουσι τὸν ἑωυτοῦ πατέρα οὐδὲ μητέρα· ἀλλὰ ὁκόσα ἤδη τοιαῦτα ἐγένετο, πᾶσαν ἀνάγκην φασὶ ἀναζητούμενα ταῦτα ἀνευρεθῆναι ἥτοι ὑποβολιμαῖα ἔοντα ἢ μοιχιδία· οὐ γὰρ δὴ φασὶ οἰκὸς εἶναι τὸν γε ἀληθέως

138

Lying the  
greatest dis-  
grace; debt  
the second.

τοκέα ὑπὸ τοῦ ἑωυτοῦ παιδὸς ἀποθνήσκειν. "Ἀσπα δέ σφι ποιεῖεν οὐκ ἔξεστι, ταῦτα οὐδὲ λέγειν ἔξεστι. αἰσχιστον δὲ αὐτοῖσι τὸ ψεῦδεσθαι νενόμισται· δεύτερα δὲ τὸ ὀφείλειν χρέος, πολλῶν<sup>468</sup> μὲν καὶ ἄλλων εἵνεκα, μάλιστα δὲ ἀναγκαίην φασὶ εἶναι τὸν ὀφείλοντα καὶ τι ψεύδος λέγειν. ὃς ἂν δὲ τῶν ἀστῶν λέπρην ἢ λεύκην ἔχῃ, ἐς πόλιν οὗτος οὐ κατέρχεται, οὐδὲ συμμίσγεται τοῖσι ἄλλοισι Πέρσῃσι· φασὶ δέ μιν ἐς τὸν ἥλιον ἀμαρτόντα, τι<sup>469</sup> ταῦτα ἔχειν ξεῖνον δὲ πάντα τὸν λαμβανόμενον ὑπὸ τούτων πολλοὶ καὶ ἐλαύνουσι ἐκ τῆς χώρας, καὶ τὰς λευκάς περιστερὰς<sup>470</sup>, τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίην ἐπιφέροντες. ἐς ποταμὸν δὲ οὔτε ἐνουρέουσι οὔτε ἐμπτύουσι, οὐ χεῖρας ἐναπονίζονται, οὐδὲ ἄλλον οὐδένα περιορέωσι, ἀλλὰ

<sup>466</sup> ἄσπην. The manuscripts S, V, δ have βλάβην ἀπὸ τῆς, probably from a gloss of the word ἄσπην.

<sup>467</sup> ἀλλὰ λογισάμενος κ.τ.λ. The paragraph from these words to the end of the section does not exist in the manuscripts S, V, δ, and d.

<sup>468</sup> πολλῶν μὲν καὶ ἄλλων εἵνεκα. In the place of these words, and all that follows to the end of § 177, the manuscripts S, V, δ, and d have only καὶ τὸ ἐς ποταμὸν ἐνουρέειν, ἢ πτίνειν, ἢ χεῖρας ἐναπονίζεσθαι, ἢ ἄλλοι ποιεῖν σέβονται δὲ ποταμοὺς πάντων μάλιστα. τὰ δὲ οὐνόματα τῶν Περσέων πάντα τελευτῶσιν ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ γράμμα, τὸ Δωριέες μὲν Σάν καλοῦσι, Ἴωνες δὲ Χίγμα. οὐ πρότερον δὲ παρ' αὐτοῖς θάπτεται νέκυν, πρὶν ἂν ὑπ' ὀρνίθου ἐλκυσθῇ. ταῦτα μὲν νυν οὕτω τελεῖται.

<sup>469</sup> φασὶ δέ μιν ἐς τὸν ἥλιον ἀμαρτόντα τι. The leprosy is a punishment with which Ἐσχατίου makes Apollo threaten

Orestes and his sister, in the event of their failing to revenge their father's death (*Choeph.* 279):

τὰς δὲ νῦν νόσους,  
σαρκῶν ἐκαμβάτῃρας ἀργίας γνάθοις  
λιχῆνας ἐξέσθοντας ἀρχαίαν φύσιν  
λευκάς δὲ κόρσας τῇδ' ἐκαστέλλειν νόσφ.

<sup>470</sup> τὰς λευκάς περιστέρους. It seems doubtful whether the enmity of the Persians to these birds was wholly directed against their colour. The dove was a symbol of the Semiramis-Astarte religion, which undoubtedly would be an object of hatred to the early Persians. VON HAMMER (*Wiener Jahrbücher*, ix. p. 17) maintains that the colour of white in itself was highly regarded by them, being considered as a symbol of innocence. Still, all white animals are regarded as *lunar nature* in India at this day.

σέβονται ποταμούς μάλιστα. Καὶ τότε ἄλλο σφι ὧδε συμπε- 139  
πτωκε γίνεσθαι, τὸ Πέρσας μὲν αὐτοὺς λέληθε ἡμέας μέντοι οὐ<sup>471</sup>. Peculiarity of the Per-  
τὰ οὐνόματά σφι, ἔντα ὁμοία τοῖσι σώμασι καὶ τῇ μεγαλοπρε- sian proper  
πείῃ, τελευτῶσι πάντα ἐς τὸντὸ γράμμα, τὸ Δωριέες μὲν Σὰν names, that  
καλέουσι Ἰῶνες δὲ Σίγμα· ἐς τοῦτο διζήμενος εὐρήσεις τελευ- all, without  
τῶντα τῶν Περσέων τὰ οὐνόματα, οὐ τὰ μὲν τὰ δὲ οὐ, ἀλλὰ exception,  
πάντα ὁμοίως. end in S.

Ταῦτα μὲν ἀπρεκέως ἔχω περὶ αὐτῶν εἰδὼς<sup>472</sup> εἰπεῖν τάδε 140  
μέντοι ὡς κρυπτόμενα λέγεται, καὶ οὐ σαφηνέως· περὶ τοῦ It is said  
ἀποθανόντος, ὡς οὐ πρότερον θάπτεται ἀνδρὸς Πέρσεω ὁ νέκυσ, the dead  
πρὶν ἂν ὑπ' ὀρνυθὸς ἢ κυνὸς ἐλκυσθῆναι· (μάγους μὲν γὰρ ἀπρε- are exposed,  
κέως οἶδα ποιέοντας ταῦτα<sup>473</sup>. ἐμφανέως γὰρ δὴ ποιεῖν) κατα- before bur-  
κηρώσαντες δὴ ὦν τὸν νέκυν Πέρσαι γῇ κρύπτουσι. (μάγοι<sup>474</sup> δὲ Peculiar  
κεχωρίδεται πολλὸν τῶν τε ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ habits of  
ἱρέων οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀγγεύουσι ἔμφυχον μηδὲν κτείνειν εἰ μὴ ὅσα the Ma-  
θύουσι· οἱ δὲ δὴ μάγοι αὐτοχειρίῃ πάντα πλὴν κυνὸς καὶ ἀνθρώ- gians, as  
compared  
with Egypt-  
ian priests.

<sup>471</sup> τὸ Πέρσας μὲν αὐτοὺς λέληθε ἡμέας μέντοι οὐ. This is a passage which might readily induce the belief that the author had himself been in Persia, and had remarked not only the fact he asserts, but the inattention of the Persians to it. But it really goes to prove the reverse. For the Persian names, if the least confidence can be placed in Rawlinson's reading of the Behistun Inscription, did not generally end in *Σ*, but were apparently analogous to the *Æolic* nominative case. Thus Cambyses, in the Persian of the Inscription, is *Kambujiya*, Intaphernes is *Vidafrana*, &c., so that Herodotus's observation is true, not of the original words, but of their Hellenic representations,—a decisive evidence of the nature of Herodotus's authorities in this instance.

<sup>472</sup> εἰδὼς. This word is omitted in the manuscript K.

<sup>473</sup> μάγους μὲν γὰρ ἀπρεκέως οἶδα ποιέοντας ταῦτα. These magicians might have come under the cognizance of Herodotus (or his informant), far from the confines of Persia. STRABO speaks of magians in Cappadocia (xv. c. 3, p. 326). The Parsees of Bombay are said to have a similar custom. See HERBERT, *Travels into Africa and Asia the Great*, p. 54, ed. 1638.

<sup>474</sup> μάγοι δὲ κεχωρίδεται κ.τ.λ. The

paragraph of which these words are the beginning seems to be of the nature of a note, and I have therefore exhibited it as a parenthesis. The special reference to the Egyptian priests (which have not been mentioned before) is remarkable, as if Egypt were particularly familiar to the narrator. See notes 647, 651, 671, and the assertion in iii. 2: *εἰ γὰρ τινες καὶ ἄλλοι, τὰ Περσέων νόμιμα ὀρθῶς ἐπιστάται καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι*.

The practices referred to are to be explained on the principle, that, according to the dualistic theory of the Magian religion, serpents and poisonous reptiles would be regarded as manifestations of the evil influence of *Ahriman*. It is not so easy to say why the Magians should have held *the dog* as sacred. It could not be merely on the ground of his utility to man; for the same reason would have applied to the horse and the ox. Perhaps the bright star Sirius bore a name of the same signification with them that Bochart and others maintain it to have done in the ancient Egyptian language (*Σῶσις* = *Σῆθ* = *Thoth* = *κύων*). (See IDLER, *Handbuch der Chronologie*, ii. p. 591.) There can be no question that this remarkable star would be regarded as a special manifestation of *Ormuzd*, the source of light. (See PLUTARCH, *De Iside et Osiride*, p. 370.)

History resumed.

που κτείνουσι, καὶ ἀγώνισμα μέγα τοῦτο ποιεῖνται, κτείνοντες ὁμοίως μύρμηκας τε καὶ ὄφεις καὶ τᾶλλα ἐρπετὰ καὶ πετεινά.) καὶ ἀμφὶ μὲν τῷ νόμῳ τούτῳ ἔχεται ὥς καὶ ἀρχὴν ἐνομίσθη ἀνεῖμι δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν πρότερον λόγον<sup>475</sup>.

141

The Ionians and Æolians send an embassy to Cyrus, who answers them by a fable,

"Ἴωνες δὲ καὶ Αἰολέες<sup>476</sup>, ὥς οἱ Λυδοὶ τάχιστα κατεστράφατο ὑπὸ Περσέων, ἔπεμπον ἀγγέλους ἐς Σάρδις παρὰ Κύρον, ἐθέλοντες ἐπὶ τοῖσι αὐτοῖσι εἶναι τοῖσι καὶ Κροίσῳ ἦσαν κατήκοοι· ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας αὐτῶν τὰ προῖσχοντο, ἔλεξέ σφι λόγον<sup>477</sup>, ἄνδρα φὰς αὐλητὴν ἰδόντα ἰχθὺς ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ αὐλέειν, δοκέοντά σφας ἐξελεύσεσθαι ἐς γῆν ὥς δὲ ψευσθῆναι τῆς ἐλπίδος, λαβεῖν ἀμφίβληστρον καὶ περιβαλεῖν τε πλῆθος πολλὸν τῶν ἰχθύων καὶ ἐξεῖρσαι, ἰδόντα δὲ παλλομένους εἰπεῖν ἄρα αὐτὸν πρὸς τοὺς ἰχθὺς· παύεσθέ μοι ὀρχεόμενοι, ἐπεὶ οὐδ' ἐμέο αὐλέοντος ἠθέλετε ἐκβαίνειν ὀρχεόμενοι. Κύρος μὲν τοῦτον τὸν λόγον τοῖσι Ἴωσι καὶ τοῖσι Αἰολεῦσι τῶνδε εἵνεκα ἔλεξε, ὅτι δὴ οἱ Ἴωνες πρότερον, αὐτοῦ Κύρου δεσθέντος δι' ἀγγέλων<sup>478</sup> ἀπίστασθαι σφας ἀπὸ Κροίσου, οὐκ ἐπέβησαν· τότε δὲ κατεργασμένων τῶν πρηγμάτων, ἦσαν ἐτοῖμοι πεῖθεσθαι Κύρῳ. ὁ μὲν δὴ ὀργῇ ἐχόμενος<sup>479</sup> ἔλεγε σφι τάδε· Ἴωνες δὲ ὥς ἤκουσαν τούτων ἀνευεῖχέντων ἐς τὰς πόλεις, τείχεά τε περιεβάλλοντο ἕκαστοι καὶ συνέλεγοντο ἐς Πανιώνιον<sup>480</sup> οἱ ἄλλοι πλὴν Μιλησίων<sup>481</sup>. πρὸς μούνους γὰρ τούτους ὄρκιον Κύρος ἐποίησατο, ἐπ' οἷσί περ ὁ Λυδὸς· τοῖσι δὲ λουποῖσι

on which all but Miletus prepare for war, and apply to Sparta for aid.

<sup>475</sup> ἀνεῖμι δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν πρότερον λόγον. The narrative is continued from the end of § 94.

<sup>476</sup> καὶ Αἰολέες. The Æolians are associated with the Ionians in this unsuccessful embassy, and in the other mentioned § 152; but Herodotus gives no account whatever of the time or circumstances of their conquest by the Persians. That they were subdued, at least such of them as inhabited the main, appears from § 171, where they are joined with the subjugated Ionians as auxiliaries of Harpagus in his expedition against Caria. So it does from what Herodotus says of Cambyzes (ii. 1), that Ἴωνας μὲν καὶ Αἰολίας ὡς δούλους πατρίους ἰδόντας ἐνόμιζε. In the expedition of Xerxes, the Æolian cities furnished sixty ships, according to the same account which made the Ionians furnish 100 (vii. 95). It can scarcely therefore be their insignificance which

induced Herodotus to omit all mention of their fate. See note 593.

<sup>477</sup> ἔλεξέ σφι λόγον. This story appears to be of the same class with that in § 27. Tales of this kind were the staple conversation of the more refined Athenians in their symposia at the time of the Peloponnesian war. The old school diverted themselves by relating fables, in which the personages were the lower animals (λόγοι Αἰσακτικοί). The transition of manners is excellently shown by the dialogue between Bdelycleon and his old father in ARISTOPHANES (*Vesp.* vv. 1174—1263). The fashion was probably imported from the public tables of Lacedæmon.

<sup>478</sup> δι' ἀγγέλων. See above, § 76, note 266.

<sup>479</sup> ὀργῇ ἐχόμενος, "angry," as above, § 88, συνοῖρ ἐχόμενος, "pondering."

<sup>480</sup> Πανιώνιον. See below, § 148.

<sup>481</sup> πλὴν Μιλησίων. The long-con-



"Ἰωσι ἔδοξε κοινῇ λόγῳ πέμπειν ἀγγέλους ἐς Σπάρτην, δεησομένους  
"Ἰωσι τιμωρεῖν.

Οἱ δὲ Ἴωνες οὗτοι<sup>443</sup>, τῶν καὶ τὸ Πανιώνιον ἐστὶ, τοῦ μὲν 142  
οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῶν ὠρέων ἐν τῇ καλλίστῃ ἐτύγχανον ἰδρυσάμενοι  
πόλεως πάντων ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν. οὔτε γὰρ τὰ ἄνω  
αὐτῆς<sup>444</sup> χωρία τῶντ' ποιεῖ τῇ Ἰωνίῃ, οὔτε τὰ κάτω, οὔτε τὰ  
πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ, οὔτε τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἐσπέρην τὰ μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ ψυχροῦ  
τε καὶ ὑγροῦ πιεζόμενα, τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ θερμοῦ τε καὶ αἰχμώδους.  
γλῶσσαν δὲ οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν οὗτοι νενομίκασι<sup>445</sup>, ἀλλὰ τρόπους τέσ-  
σερας παραγωγέων<sup>446</sup>. Μίλητος μὲν αὐτῶν πρώτη κέεται πόλις  
πρὸς μεσαμβρίην μετὰ δὲ Μυοῖς τε καὶ Πιρηνῇ αὐταὶ μὲν ἐν τῇ  
Καρίῃ κατοικεῖνται κατὰ ταῦτ' ἀλεγόμεναί σφι· αἶδε δὲ ἐν τῇ  
Λυδίῃ, Ἐφεσος, Κολοφὼν, Λέβεδος, Τέως, Κλαζομεναί, Φώκαια<sup>447</sup>.  
αὐταὶ δὲ αἱ πόλεις τῇσι πρότερον λεχθεῖσιν ὁμολογέουσι κατὰ  
γλῶσσαν οὐδὲν, σφὶ δὲ ὁμοφανεύουσι· ἔτι δὲ τρεῖς ὑπόλοιποι Ἰάδες  
πόλεις, τῶν αἱ δύο μὲν νήσους οἰκέαται Σάμον τε καὶ Χίον, ἡ δὲ  
μία ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῃ ἱδρύται, Ἐρυθραί. Χιοὶ μὲν νυν καὶ Ἐρυθραῖοι  
κατὰ τῶντ' ἀλεγόμεναι, Σάμοι δὲ ἐπ' ἐωυτῶν μόνον. οὗτοι  
χαρακτήρες γλῶσσης τέσσερες γίνονται. Τούτων δὲ ὧν τῶν 143  
Ἰώνων οἱ Μιλήσιοι μὲν ἦσαν ἐν σκέπῃ τοῦ φόβου<sup>448</sup>, ὅρκιον ποιη-

Ethnographic description of the twelve Ionian towns. They speak four different languages.

The Milesians and

tinued hostility between Miletus and the Lydian kings probably made the overtures of Cyrus (see above, § 76) more welcome at Miletus than among the rest of the Ionians. In fact, the population of Miletus was any thing but pure Ionian. The coins show that the predominating religion was the worship of Apollo Didymæus, whose temple (according to the native legends) was far more ancient than the immigration of the Ionians under Neleus (PAUSAN. vii. 2. 6). The Milesian temple at Naukratis in Egypt was dedicated to Apollo (ii. 178).

<sup>443</sup> οἱ δὲ Ἴωνες οὗτοι. It seems not unlikely that the ethnographic account which follows is derived from the κτίσεις πόλεων, a work in two books, by CHARON of Lampascus (Suidas, sub v.). The expressions τὰ ἄνω αὐτῆς and τὰ κάτω are difficult to explain if we take them in their usual sense (i. e. as the regions further up the country, and those nearer the sea), since the whole of Ionia lies on the coast. But if we suppose the historian to take Lampascus as a centre, the expression be-

comes a natural one, τὰ ἄνω αὐτῆς being the country between Ionia and Lampascus; τὰ κάτω the parts beyond Ionia; τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ the coast of the Propontis east of Lampascus; and τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἐσπέρην the Thracian Chersonese. And thus there is also a reason for omitting mention of the north and the south.

<sup>444</sup> αὐτῆς, i. e. τῆς Ἰωνίας.

<sup>445</sup> γλῶσσαν . . . νενομίκασι. The same expression is used in iv. 183: γλῶσσαν οὐδεμὴ ἄλλη παρομοίην νενομίκασι. Here and in v. 97, ὅτε δεσπῖδα ὅτε ὄρνυ νομίζουσι, the word νομίζειν is equivalent to ἐν τοῖς νόμοις ἔχειν.

<sup>446</sup> παραγωγέων, "deflections," i. e. from the normal Ionic dialect of literature.

<sup>447</sup> Φώκαια. This form rests on the authority of all the MSS here and ii. 106; ii. 178. On the other hand, Φωκαίη is similarly defended above, §§ 80 and 164.

<sup>448</sup> ἐν σκέπῃ τοῦ φόβου, "sheltered from the peril." Similarly vii. 173 and 215, ἐν σκέπῃ τοῦ πολέμου, "sheltered from the brunt of the war."

the islanders *σάμενοι*. τοῖσι δὲ αὐτῶν νησιώτησι ἦν δεινὸν οὐδέν οὔτε γὰρ  
feel safe from attack. Φοίνικες ἦσαν καὶ Περσέων κατήκοοι οὔτε αὐτοὶ οἱ Πέρσαι  
ναυβάται.

The above  
towns stood  
aloof from  
all other  
Ionians.

Ἀπεσχίσθησαν<sup>488</sup> δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων Ἰώνων οὔτοι κατ' ἄλλο  
μὲν οὐδέν, ἀσθενέος δὲ ἑόντος τοῦ παντὸς τότε<sup>489</sup> Ἑλληνικοῦ γένεος,  
πολλῷ δὲ ἦν ἀσθενέστατον τῶν ἐθνέων τὸ Ἰωνικὸν καὶ λόγου ἐλα-  
χίστου ὅτι γὰρ μὴ Ἀθῆναι<sup>490</sup>, ἦν οὐδὲν ἄλλο πόλισμα λόγιμον  
οἱ μὲν νῦν ἄλλοι Ἴωνες καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἔφυγον τὸ οὐνομα, οὐ  
βουλόμενοι Ἴωνες κεκλησθαι ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν φαίνονται μοι οἱ  
πολλοὶ αὐτῶν ἐπαισχύνεσθαι τῷ οὐνόματι· αἱ δὲ δυνάδεκα πόλεις  
αὐταὶ τῷ τε οὐνόματι ἡγάλλοντο, καὶ ἱρὸν ἰδρύσαντο ἐπὶ σφέων  
αὐτῶν, τῷ οὐνόματι ἔθεντο Πανιώνιον ἐβουλεύσαντο δὲ αὐτοῦ μετα-  
δοῦναι μηδαμοῖσι ἄλλοις Ἰώνων οὐδ' ἐδεήθησαν δὲ οὐδαμοὶ  
μετασχεῖν, ὅτι μὴ Σμυρναῖοι. Κατάπερ<sup>491</sup> οἱ ἐκ τῆς Πενταπόλιος  
νῦν χώρας Δωριεῖς, πρότερον δὲ Ἐξαπόλιος τῆς αὐτῆς ταύτης  
καλεομένης, φυλάσσονται ὧν μηδαμὸς ἐσδέξασθαι τῶν προσοί-  
κων Δωριέων ἐς τὸ Τριοικικὸν ἱρὸν<sup>492</sup>. ἀλλὰ καὶ σφέων αὐτῶν τοὺς

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A similar  
insulation  
of the five  
Dorian  
towns.

<sup>488</sup> ἀπεσχίσθησαν, κ.τ.λ. It has been thought that in the discussion which follows, relative to the cause of the separation of the Ionic confederates from other Ionian cities, Herodotus is criticizing the views of Hecataeus the Milesian. It seems unnecessary to suppose that he is doing more than combating a current opinion. If any writer is specially referred to, the considerations offered in the note 482 would rather point to Charon of Lampascus than any other.

<sup>489</sup> τότε. This apparently refers to the time at which the confederation was constituted, of which the deputies met at the Panionium.

<sup>490</sup> ὅτι γὰρ μὴ Ἀθῆναι. That an exception should be made in favour of Athens is perhaps due to the power of that city in the time of the writer. Long after the time he speaks of in the text it was extremely insignificant. See note on v. 73, ἐπειρώτα τινες ἑόντες ἄνθρωποι.

<sup>491</sup> κατάπερ οἱ ἐκ τῆς Πενταπόλιος νῦν χώρας Δωριεῖς. It is to be remarked that what the author says of the Asiatic Dorians, as an aggregate, is introduced here only by way of illustration of the policy of the Panionian confederacy, and is not to be regarded as a continuation of the thread of the narrative. This removes the surprise one might otherwise feel at the irregular

order in which he mentions the Greek confederacies on the main. Indeed, if we suppose him to be following an earlier author, it would seem likely that in that author's narrative the Dorians, as a united body, were not regarded. The conquest of a portion is alluded to (below, § 174) as that of the "Hellenic cities in Caria."

<sup>492</sup> ἐς τὸ Τριοικικὸν ἱρὸν. The deities associated in this temple may be inferred from the offering of the Cnidian, which PAUSANIAS saw at Delphi, which were Τριόπαν οἰκιστὴν τῆς Κνίδου παρεστῶτα Ἰσπερ καὶ Ἀπὸ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνά τε καὶ Ἀρτεμιν ἀφιέντας τῶν βελῶν ἐπὶ Τιτυόν (x. 11, 1). But this Apollo-worship was rather that of the Achaean race than of the Dorian. (See note 587.) Judging, too, from the coins of Cnidus, one may be inclined to suspect that Leto was, either by the mistake of Pausanias or the choice of the artist, substituted for another divinity, perhaps Athene Polias. (See notes on ii. 59.) The Τριοικίον built by Herodes Atticus near Rome was dedicated to Demeter and Core and the χθόνιοι θεοί; and the SCHOLIAST on Theocr. xvii. 69 states that the games at the Cnidian Triopium were in honour of Apollo, Poseidon, and the Nymphs.

περὶ τὸ ἱρὸν ἀνομήσαντας ἐξεκλήϊσαν τῆς μετοχῆς. ἐν γὰρ τῷ ὠγῶνι τοῦ Τριοπίου Ἀπόλλωνος ἐτίθεσαν τὸ πάλαι τρίποδας χαλκίους τοῖσι νικῶσι· καὶ τούτους χρῆν τοὺς λαμβάνοντας ἐκ τοῦ ἱροῦ μὴ ἐκφέρειν, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ ἀνατιθέναι τῷ θεῷ. ἀνὴρ ὢν Ἀλικαρνησεὺς, τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Ἀγασικλῆς, νικήσας, τὸν νόμον κατηλόγησε· φέρων δὲ πρὸς τὰ ἑωυτοῦ οἰκία<sup>493</sup> προσεπασσάλευσε τὸν τρίποδα. διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίην αἱ πέντε πόλεις, Λῦδος καὶ Ἰήλυσσός τε καὶ Κάμειρος<sup>494</sup> καὶ Κῶς τε καὶ Κνίδος<sup>495</sup>, ἐξεκλήϊσαν τῆς μετοχῆς τὴν ἕκτην πόλιν Ἀλικαρνησσόν. τούτοισι μὲν νυν οὔτοι ταύτην τὴν ζημίην ἐπέθηκαν. Διῶδεκα δέ μοι δοκεῖνσι<sup>145</sup> πόλιας ποιήσασθαι οἱ Ἴωνες καὶ οὐκ ἐβέλησαι πλεῖνας ἐσδέξασθαι τοῦδε εἵνεκα, ὅτι καὶ ὅτε ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ οἴκεον διῶδεκα ἦν αὐτῶν μέρεα· κατὰπερ νῦν Ἀχαιῶν τῶν ἐξελασάντων Ἴωνας διῶδεκά ἐστι μέρεα. Πελλήνη μὲν γε<sup>496</sup> πρώτη πρὸς Σικυῶνος· μετὰ δὲ Αἴγαιρα καὶ Αἰγαί· (ἐν τῇ Κρᾶθις ποταμὸς ἀένναός ἐστι, ἀπὸ τοῦ<sup>497</sup> ὁ ἐν Ἰταλίῃ ποταμὸς τὸ οὐνομα ἔσχε') καὶ Βοῦρα καὶ Ἐλίκη (ἐς τὴν κατέφυγον Ἴωνες ὑπὸ Ἀχαιῶν μάχῃ ἐσσωθέντες) καὶ Αἴγιον, καὶ Ῥύπες, καὶ Πατρές, καὶ Φαρές<sup>498</sup>, καὶ Ὠλενος (ἐν τῷ Πείρος ποταμὸς μέγας ἐστί) καὶ Δύμη καὶ Τριταίεες· οἱ

Cause of the insulation of the twelve Ionian towns.

<sup>493</sup> φέρων δὲ πρὸς τὰ ἑωυτοῦ οἰκία. In this act the offender seems to have been regarded as setting up a shrine of the deity in his own house. See the legend related by Herodotus, iv. 179.

<sup>494</sup> Λῦδος καὶ Ἰήλυσσός τε καὶ Κάμειρος. These are the three cities which antecedently to the concentration of the population in the city Rhodes, divided the island Rhodes among themselves. The mythical accounts of their origin are very various, but all agree in deriving the foundation of them from Argos, and in times antecedent to the Heraclide invasion of the Peloponnese. Hence it was not to be expected that the Dorian Apollo-worship should have been the predominant one there. And from various notices it appears that this was not the case. Herodotus relates that Amasis sent presents to the Αἰθναῖον at Lindus (ii. 182), a temple which, according to tradition (Dionysius, v. 58), was founded by Danaus or his daughters. Gela in Sicily, a colony from Lindus (vii. 150), appears from its coins to have been under the protection of Poseidon and Demeter: and indeed its οἰκιστής, Geles, who was a native of

the little island Telus just off Triopium, bequeathed the hereditary priesthood of the χθόνιοι θεοὶ to his descendants (vii. 163). In Camirus and Ialysus *Here* was worshipped under the surname Τελχινία, a name which, whatever its derivation (see *Biographical and Mythological Dictionary*, v. *Telchines*), undoubtedly belongs to the earliest religious systems of the Peloponnese.

<sup>495</sup> καὶ Κῶς τε καὶ Κνίδος. Cos was as little purely Doric as the cities mentioned in the last note. It was a colony from Epidaurus, and especially noted for the worship of Asclepius and Demeter. Of Cnidus, see note 587, below.

<sup>496</sup> μὲν γε. The MSS have μὲν τε, which Gaisford retains. But see vi. 46; viii. 65.

<sup>497</sup> ἀπὸ τοῦ. Gaisford ἀπ' ἑνός. See note on v. 45, παρὰ τὸν ξηρὸν Κρᾶτιν.

<sup>498</sup> Πατρές. By Herodotus using this expression, it seems as if the city Patræ did not exist in his time; Ægium and Dyme, on the other hand, seem to have done so. See the passage of Strabo cited in note on viii. 73, Αἰτωλῶν δὲ ἥλις μόνη.

146 μῦνοι τοῦτων μεσθγαιοὶ οἰκέουσι. Ταῦτα δυνάδεκα μέρεα νῦν Ἀχαιῶν ἐστὶ, καὶ τότε γε Ἰώνων ἦν<sup>499</sup>. τοῦτων δὲ εἵνεκα καὶ οἱ Ἰωνεὺς δυνάδεκα πόλιας ἐποίησαντο· ἐπεὶ, ὥς γε τι μᾶλλον οὔτοι Ἰωνεὺς εἰσι τῶν ἄλλων Ἰώνων ἢ κάλλιόν τι γεγόνασι, μωρὴ πολλὴ λέγειν τῶν Ἀβαντες μὲν ἐξ Εὐβοίης εἰσὶ οὐκ ἐλαχίστη μοῖρα, τοῖσι Ἰωνίης μετὰ οὐδὲ τοῦ οὐνόματος οὐδέν Μινύαι δὲ Ὀρχομένιοι ἀναμεμῖχται, καὶ Καδμεῖοι, καὶ Δρίονες, καὶ Φωκέες ἀποδάσμιον, καὶ Μολοσσοί, καὶ Ἀρκάδες Πελασγοί, καὶ Δωριεῖς Ἐπιδαύριοι, ἄλλα τε ἔθνεα πολλὰ ἀναμεμῖχται. οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ πρυτανήτου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων ὀρμηθέντες καὶ νομίζοντες γενναϊότατοι εἶναι Ἰώνων, οὔτοι δὲ οὐ γυναικας ἡγάγοντο ἐς τὴν ἀποικίην, ἀλλὰ Κασέρας ἔσχον<sup>500</sup>, τῶν ἐφόνευσαν τοὺς γονεάς. διὰ τοῦτον δὲ τὸν φόνον αἱ γυναῖκες αὐταὶ νόμον θέμεναι, σφίσι αὐτῇσι ὄρκους ἐπήλασαν καὶ παρέδωκαν τῇσι θυγατράσι, μὴ κοτε ὁμοσι- τῆσαι τοῖσι ἀνδράσι, μηδὲ οὐνόματι βῶσαι τὸν ἐωυτῆς ἀνδρα·

<sup>499</sup> ταῦτα . . Ἰώνων ἦν. This expression seems to indicate that the authority followed by Herodotus made the duodenary division of Achaia to exist before the inroad of the Achæans, and under the same names. This also is implied by the words of PAUSANIAS, who may be regarded as representing the local traditions of his time. His list, however, differs from that of Herodotus. Beginning from Elis and reckoning towards Sicily, he gives the list of the cities, Dyme, Olenus, Pharæ, Tritæa, Rypes, Ægium, Ceryneæ, Bura, Helice, Ægæ, Ægira, and Pallene (vii. 6, 1). As neither Olenus nor Helice existed in the time of POLYBIUS (ii. 41), this list cannot represent the *existing* cities, but must rest upon a tradition *different* from that adopted by Herodotus. The list of Polybius is different from either. It is Patræ, Dyme, Pharæ, Tritæa, *Leontium*, Ægira, Pallene, Ægium, Bura, Ceryneæ, Olenus, and Helice. He says expressly that all these towns existed in his time, except the two last. Helice was swallowed up by the sea in an earthquake, just before the battle of Leuctra. These lists may be regarded as resting on original sources, but those of Strabo and Pliny on the accounts of other authors. SCYLAX of Caryanda omits the name Helice,—a circumstance which adds to the doubts of the genuineness of the work ascribed to him, at least except in a very interpolated state.

<sup>500</sup> Κασέρας ἔσχον. The native Milesian traditions (PAUSAN. vii. 2, 3) related that the population found by the Ionian colonists consisted of a mixture of aboriginal Carians with Cretans, who had fled from Minos under the leadership of *Miletus*. This, with only the change of the leader's name, seems identical with the legend related below (§ 173) of the Lycians. The native legends of Miletus went on to say that the Ionians slaughtered all the male population and cohabited with the women, but there is no allusion to the custom of the latter eating alone. It is difficult to reconcile the known *predominance* of the worship of Apollo Didymæus, which dated from times antecedent to the Ionic invasion (see note 481), with so entire an obliteration of the native race. Possibly there may have existed a practice among the descendants of the old population to name themselves *after their mothers*, which may have been perverted into the form, that the father of the family was never mentioned by his name. This certainly prevailed in Lycia (see FELLOWES, *Second Excursion in Asia Minor*), and, if we take the account of EPHORUS (*ap. Strabon.* xiv. p. 165), the ancient Lycian population is ethnically identical with the early population of Miletus. The custom of the women to eat alone may be a relic of Oriental harem life.

τούδε εἵνεκα ὅτι ἐφόνευσαν σφέων τοὺς πατέρας καὶ ἄνδρας καὶ παῖδας, καὶ ἔπειτεν ταῦτα ποιήσαντες αὐτῇσι συνοίκεον. ταῦτα δὲ ἦν γνωόμενα ἐν Μιλήτῳ. Βασιλέας δὲ ἐστήσαντο οἱ μὲν 147 αὐτῶν Δυκίους, ἀπὸ Γλαύκου τοῦ Ἱππολόχου γεγονότας· οἱ δὲ and govern- ed by kings of all races. Καύκωνας Πυλίου, ἀπὸ Κόδρου τοῦ Μελάνθου· οἱ δὲ καὶ συναμ- φοτέρους. ἀλλὰ γὰρ περιέχονται τοῦ οὐνόματος μᾶλλον τι τῶν ἄλλων Ἴωνων, ἔστωσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ καθαρῶς γεγονότες Ἴωνες· εἰσὶ δὲ πάντες Ἴωνες, ὅσοι ἀπ' Ἀθηνῶν γεγόνασι καὶ Ἀπατούρια ἄγουσι ὀρτὴν<sup>101</sup>. ἄγουσι δὲ πάντες πλὴν Ἐφεσίων καὶ Κολοφωνίων· οἱτοὶ γὰρ μοῖνοι Ἴωνων οὐκ ἄγουσι Ἀπατούρια, καὶ οἱτοὶ κατὰ φόνου τινα σκῆψιν. Τὸ δὲ Πανιώνιον ἐστὶ τῆς Μυκάλης χώρος ἱρὸς 148 πρὸς ἄρκτον τετραμμένος, κοινῇ ἑξαριρημένος ὑπὸ Ἴωνων Πο- The Panio- nium is on the head- land of Mycale. σειδέωνι Ἐλικωνίῳ· ἡ δὲ Μυκάλῃ ἐστὶ τῆς ἡπείρου ἄκρῃ πρὸς ζέφυρον ἄνεμον κατήκουσα Σάμῳ<sup>102</sup>, ἐς τὴν συλλεγόμενοι ἀπὸ τῶν πολίων Ἴωνες ἄγεσκον ὀρτὴν, τῇ ἔθεντο οὐνομα Πανώνια. πε- Names of Hellenic festivals all end in the same letter. πόνθασι δὲ οὐτι μοῖναι αἱ Ἴωνων ὀρταὶ τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἑλλήνων πάντων ὁμοίως πᾶσαι εἰ τῶντὸ γράμμα τελευτῶσι, κατὰπερ τῶν Περσέων τὰ οὐνόματα<sup>103</sup>.

Αὗται μὲν αἱ Ἰάδες πόλεις εἰσι. αἶδε δὲ αἱ Αἰολίδες, Κύμη ἡ 149 Φρικωνὶς καλεομένη, Δήρισαι, Νέον τείχος, Τήμνος, Κίλλα, Νό- Æolian towns on the main formerly twelve, afterwards eleven, τιον, Αἰγυρόεσσα, Πιτάνη, Αἰγαίαι, Μύρινα, Γρύνεια· αὗται ἔνδεκα Αἰολέων πόλεις αἱ ἀρχαῖαι· μία γάρ σφεν παρελύθη ὑπὸ Ἴωνων, Σμύρνη ἦσαν γὰρ καὶ αὗται δυνώδεκα αἱ ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ. οἱτοὶ δὲ οἱ Αἰολέες χώρην μὲν ἔτυχον κτίσαντες ἀμείνω Ἴωνων, ὠρέων δὲ

<sup>101</sup> ἀλλὰ γὰρ περιέχονται . . . ἄγουσι ὀρτὴν. "But seeing that they cling to the name more than the rest of the Ionians, and are (let us grant it) those of them who are of pure descent, Ionians; yet *all* are Ionians who came of Athenian extraction and keep the Apaturia festival." Herodotus is, throughout this and the last two sections, obviously controverting some current theory, which apparently accounted for the separation of these twelve Ionian cities from the rest by alleging the superior purity of their blood. His argument seems to be this: 1. The inhabitants of these towns are a most mixed race, having no pretension to pure descent. 2. Granting those who are of pure descent to be Ionians, this name implies nothing more than Athenian extraction and the

observance of the Apaturia. Now the Athenians were notoriously a union of almost all races, and did not themselves care to be regarded as Ionian. Therefore, under no circumstances can a distinctive character belong to these twelve cities. With regard to the point at issue, see note on vii. 94.

<sup>102</sup> τῆς ἡπείρου ἄκρῃ . . . Σάμῳ, "a headland of the main trending westward, off Samos." This is just the description which would be given of the site by a mariner who passed between Samos and the main from the south. As he hugged the shore, the island would appear *touchèd* by the promontory, till a sufficient westing was made to open out the channel.

<sup>103</sup> κατὰπερ τῶν Περσέων τὰ οὐνόματα. See above, § 139.

150 ἤκουσαν οὐκ ὁμοίως. Σμύρνην δὲ ὠδε ἀπέβαλον<sup>304</sup> Αἰολέες. Κο-  
 λοφωνίους ἀνδρας στάσι ἐσσωθέντας καὶ ἐκπεσόντας ἐκ τῆς πατρί-  
 dos ὑπεδέξαντο· μετὰ δὲ οἱ φυγάδες τῶν Κολοφωνίων φυλάξαντες  
 τοὺς Σμυρναίους ὀρτὴν ἔξω τέλχεος ποιευμένους Διονύσῳ, τὰς  
 πύλας ἀποκλητῶσάντες ἔσχον τὴν πόλιν βοηθησάντων δὲ πάντων  
 Αἰολέων, ὁμολογίῃ ἐχρήσαντο, τὰ ἐπιπλα ἀποδόντων τῶν Ἴωνων  
 ἐκλιπεῖν Σμύρνην Αἰολέας· ποιησάντων δὲ ταῦτα Σμυρναίων,  
 ἐπιδιελόντό σφεας αἱ ἑνδεκα πόλεις, καὶ ἐποιήσαντο σφέων  
 αὐτέων πολίτας. Αὗται μὲν νυν αἱ ἡπειρώτιδες Αἰολίδες πόλεις,  
 ἔξω τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰδῷ οἰκημένων<sup>305</sup>. κεχωριῖσθαι γὰρ αὗται· αἱ δὲ τὰς  
 νήσους ἔχουσαι, πέντε μὲν πόλεις τὴν Λέσβον νέμονται· τὴν γὰρ  
 ἔκτῃ ἐν τῇ Λέσβῳ οἰκομένην Ἀρίσβαν ἡνδραπόδισαν Μηθυμναῖοι  
 ἐόντας ὁμαίμους· ἐν Τενέδῳ δὲ μία οἰκέεται πόλις, καὶ ἐν τῇσι  
 Ἑκατοννήσοις<sup>306</sup> καλεομένησι ἄλλη μία.

Λεσβίοις<sup>307</sup> μὲν νυν καὶ Τενεδίοις<sup>308</sup>, κατάπερ Ἴωνων τοῖσι τὰς

151  
 Ἰολίαν  
 towns in  
 Ida and in  
 the islands.

<sup>304</sup> ὠδε ἀπέβαλον. The date of this transaction is approximately fixed by Herodotus (i. 16). It must have happened before the reign of Halyattes,—at least if we suppose that the accounts in these two passages belong to the same cycle of traditions. The history given by STRABO of the fortunes of this city is worth reading as a specimen of a cento of diverse traditions. According to him, a part of the city *Ephesus* was called 'Smyrna,' from the Amazon of that name who had occupied it. CALLINUS, in his hymn to Zeus, called its inhabitants *Σμυρναῖους*, and HIPPOCRATES defined the district called by that name as lying between *Λέκρη ἀκτὴ* and *Τραχέια*. The inhabitants of the district made an expedition against the town (the site of the 'Smyrna' of Strabo's time), then held by Leleges, and, expelling them, built a town ('Old-Smyrna') about two miles off. Afterwards they were expelled by Æolians; but they took refuge in Colophon, and by the help of the Colophonians recovered the town. As evidence for this last statement, Strabo quotes MIMNERMUS's Nanno. But the passage he cites points to yet another tradition, agreeing with Strabo's story only in the fact of the capture of the town. It represents the captors as proceeding from "Neleian Pylius in ships to Asia, as storming Colophon, and from thence capturing Æolian Smyrna" (xiv. p. 164),

so uncertain are all details relative to the colonization of these Asiatic cities.

<sup>305</sup> ἔξω τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰδῷ οἰκημένων. See the note on v. 94, *ὁπίσω ἐς Σίγειον*.

<sup>306</sup> Ἑκατοννήσοις. The Hecaton-nesi are a group of small islands, from twenty to forty in number, lying between Lesbos and the main. The name is, according to STRABO, equivalent to *Ἀπολλων-νήσοι*, the whole of the Asiatic coast in this part being full of the worship of Apollo, with the different surnames of Smintheus, Cilixæus, or Gryneus (xiii. c. 2, p. 140). The name Hecatus is the masculine of Hecate, and is a name given to the sun-god in *Il. i. 385*. HESYCHIUS gives *Ἐκάτης νῆσος* as the name of an island off the coast of Lesbos. Probably the two heads on the coins of Tenedos (see note 508) were those of Hecatus and Hecate (Helios and Selene). See note on vi. 97.

<sup>307</sup> Λεσβίοις. The thread of the narrative interrupted in § 143 is here resumed.

<sup>308</sup> Τενεδίοις. . . ἦν δὲ τὸν οὐδέν. The distance of Tenedos from the main was, however, so small (being only forty *stadia*, or about that of the Isle of Wight from Portsmouth) as scarcely to constitute a security. Accordingly, the Persians, when they got a fleet, appear to have over-run it without trouble (vi. 31). Its proximity to the coast gave rise to the existence of a large population employed as fer-

νήσους ἔχουσι, ἣν δεινὸν οὐδέν· τῇσι δὲ λοιπῇσι πόλινσι ἔαδε  
 κοινῇ<sup>109</sup> Ἴωσι ἐπεσθαι τῇ ἂν οὗτοι ἐξηγέωνται. Ὡς δὲ ἀπικέατο 152  
 ἐς τὴν Σπάρτην τῶν Ἰώνων καὶ Αἰολέων<sup>110</sup> οἱ ἄγγελοι, (κατὰ γὰρ Ionian and  
 δὴ τάχος ἦν ταῦτα πρὸςσόμενα,) εἴλοντο πρὸ πάντων λέγειν τὸν embassy to  
 Φωκαέα<sup>111</sup>, τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Πύθερμος· ὃ δὲ πορφύρεόν τε εἶμα περι- Lacedæ-  
 βαλόμενος ὡς ἂν πυρθανόμενοι πλείστοι συνέλθοιεν Σπαρτιηγένων, mon  
 καὶ καταστάς, ἔλεγε πολλὰ τιμωρέειν ἐωυτοῖσι χρήζων Λακεδαί- fails in ob-  
 μόνιοι δὲ οὐκ ὡς ἤκουον, ἀλλ' ἀπέδοξε σφί μὴ τιμωρέειν Ἴωσι. οἱ cour.  
 μὲν δὴ ἀπαλλάσσοντο· Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἀπωσάμενοι τῶν Ἰώνων  
 τοὺς ἀγγέλους, ὅμως ἀπέστειλαν πεντηκοντέρῳ ἄνδρας, ὡς μὲν  
 ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, κατασκόπους τῶν τε Κύρου πρηγμάτων καὶ Ἰωνίης  
 ἀπικόμενοι δὲ οὗτοι ἐς Φώκαιαν<sup>112</sup>, ἔπεμπον ἐς Σάρδις σφέων The Lacedæ-  
 αὐτῶν τὸν δοκιμώτατον, τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Λακρήνης, ἀπερέοντα Κύρῳ demonians  
 Λακεδαιμονίων ῥήσιν, “γῆς τῆς Ἑλλάδος μηδεμίαν πόλιν σιναμω- send a  
 ρέειν, ὡς αὐτῶν οὐ περιοσφόμενων.” Ταῦτα εἰπόντος τοῦ κήρυκος, threatening  
 λέγεται Κύρον ἐπείρεσθαι τοὺς παρεόντας οἱ Ἑλλήνων “τίνες 153  
 ἐόντες ἄνθρωποι Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ κόσιοι πλήθος, ταῦτα ἐωυτῷ Sardia, and  
 προσαγορεύουσι;” πυρθανόμενον δὲ μιν εἰπεῖν πρὸς τὸν κήρυκα τὸν are con-  
 Σπαρτιήτην “οὐκ ἔδεισά κω ἄνδρας τοιούτους, τοῖσι ἐστὶ χώρος tumelessly  
 treated by  
 Cyprus,

rymen, to such an extent as to impress a marked character on the Commons, just as the ναυτιᾶς ὄχλος did in Athens, the fishermen in Tarentum and Byzantium, the traders in Ægina and Chios (ARISTOT. *Politic.* iv. p. 1291, lin. 23), and the *lazzaroni* do in modern Naples. The landing-place on the main was a little south of Sigeum (STRABO, xiii. c. 1, p. 116). The tutelary divinity of Tenedos was Apollo-Sminthus, and the image carried a *πέλεκυς* in the hand. The coins of Tenedos bore the *πέλεκυς* on one side, and on the other a male and female head. Various reasons were assigned for this (ARISTIDES and ARISTOTEL. *ap. Steph. Byz. sub v. Τένεδος*). But see note 506.

<sup>109</sup> *ἔαδε κοινῇ*. There is no trace of any confederacy among the Æolian cities, by which opportunity for such a common deliberation as is here mentioned might be afforded. Neither in the issue does it appear that there was any combined action of the Ionians themselves,—far less any organization in which the Æolians were united with them. See § 169, of ἄλλοι: “*ἴσως πλὴν Μιλησίων κ.τ.λ. περὶ τῆς*

*ἑωυτοῦ ἕκαστος μαχόμενοι*, and the advice of Thales, § 170.

<sup>110</sup> καὶ Αἰολέων. See above, note 476.

<sup>111</sup> τὸν Φωκαέα. By the use of the article we may suppose that a delegate was sent from each of the members of the confederation. Thus ὁ Ἀδων is “the Laconian delegate,” vii. 161; ὁ Τρυεάτης, “the Tegean leader,” ix. 27.

<sup>112</sup> ἐς Φώκαιαν. The more convenient port for Sardis would have been Ephesus, the point where the Athenian expedition touched which subsequently invaded and burnt the town (v. 100), and where in latter times commercial travellers took ship for Europe (v. 54). But perhaps, before the destruction of Phocæa, the magnitude of that place may have made it the ordinary port for Asiatic traffic. Its importance seems proved by the fact of the Phocæan deputy being put forward to speak on behalf of the whole embassy. And this very importance suggests a suspicion that its ruin may not have been altogether unwelcome at the time to some of its Hellenic commercial rivals. See note 542, below.

ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλει ἀποδεδεγμένοι, ἐς τὸν συλλεγόμενοι ἀλλήλους ὁμοῦντες ἐξαπατῶσι τοῖσι, ἣν ἐγὼ ὑγιαίνω, οὐ τὰ Ἴωνων πάθεα ἔσται ἔλλεσχα<sup>113</sup>, ἀλλὰ τὰ οἰκήρια." ταῦτα ἐς τοὺς πάντας Ἑλληνας ἀπέριψε ὁ Κύρος τὰ ἔπεα, ὅτι ἀγορὰς κτησάμενοι ὥνῃ τε καὶ πρήσει χρέωνται· αὐτοὶ γὰρ οἱ Πέρσαι ἀγορήσι οὐδὲν ἐώθασιν χρῆσθαι, οὐδὲ σφί ἐστι τὸ παρῆπαν ἀγορή. μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπιτρέψας τὰς μὲν Σάρδις Ταβάλφ ἀνδρὶ Πέρσῃ, τὸν δὲ χρυσὸν τὸν τε Κροίσου καὶ τὸν τῶν ἄλλων Λυδῶν<sup>114</sup> Πακτίῃ ἀνδρὶ Λυδῷ κομίζεω, ἀπήλαινε αὐτὸς ἐς Ἀγβάτανα<sup>115</sup>, Κροίσον τε ἅμα ἀγόμενος καὶ τοὺς Ἴωνας ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ κειρησάμενος τὴν πρώτην εἶναι<sup>116</sup>. ἣ τε γὰρ Βαβυλών οἱ ἦν ἐμπόδιος, καὶ τὸ Βάκτριον ἔθνος, καὶ Σάκαι τε καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι<sup>117</sup>. ἐπ' οὗς ἐπέλχεε<sup>118</sup> στρατηλατέω αὐτὸς, ἐπὶ δὲ Ἴωνας ἄλλον πέμπειν στρατηγόν.

who returns to Agbatana, taking Croesus with him.

154

The Lydians revolt, and Pactyas

Ὡς δὲ ἀπηλάσε ὁ Κύρος ἐκ τῶν Σαρδίων, τοὺς Λυδοὺς ἀπέστησε ὁ Πακτίης ἀπὸ τε Ταβάλου καὶ Κύρου· καταβὰς δὲ ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, ἅτε τὸν χρυσὸν ἔχων πάντα τὸν ἐκ τῶν Σαρδίων, ἐπικεύρους τε

<sup>113</sup> ἔλλεσχα, "matter of chit-chat," subjects for the λέσχη. For the exact sense of this word, which has been much mistaken, see note on ix. 71. In addition to what is there said, it may be observed that the word λέσχη appears to be especially Dorian. Its epithet ἐνυαλῆς is nothing more than the Doric form of ἐφελιος, and the statement of the SCHOLIAST on HESIOD, "Erg. 491, "that there were regulations as to the subjects of conversation in the λέσχη, with a view to the improvement of the company," can only be true of Dorian states. PAUSANIAS says that the building ornamented by Polygnotus at Delphi was called by the name of λέσχη, ὅτι ἐστὶ αὐτὰ συνιόντες τὸ ἀρχαῖον τὰ τε σπουδαιότερα διελέγοντο καὶ δόξα μνησθή (x. 25, 1). The Boeotians gave the name of λέσχη to the κοῖνα δευπηγήρια. (Leisikon Guedianum, sub v.)

<sup>114</sup> τὸν τε Κροίσον καὶ τὸν τῶν ἄλλων Λυδῶν. See note 521.

<sup>115</sup> ἐς Ἀγβάτανα. See note on iii. 30, ἐς Πέρσας.

<sup>116</sup> τὴν πρώτην εἶναι. It is not easy to understand this expression, and perhaps the true reading is τὴν πρώτην εἶναι. In this case the ellipse would be of the word εἶδεν. A somewhat similar phrase occurs in iii. 134: ἐς Χαΐδας μὲν τὴν πρώτην εἶναι ἕκαστον.

<sup>117</sup> καὶ τὸ Βάκτριον ἔθνος, καὶ Σάκαι τε καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι. In the continuation of Cyrus's history no mention is made of his campaigns against any of these nations. Perhaps they were omitted as not being well adapted for combination with the main narrative. But the mention of the Egyptians suggests another difficulty. According to the Egyptian accounts, the insult put upon the Persian king by Amasis, in sending a substitute for his own daughter, was one of which Cyrus was the subject, Cambyses being, according to their statement, the issue of this very connexion (iii. 2). It would almost seem that here the author is following the Egyptian tradition, although in the third book he rejects it, and adopts the Persian account. Certainly, in iii. 1-4, there is nothing to lead one to suppose that any hostilities had taken place between Persia and Egypt before the rupture with Cambyses.

CYRUS made the war against the Bactrians and the Sacæ take place before the expedition into Lydia, but said nothing of the Egyptian war. (Ap. Photium, Biblioth. p. 36.)

<sup>118</sup> ἐπέλχεε. The MSS and Geisford have ἐπελχέ τε. The reading in the text is the conjecture of Battmann. It is defended by the analogy of ἐπελχέ, § 118. For the ellipse see note 280, above.



ἐμισθοῦτο καὶ τοὺς ἐπιβαλασσίους ἀνθρώπους ἔπειθε σὺν ἑαυτῷ <sup>basileus</sup> στρατεύεσθαι· ἐλάσας δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς Σάρδεις ἐπολιόρκει Τάβαλον <sup>Tabalus in</sup> ἀπεργμῆνον ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει. Πυθόμενος δὲ κατ' ὁδὸν ταῦτα ὁ <sup>Sardis.</sup> 155  
Κύρος, εἶπε πρὸς Κροίσαν τάδε· “Κροίσει, τί ἔσται τὸ τέλος τῶν  
γινομένων τούτων ἐμοί; οὐ παύσονται Λυδοί, ὡς οἴκῃσι, πρήγματα  
παρέχοντες καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔχοντες. φρουρίζω, μὴ ἄριστον ἢ ἐξανδρα-  
ποδίσασθαι σφεας. ὁμοίως γάρ μοι εἴν γε φαίνομαι πεποιθέναι,  
ὡς εἰ τις πατέρα ἀποκτείνας τῶν παιδῶν αὐτοῦ φείσεται<sup>110</sup>. ὡς δὲ  
καὶ ἐγὼ Λυδῶν τὸν μὲν πλεον τι ἢ πατέρα εἶντα σὲ λαβὼν ἄγω,  
αὐτοῖσι δὲ Λυδοῖσι τὴν πόλιν παρέδωκα· καὶ ἔπειτα θωμάζω εἰ  
μοι ἀπεστᾶσι;” ὁ μὲν δὴ τὰ περ νῦν εἶλεγε· ὁ δ' ἀμείβετο τοῖσδε,  
δείσας μὴ ἀναστάτους ποιῆσῃ τὰς Σάρδεις· “ὦ βασιλεῦ, τὰ μὲν  
οἰκίτα εἴρηκας· σὺ μέντοι μὴ πάντα θυμῷ χρέω, μηδὲ πόλιν  
ἀρχαίην ἐξαναστήσης ἀναμάρτητον εὐῶσαν καὶ τῶν πρότερον καὶ  
τῶν νῦν ἑστωῶτων· τὰ μὲν γὰρ πρότερον ἐγὼ τε ἔπρηξα, καὶ ἐγὼ  
ἐμὴ κεφαλῇ ἀναμάξας<sup>111</sup> φέρω· τὰ δὲ νῦν παρόντα, Πακτύης γάρ  
ἐστὶ ὁ ἀδικοῦν τῷ σὺν ἐπέτρεψας Σάρδεις<sup>112</sup>, αὐτὸς δότω τοι δίκην.  
Λυδοῖσι δὲ συγγνώμην ἔχων τάδε αὐτοῖσι ἐπύταξον, ὡς μήτε ἀπο- <sup>Cressus's</sup>  
στέωσι μήτε δεινοὶ τοι ᾄωσι· ἄπειπε μὲν σφί πέμψας ὅπλα ἀρήϊα <sup>advice to</sup>  
μὴ ἐκτῆσθαι· κέλευε δὲ σφεας κιθωνάς τε ὑποδύμεν τοῖσι εἰμασι <sup>Cyrus for</sup>  
καὶ κοθόρνους ὑποδέεσθαι<sup>113</sup>. πρόειπε δ' αὐτοῖσι κιθαρίζειν τε καὶ <sup>securing</sup>  
<sup>Lydia.</sup>

<sup>110</sup> ὡς εἰ τις πατέρα ἀποκτείνας τῶν παιδῶν αὐτοῦ φείσεται. This is an allusion to the proverb, expressed in an hexameter verse, ascribed by later writers to Stasinus, but quoted by ARISTOTLE (*Rhet.* i. p. 1376) merely as a current saw:

νήπιος δὲ πατέρα κτείνας παῖδας καταλείπει.

See note on § 32, and on II. 160, ἐπὶ τοῦτον δὴ τὸν ὄμιον.

<sup>111</sup> ἀναμάξας. See *Odyss.* xix. 92: ἔρδονσα μέγα ἔργον, ὃ σὴ κεφαλῇ ἀναμάξεις.

<sup>112</sup> τῷ σὺν ἐπέτρεψας Σάρδεις. This is not a perfectly accurate expression, if tested by what Herodotus says above, § 153. Pactyas appears in that passage to have been left in the capacity of commissioner, merely to collect and transmit the gold actually existing in Lydia. But it seems likely that the Persian monarch, under the circumstances of the case, would confiscate the property of the Lydian sove-

rein, and impose a heavy mulct upon the population, and that the duty of Pactyas was to convert all this into money and transmit it to Agbatana. This function would require him to be invested with large judicial and executive powers, to determine (for instance) debts due to the exchequer, to assess the value of particular properties, and transfer confiscated lands. With all these duties on his hands, he might fitly be described as the *ἐπίτροπος* of Cyrus: although one who, from any reason, looked upon the transaction as nothing else than the plunder of a country, would represent his office in the terms used above in § 153.

<sup>113</sup> κοθόρνους ὑποδέεσθαι. The cothurnus was a boot with a very thick sole,—an effectual protection against any injury to the foot from stones, thorns, or other annoyance. To wear the cothurnus would therefore be the opposite extreme to going bare-footed; and, as the one would be an

ψάλλειν καὶ καπηλεύειν παιδεύειν τοὺς παῖδας· καὶ ταχέως σφέας, ὡ βασιλεῦ, γυναικας ἀντ' ἀνδρῶν ὄψαι γεγονότας, ὥστε οὐδὲν  
 156 δεινοί τοι ἔσονται μὴ ἀποστῶσι." Κροῖσος μὲν δὴ ταῦτά οἱ ὑπε-  
 τίθετο, αἰρετώτερα ταῦτα εὐρίσκων Λυδοῖσι ἢ ἀνδραποδισθέντας  
 πρὴθῆναι σφέας· ἐπιστάμενος ὅτι ἦν μὴ ἀξιώχρεων πρόφασιν προ-  
 τεῖν, οὐκ ἀναπεῖσει μιν μεταβουλεύσασθαι, ἀρρωδέων δὲ μὴ καὶ  
 ὑστερόν κοτε οἱ Λυδοί, ἦν τὸ παρεὸν ὑπεκδράμωσι, ἀποστάντες  
 ἀπὸ τῶν Περσέων ἀπόλωνται. Κύρος δὲ ἡσθείς τῇ ὑποθήκῃ, καὶ  
 ὑπείς τῆς ὀργῆς<sup>155</sup>, ἔφη οἱ πείθεσθαι. καλέσας δὲ Μαζάρεα ἄνδρα  
 Μῆδον, ταῦτά οἱ ἐνετείλατο προεπεῖν Λυδοῖσι τὰ ὃ Κροῖσος  
 ὑπετίθετο· καὶ πρὸς, ἐξανδραποδίσασθαι τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας  
 οἱ μετὰ Λυδῶν ἐπὶ Σάρδις ἐστρατεύσαντο, αὐτὸν δὲ Πακτὴν  
 πάντως ζῶντα ἀγαγεῖν παρ' ἐωυτὸν.

Cyrus  
 assents,  
 detaching  
 Mazares  
 with a mili-  
 tary force to  
 execute the  
 plan, and  
 secure Pactyas.

157 Ὅ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐντειλάμενος, ἀπήλαυε ἐς ἥθεα τὰ  
 Περσέων<sup>156</sup>. Πακτύης δὲ πυθόμενος ἀγγχοῦ εἶναι στρατὸν ἐπ'  
 ἐωυτὸν ἰόντα, δείσας φῆχτο φεύγων ἐς Κύμην. Μαζάρης δὲ ὃ  
 Μῆδος ἐλάσας ἐπὶ τὰς Σάρδις τοῦ Κύρου στρατοῦ μοῖραν ὀση-  
 δήκοτε<sup>157</sup> ἔχων, ὥς οὐκ εὔρε ἔτι ἔοντας τοὺς ἀμφὶ Πακτὴν ἐν  
 Σάρδισι, πρῶτα μὲν τοὺς Λυδοὺς ἠνάγκασε τὰς Κύρου ἐντολὰς  
 ἐπιτελέειν ἐκ τούτου δὲ κελευσμοσύνης Λυδοί τὴν πᾶσαν δίαταν  
 τῆς ζῆς μετέβαλον. Μαζάρης δὲ μετὰ τούτου ἔπεμπε ἐς τὴν  
 Κύμην ἀγγέλους, ἐκδιδόναι κελεύων Πακτὴν· οἱ δὲ Κυμαῖοι  
 ἔγνωσαν, συμβουλῆς πέρι ἐς θεὸν ἀνῶσαι<sup>158</sup> τὸν ἐν Βραγχιδῆσι· ἦν  
 γὰρ αὐτόθι μαντήιον ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἰδρυμένον<sup>159</sup>, τῷ Ἰωνές τε πάντες

Pactyas  
 takes refuge  
 in Cuma;

is demanded  
 by Mazares.

indication of hardihood, the other would equally symbolize luxury. See the note on § 55. The wearing a χιτὼν under the εἶμα was a part of the same habit. For a similar policy to that of Croesus, said to be pursued by Sesostris in Egypt, see note on ii. 35, ὑφαίνουσι. The contrary course of conduct in the ascetic Christians of the second century gave rise to the proverb, "a togā ad pallium," applied to such as made a great sacrifice of comfort.

<sup>155</sup> ὄρεσις τῆς ὀργῆς, "relaxing somewhat in his wrath."

<sup>156</sup> ἐς ἥθεα τὰ Περσέων, "to his home in Persia." This expression, however, is to be taken very largely; for it appears from § 44 that it was to Agbatana he went. It is remarkable that Agbatana is spoken of as the seat of government of

Cyrus and his son Cambyses (see iii. 64), but Susa as that of Darius and his son Xerxes. See vi. 119; iii. 129; vii. 3; ix. 108.

<sup>157</sup> μοῖραν ὀσηδῆκοτε, "a certain part, whatever it was." Herodotus's account gave no report of the strength of the division detached with Mazares; and therefore he uses the expression in the text. Similarly, the story related by him of Periander and his son did not contain the specification of the amount of fine to be levied on those who held converse with the young man, and hence he calls it ὀσην δῆ. See i. 160; and iii. 52.

<sup>158</sup> ἀνῶσαι. The infinitive mood of the aorist in place of the more usual ἀνερεῖται. The verbal ἀνῶσθαι appears in vi. 66.

<sup>159</sup> μαντήιον ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἰδρυμένον. The

καὶ Διολῆες ἐώθεσαν χρέεσθαι ὁ δὲ χῶρος οὗτος ἐστὶ τῆς Μη-  
λησίης ὑπὲρ Πανόρμου λιμένος. Πέμπαντες ὧν οἱ Κυμαῖοι ἐς 158  
τοὺς Βραγχίδας<sup>158</sup> θεοπρόπους, εἰρώτεον περὶ Πακτύην οὐκοῦν τι  
ποίοντες θεοῖσι μέλλοιεν χαριῖσθαι; ἐπειρωτῶσι δὲ σφι ταῦτα  
χρηστήριον ἐγένετο “ἐκδιδόναι Πακτύην Πέρσῃσι.” ταῦτα δὲ ὡς  
ἀπενειχθέντα ἤκουσαν οἱ Κυμαῖοι, ὀρμέατο ἐκδιδόναι· ὀρμεωμένοι  
δὲ ταύτῃ τοῦ πλήθεος, Ἀριστόδικος ὁ Ἡρακλείδῃ, ἀνὴρ τῶν  
ἀστῶν ἐὼν δόκιμος, ἔσχε μὴ ποιῆσαι ταῦτα Κυμαίους, ἀπιστέων τε  
τῷ χρησμῷ καὶ δοκέων τοὺς θεοπρόπους οὐ λέγειν ἀληθῆς, ἐς δὲ τὸ  
δεύτερον περὶ Πακτύῃ ἐπειρησόμενοι ἦσαν ἄλλοι θεοπρόποι, τῶν  
καὶ Ἀριστόδικος ἦν. Ἀπικομένων δὲ ἐς Βραγχίδας, ἐχρηστηριά- 159  
ζετο ἐκ πάντων Ἀριστόδικος ἐπειρωτέων τάδε “ὦναξ, ἦλθε παρ’  
ἡμέας ἱκέτης Πακτύης ὁ Λυδὸς, φεύγων θάνατον βίαιον πρὸς Περ-  
σέων· οἱ δὲ μιν ἐξαίτεονταί, προεῖναι Κυμαίους κελύοντες· ἡμεῖς  
δὲ δειμαίνοντες τὴν Περσέων δύναμιν, τὸν ἱκέτην ἐς τόδε οὐ τετολ-  
μήκαμεν ἐκδιδόναι, πρὶν ἂν τὸ ἀπὸ σεῦ ἡμῖν δηλωθῇ ἀτρεκέως  
ὁκότερα ποίωμεν.” ὁ μὲν ταῦτα ἐπειρώτα· ὁ δ’ αὖτις τὸν αὐτὸν  
σφι χρησμὸν ἔφαινε, κελύων ἐκδιδόναι Πακτύην Πέρσῃσι· πρὸς  
ταῦτα ὁ Ἀριστόδικος ἐκ προνοίης ἐποίησε τάδε περιῶν τὸν νηὸν  
κύκλῳ ἐξαίρει τοὺς στρουθοὺς καὶ ἄλλα ὅσα ἦν νεοσσευμένα  
ὀρνίθων γένεα ἐν τῷ νηῷ· ποίοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα, λέγεται  
φωνὴν ἐκ τοῦ αἵτου γενέσθαι, φέρουσαν μὲν πρὸς τὸν Ἀριστό-  
δικον λέγουσαν δὲ τάδε “ἀνοσιώτατε ἀνθρώπων, τί τάδε τολμᾷς  
ποιεῖν; τοὺς ἱκέτας μου ἐκ τοῦ νηοῦ κεραῖεις;” Ἀριστόδικον δὲ  
οὐκ ἀπορήσαντα, πρὸς ταῦτα εἰπεῖν “ὦναξ, αὐτὸς μὲν οὕτω τοῖσι

The Cumans consult the oracle at Branchidae, which orders them to give up Pactyas.

159  
Aristodicus procures a different response.

antiquity of the oracle is further manifested from the peculiarly archaic style of the statues which ornamented the temple. A road led from it to the sea, bordered on each side with statues on chairs of a single block of stone, with the feet close together, and the hands upon the knees, the exact counterpart of the avenues leading up to the Egyptian temples (LEAKE, *Asia Minor*, p. 239). Necho, king of Egypt, was said to have made an offering to Apollo here (ii. 159). Perhaps enough remained of the Oriental character of the original ritual, to render the priests not averse to take part with the Persians at the time of Xerxes's invasion, as they were reported to have done. He is said to

have carried them off with their own good-will, and established them on one of the high rocks of Bactriana (STRABO, xi. c. 11, p. 441). Alexander destroyed the Bactrian Branchidae two hundred years afterwards, to show his zeal against sacrilege and treason. Seleucus, with a better judgment, sent back to Greece the brazen statue of the god, which Xerxes had conveyed to Agbatana (PAUSAN. i. 16, 5). See note 327.

<sup>158</sup> τοὺς Βραγχίδας. This is the reading of all the MSS. In i. 92, the word is used, not to signify the college of priests, but the oracle itself, and is put in the feminine gender. So it is in ii. 159.

ικέτησι βοηθίεις, Κυμαίους δὲ κελεύεις τὸν ἰκέτην ἐκδίδουαι ;” τὸν δὲ αὐτὺς ἀμείψασθαι τοῖσδε “ναὶ κελεύω, ὡς γε ἀσεβήσαντες θάσσον ἀπόλησθε”<sup>329</sup>. ὥς μὴ τὸ λοιπὸν περὶ ἰκετέων ἐκδόσιος ἔλθῃτε ἐπὶ τὸ χρηστήριον.” Ταῦτα ὡς ἀπενειχθέντα ἤκουσαν οἱ Κυμαῖοι, οὐ βουλόμενοι οὔτε ἐκδόντες ἀπολέσθαι οὔτε παρ’ ἐνυτοῖσι ἔχοντες πολιορκέεσθαι, ἐς Μυτιλήνην αὐτὸν ἐκπέμπουσιν· οἱ δὲ Μυτιληναῖοι, ἐπενέμποντος τοῦ Μαζάρους ἀγγελίας ἐκδίδουαι τὸν Πακτύν, παρσκευάζοντο ἐπὶ μισθῷ ὅσῳ δὴ<sup>330</sup>. οὐ γὰρ ἔχω τοῦτό γε εἰπεῖν ἀτρεκέως· οὐ γὰρ ἐτελεύθη· Κυμαῖοι γὰρ ὡς ἔμαθον ταῦτα πρησόμενα ἐκ τῶν Μυτιληναίων, πέμψαντες πλοῖον ἐς Λέσβον ἐκκομίζουσι Πακτύν ἐς Χίον· ἐνθούτεν δὲ, ἐξ ἱροῦ Ἀθηναίων Πολιούχου ἀποσπασθεὶς ὑπὸ Χίων ἐξεδόθη· ἐξέδοσαν δὲ οἱ Χίοι ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀταρνεί μισθῷ· τοῦ δὲ Ἀταρνέος τούτου ἐστὶ χώρος τῆς Μυσῆς, Λέσβου ἀντίος. Πακτύν μὲν νυν παραδεξάμενοι<sup>331</sup> οἱ Πέρσαι εἶχον ἐν φυλακῇ, θέλοντες Κύρῳ ἀποδέξαι. ἦν δὲ χρόνος οὗτος<sup>332</sup> οὐκ ὀλίγος γενόμενος, ὅτε Χίων οὐδεὶς ἐκ τοῦ Ἀταρνέος τούτου οὔτε οὐλὰς κριθῶν πρόχυσιν ἐποιέετο θάων οὐδενί, οὔτε πέμματα ἐπέσσετο καρποῦ τοῦ ἐνθούτεν, ἀπείχετό τε τῶν πάντων ἱρῶν τὰ πάντα ἐκ τῆς χώρας ταύτης γνωόμενα.

161

Χίοι μὲν νυν Πακτύν ἐξέδοσαν. Μαζάρης δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα

<sup>329</sup> ὡς γε ἀσεβήσαντες θάσσον ἀπόλησθε. One might almost suspect that the response of the oracle terminated with this ambiguous phrase, and that what follows is the ingenious interpretation added by Aristodicus. See the note on v. 36: ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν λόγων.

<sup>330</sup> ἐπὶ μισθῷ ὅσῳ δὴ, “for a certain price, whatever the sum was.” See note 526.

<sup>331</sup> Πακτύν μὲν νυν παραδεξάμενοι. CHARON of Lampascus related the fate of Pactyas in very few and general terms: Πακτῆς δὲ ἐς ἐπύθετο προσελάβοντα τὸν Περσικὸν φέροντο φεύγοντι ἔστι μὲν εἰς Μυτιλήνην, ἔπειτα δὲ εἰς Χίον· καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐκρέτησε Κύρης. It is plain that there is no incompatibility between these accounts. In fact, as Cyrus at this time had no fleet, he could not have secured Pactyas but for his extradition by the Chians. All that follows from the comparison of the two passages is that Herodotus followed some authority besides Charon; not that he did not read him; much less that the two accounts are at variance with each other.

<sup>332</sup> ἦν δὲ χρόνος οὗτος οὐκ ὀλίγος γενόμενος, ὅτε κ.τ.λ. It is very difficult to explain this phrase on the supposition that no corruption of the text has taken place. Herodotus appears to desire to say, that long after the extradition of Pactyas none of the produce of Atarneus was ever used by the Chians for sacred purposes, on the ground apparently of a curse being supposed to cleave to a territory purchased by so sinful an act. But the word οὗτος is, on this supposition, apparently superfluous, and it is not easy to account for its insertion by any error of transcription. If οὗτος be genuine, the word ὅτε must be taken in the sense of ἐξ ὅτου, and then there results the sense that “at this period a long time had elapsed since” the Chians had refused to use the produce of Atarneus as aforesaid. But no reason can be assigned why the place should be under ban, at the time the Chians bargained for it; or why, under such circumstances, they should at all desire to possess it. I have little doubt that the passage is corrupt, but can suggest no conjecture less violent than striking out the word οὗτος.

160

The Cumans send Pactyas to Mytilene, and from thence to Chios.

The Chians sell him for Atarneus.

A ban rests upon the land thus gained.

ἐστρατεύετο ἐπὶ τοὺς συμπολιορκήσαντας Τάβαλον<sup>162</sup>· καὶ τοῦτο μὲν Πιρηνέας ἐξηδραποδίσατο, τοῦτο δὲ Μασάνδρου πεδίον πᾶν ἐπέδραμε λήθην ποιούμενος τῷ στρατῷ, Μαγνησίην δὲ ὠσαύτως· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα αὐτίκα νούσφ τελευτᾷ. Ἀποθανόντος δὲ τούτου, 162  
 "Αρπαγος κατέβη διάδοχος τῆς στρατηγίας, γένος καὶ αὐτὸς ἐὼν Μή-  
 δος, (τὸν ὁ Μήδων βασιλεὺς Ἀστυάγης ἀνόμῳ τραπέζῃ ἔδαισε<sup>163</sup>),  
 ὁ τῷ Κύρῳ τὴν βασιλείην συγκατεργασάμενος. οὗτος ὡνὴρ τότε  
 ὑπὸ Κύρου στρατηγὸς ἀποδεχθεὶς ὡς ἀπύκετο ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίην, αἶρεε  
 τὰς πόλεις χῶμασι· ὅπως γὰρ τειχίρεας ποιήσειε, τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν  
 χῶματα χῶν<sup>164</sup> πρὸς τὰ τεύχεα ἐπύρθεε. πρώτη δὲ Φωκαίῃ  
 Ἰωνίης ἐπεχείρησε.

Mazares  
enslaves the  
Prienians,  
and harries  
the plain

162

of the  
Meander  
and Mag-  
nesia.

After his  
death Har-  
pagus suc-  
ceeds, and  
besieges the  
cities, Pho-  
cæans first.

Οἱ δὲ Φωκαῖες οὗτοι ναυτιλίῃσι μακρῇσι πρώτοι Ἑλλήνων 163  
 ἐχρήσαντο· καὶ τὸν τε Ἀδρίην<sup>165</sup> καὶ τὴν Τυρσηνίην καὶ τὴν Ἰβη-  
 ρίην καὶ τὸν Ταρτησσὸν οὗτοί εἰσι οἱ καταδέξαντες ἐναντίλλαντο  
 δὲ οὐ στοργγύλῃσι νηυσὶ ἀλλὰ πεντηκοντέροισι<sup>167</sup>. ἀπικόμενοι

Adven-  
turous spi-  
rit of the  
Phocæans.

<sup>162</sup> ἐπὶ τοῖς συμπολιορκήσαντας Τάβα-  
 λον, "against those who had joined in  
 blockading Tabalus."

<sup>163</sup> τὸν ὁ Μήδων βασιλεὺς Ἀστυάγης ἀνό-  
 μῳ τραπέζῃ ἔδαισε. See above, § 119. Har-  
 pagus must have been of mature age at this  
 time, as he was Astyages's vizier (ἐπίτροπος)  
 at the time of Cyrus's birth. See § 108.

<sup>164</sup> τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν χῶματα χῶν. The  
 mode of taking cities by building a  
 mound in an inclined plane up to the  
 walls, and bringing up on this a tower  
 which overtopped the ramparts, and fur-  
 nished the means of driving the be-  
 siegers from them, was early practised by  
 the Assyrians (see 2 Kings xix. 32), from  
 whom the art probably passed to the  
 Medes and Persians. It is an obvious  
 mode of operation where a very large  
 supply of labour is available, as was the  
 case with the Oriental sovereigns, but  
 was not applicable in the warfare of the  
 Hellenic states, where the numbers of  
 the invading force rarely exceeded that of  
 the besieged by any considerable amount.  
 With the Greeks, the usual mode of  
 taking a town was by an ἐπιχειρισμὸς,  
 i. e. the fortifying and garrisoning of a  
 stronghold in the neighbourhood, from  
 whence continual annoyance was inflicted  
 upon it, until at last the resources of the  
 besieged were exhausted, or their pa-  
 tience gave way. The siege of Troy is  
 an instance of this kind of proceeding.

It is to be remarked of the history

in the text, that a scientific mode of  
 attack does not take place until Harpa-  
 gus, the Mede, takes the command of  
 the Medo-Persian army. Cyrus carries  
 Sardis by a coup-de-main, and Mazares,  
 the Persian, overruns the territory of  
 Magnesia and the valley of the Meander,  
 merely as a plunderer. The town of the  
 Prienians was so small and insignificant a  
 place, that it was not likely to have offered  
 any resistance, if it was attacked.

<sup>165</sup> τὸν τε Ἀδρίην. Wherever Hero-  
 dotus uses this word he uses it alone,  
 and it does not seem certain that the  
 word πόντος is that which is necessary  
 to supply the ellipse. I should rather be  
 disposed to understand the word κόλπος,  
 and to refer the expression to the coast.  
 On this hypothesis there will be nothing  
 strange in the union of the phrase with  
 others which indisputably refer to land.  
 It may denote the coast of Illyria or  
 Istria, where, probably, there was a port  
 at which Phocæan vessels took in com-  
 modities (such as amber, and perhaps  
 tin), which came overland from the north  
 of Europe. (See note on iii. 115.) After  
 the destruction of Phocæa, the Corcyreans  
 would be likely to monopolize the traffic,  
 and thenceforward little would be known  
 of its particulars. (See TRUCYRIDES, i. 37.)

<sup>167</sup> ἀλλὰ πεντηκοντέροισι. The fifty-  
 oared galley was, until the construction of  
 the trireme, the ship of war; and the early  
 transactions of the Greeks partook in

δὲ ἐς τὸν Ταρτησσὸν<sup>338</sup>, προσφιλέες ἐγένοντο τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν Ταρτησσιῶν, τῷ ὄνομα μὲν ἦν Ἀργανθώνιος<sup>339</sup>. ἐτυράννευσε δὲ Ταρτησσοῦ ὀγδώκοντα ἔτεα, ἐβίωσε δὲ πάντα<sup>340</sup> εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν. τούτῳ δὲ τῷ ἀνδρὶ προσφιλέες οἱ Φωκαῖες οὕτω δὴ τι ἐγένοντο, ὥς τὰ μὲν πρῶτὰ σφεας ἐκλιπόντας Ἰωνίην ἐκέλευε τῆς ἐνωτοῦ χώρας οἰκῆσαι ὅκον βούλονται· μετὰ δὲ, ὥς τοῦτό γε οὐκ ἔπειθε τοὺς Φωκαῖας, ὁ δὲ πυθόμενος τὸν Μῆδον<sup>341</sup> παρ' αὐτῶν ὥς αὖξοιτο, ἐδίδου σφί χρήματα τεῖχος περιβαλέσθαι τὴν πόλιν· ἐδίδου δὲ ἀφειδέως· καὶ γὰρ ἡ περίοδος τοῦ τεύχεος οὐκ ὀλίγοι στάδιοι εἰσιν· τοῦτο δὲ πᾶν λίθων μεγάλων καὶ εὖ συναρμοσμένων. Τὸ μὲν δὴ τεῖχος τοῖσι Φωκαῖεσσι τρόπῳ τοιῷδε ἐξεποιήθη. ὁ δὲ Ἄρπαγος ὥς ἐπέλασε τὴν στρατιήν, ἐπολιόρκει αὐτοὺς, προῖσχύμενος ἔπειτα “ὥς οἱ καταχρᾶ, εἰ βούλονται Φωκαῖες προμαχεῶνα ἓνα μόνον τοῦ τεύχεος ἐρεῖψαι, καὶ οἶκημα ἐν κατιρώσαι” οἱ δὲ Φω-

164

They all desert their city rather than submit to Harpagus.

nearly equal proportions of the mercantile and the piratical character.

<sup>338</sup> ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐς τὸν Ταρτησσόν. The account given here seems to rest on a different foundation from the story related in iv. 162. Neither in the one case nor in the other, however, does it appear distinctly whether Tartessus is regarded as a town or a region. The same ambiguity occurs in the mention of it by PHRYCYDES (*Fragm.* 33). STESICHRUS made it a river. The vagueness of the notices in the early Greek writers probably arises from the circumstance that the Phœnicians got the trade with those parts into their hands even before the time of Homer, and held it until Carthage fell before the power of Rome (STRABO, iii. cap. 2). Hellenic enterprise in that direction must have been exceptional and highly hazardous.

<sup>339</sup> τῷ ὄνομα μὲν ἦν Ἀργανθώνιος. It seems not unlikely that this story is derived by Herodotus from CHABON of Lampsacus, one of whose works was a περίπλους τῶν ἐκτὸς τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν στηλῶν (*Suidas*, sub v. Χάβων). According to this historian, the Hellenic population of Lampsacus came from Phœcia as a colony, under two twin-brothers, Phobus and Blepsus, Codridæ by descent. And that the legend in the text should have grown up in the neighbourhood of Lampsacus is rendered probable by the existence in Mysia of a mountain named *Arganthonis* (STEPH. BYZ. sub v.), so called,

it was said, after one Arganthonie, the wife of Rhesus. For the vagueness of the accounts of Tartessus, see the last note.

<sup>340</sup> πάντα. Hermann and Bekker alter the text to τὰ πάντα, which is certainly the proper expression if the author meant to say that Arganthonius lived “in the whole” 120 years. But the text, as it stands, means that he lived “the whole of” that time, i. e. “not less than” 120 years. The long life of the Tartessians was proverbial. ANACREON (*ap. Strabon.* iii. cap. 2) says: ἐγὼ δ' οὐτ' ἂν Ἀμαλθίης βουλομένη κέρας, οὐτ' ἔτη πεντήκοντά τε χακατὸν Ταρτησσοῦ βασιλεύσαι. Strabo himself considers that the being long-lived was ascribed to them as a part of their notorious εὐδαιμονία, which is not unlikely. See the notes on iii. 18, τὴν γῆν αὐτὴν ἀναδιδόνα, and iii. 23, ἐς εἰκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν.

<sup>341</sup> τὸν Μῆδον. It is not necessary to consider that any particular sovereign is here alluded to. “The Mede” is nothing more than “the Median power,” so that the real transaction may be referred to a hundred years before the reign of Cyrus just as well as to that time. Wesseling and Larcher conjecture τὸν Λυδόν, which would, perhaps, be more historically correct; but in the local traditions which prevailed in the time of Herodotus it is likely that “the Mede” would generally be represented as the enemy of the Hellenic settlements on the coast.

καίᾳς περιημεκτέοντες τῇ δουλοσύνῃ, ἔφασαν “θέλειν βουλευσασθαι ἡμέρην μίαν, καὶ ἔπειτα ὑποκρινέσθαι· ἐν ᾧ δὲ βουλεύονται αὐτοὶ, ἀπαγαγεῖν ἐκείνον ἐκέλευον τὴν στρατιὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχεος.” ὁ δ’ Ἀρπαγὸς ἔφη “εἰδέναι μὲν εὖ τὰ ἐκείνοι μέλλοιεν ποιέειν, ὁμῶς δὲ σφί παρίεναι βουλευσασθαι.” ἐν ᾧ ὦν ὁ Ἀρπαγὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχεος ἀπήγαγε τὴν στρατιὴν, οἱ Φωκαῖᾳς ἐν τούτῳ κατασπάσαντες τὰς πεντεκοντέρους, ἐσθέμενοι τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ ἔπιπλα πάντα, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἱρῶν, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἀναθήματα, χωρὶς δ’ τι χαλκὸς ἢ λίθος ἢ γραφή ἦν, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα πάντα ἐσθέντες καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐσβάντες ἔπλεον ἐπὶ Χίῳ τὴν δὲ Φωκαίην ἐρημωθεῖσαν ἀνδρῶν ἔσχον οἱ Πέρσαι. Οἱ δὲ Φωκαῖᾳς, 165  
 ἐπεὶ τε σφί Χίῳ τὰς νήσους τὰς Οἰνούσας καλεομένας οὐκ ἐβού- The Chians  
refuse to  
sell them  
the islands  
ἔκτισαν  
out of com-  
mercial jea-  
lousy.  
 λοντο ὠνεομένοισι πωλέειν<sup>143</sup>, δειμαίνοντες μὴ αἰ μὲν ἐμπόριον γένωνται ἢ δὲ αὐτῶν νήσος ἀποκληῖσθῇ τούτου εἵνεκα, πρὸς ταῦτα οἱ Φωκαῖᾳς ἐστέλλοντο ἐς Κύρνον<sup>144</sup>. (ἐν γὰρ τῇ Κύρῳ εἴκοσι ἔτεσι πρότερον τούτων ἐκ θεοπροπίου ἀνεστήσαντο πόλιν, τῇ οὖνομα ἦν Ἀλαλίη Ἀργανθώνιος δὲ τηνικαῦτα ἤδη τετελευτήκει·) They sail  
back to  
Phocæa,  
massacre the  
Persian gar-  
rison, and  
then direct  
their course  
to Corsica,  
 στελλόμενοι δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν Κύρνον<sup>145</sup>, πρῶτα καταπλεύσαντες ἐς τὴν Φωκαίην κατεφόνευσαν τῶν Περσέων τὴν φυλακὴν, ἣ ἐφρούρεε παραδεξαμένη παρὰ Ἀρπάγου τὴν πόλιν μετὰ δὲ, ὥς τοῦτό σφί ἐξέργαστο, ἐποίησαντο ἰσχυρὰς κατάρας τῷ ὑπολειπομένῳ ἐωνυτῶν τοῦ στόλου πρὸς δὲ ταύτησι, καὶ μύδρον σιδήρεον κατεπόντωσαν καὶ ὤμωσαν “μὴ πρὶν ἐς Φωκαίην ἥξειν, πρὶν ἢ τὸν μύδρον τοῦτον ἀναφῆναι.”<sup>146</sup> στελλομένων δὲ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὴν Κύρνον, ὑπὲρ ἡμί-

<sup>143</sup> οὐκ ἐβούλοντο ὠνεομένοισι πωλέειν. The Chians and the Milesians, who were fast allies, had both made terms with the Persian power, and perhaps were not altogether guiltless of the ruin of Phocæa, although at the time at which Herodotus was writing such an act would have been accounted infamous. But see note 512, above, and the first one on iv. 138.

<sup>144</sup> DIODORUS (v. 13) gives *Calaris* as the name of the city founded by the Phocæans in Corsica, from which they were expelled by the Tyrrhenians. *Calaris* being really not in Corsica, but the principal town in Sardinia, this notice has given much trouble to the commentators, none of whom has hit on the true solution of the difficulty, viz. that the tradition

varied in the early times. It is very doubtful whether in Eastern Hellas any distinct notion of the bearings or relative magnitude of the two islands was possessed till long after Herodotus. See the note on v. 106, νῆσον τὴν μεγίστην.

<sup>145</sup> ἀναφῆναι. The readings ἀναφ-νῆναι and ἀναδύναι have been proposed. But neither these nor the ellipse of ἐωνυτῶν seems necessary. The Phocæan oath seems to have been “that they would not return till they had found and produced the mass of iron which they then threw into the sea.” Horace’s proposed oath (*Epod.* xvi. 26) does not profess to be that of the Phocæans, as is obvious from the way he continues it (vv. 27—34).

More than half break their oath and return home.

166

The rest sail for Corsica and become pirates.

They are crushed by the Tyrrhenes and Carthaginians, and a small remnant takes refuge at Rhegium.

167

The majority are stoned to death, for which divine vengeance is inflicted on the Agylleans.

σεας τῶν ἀστῶν ἔλαβε πόθος τε καὶ οἶκτος τῆς πόλιος καὶ τῶν ἡθέων τῆς χώρας· ψευδόρκοι δὲ γενόμενοι, ἀπέπλεον ὀπίσω ἐς τὴν Φωκαίην· οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν τὸ ὄρκιον ἐφύλασσαν, ἀερθέντες ἐκ τῶν

Οἰνουσσέων ἔπλεον. Ἐπεὶ τε δὲ ἐς τὴν Κύρνον ἀπίκοντο, οἶκεον κοινῇ μετὰ τῶν πρότερον ἀπικομένων ἐπ' ἔτεα πέντε καὶ ἱρὰ ἐνιδρύσαντο· καὶ ἄγον γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἔφερον<sup>545</sup> τοὺς περιόλους ἅπαντας, στρατεύονται ὧν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς κοινῇ λόγῳ χρησάμενοι Τυρσηνοὶ καὶ Καρχηδόνιοι, νηυσὶ ἐκάτεροι ἐξήκοντα· οἱ δὲ Φωκαῖες πληρώσαντες καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰ πλοῖα, ἔοντα ἀριθμὸν ἐξήκοντα, ἀντίαζον ἐς τὸ Σαρδόνιον καλεόμενον πέλαγος· συμμασιγόντων δὲ τῇ ναυμαχίῃ, Καδμεῖη τις νίκη τοῖσι Φωκαεῦσι ἐγένετο· αἱ μὲν γὰρ τέσσεράκοντά σφι νῆες διεφθάρησαν, αἱ δὲ εἴκοσι αἱ περιουσαὶ ἦσαν ἄχρηστοι· ἀπεστράφατο γὰρ τοὺς ἐμβόλους· καταπλώσαντες δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἀλαλίην, ἀνέλαβον τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας, καὶ τὴν ἄλλην κτήσιν ὅσῃ οἰαί τε ἐγίνοντο αἱ νῆες σφι ἄγειν καὶ

ἔπειτα ἀφέντες τὴν Κύρνον ἔπλεον ἐς Ῥήγιον. Τῶν δὲ διαφθαρεισέων νεῶν τοὺς ἄνδρας, οἳ τε Καρχηδόνιοι καὶ οἱ Τυρσηνοὶ ἔλαχόν τε αὐτῶν πολλῶ πλείους<sup>546</sup>, καὶ τούτους ἐξαγαγόντες κατέλευσαν. μετὰ δὲ, Ἀγυλλαίοισι πάντα τὰ παριόντα τὸν χῶρον ἐν τῷ οἱ Φωκαῖες καταλευσθέντες ἐκέατο ἐγένετο διάστροφά<sup>547</sup> καὶ ἔμπηρα καὶ ἀπόπληκτα, ὁμοίως πρόβατα καὶ ὑποζύγια καὶ ἄνθρωποι· οἱ δὲ Ἀγυλλαῖοι ἐς Δελφοὺς ἔπεμπον<sup>548</sup> βουλόμενοι ἀκέσασθαι τὴν ἀμαρτάδα, ἥ δὲ Πυθίη σφέας ἐκέλευσε ποιεῖν τὰ καὶ νῦν οἱ Ἀγυλλαῖοι ἔτι ἐπιτελέουσι· καὶ γὰρ ἐναγίζουσιν<sup>549</sup> σφι μεγάλως, καὶ ἀγῶνα γυμνικὸν καὶ ἵππικὸν ἐπιστάσι.

<sup>545</sup> ἄγον γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἔφερον. See notes 537, 538, above. It will be remembered that by a settlement either in Sardinia or Corsica,—if even purely for commercial purposes,—they interfered with the Tyrrhene and Carthaginian trade with Spain. See note 565, below.

<sup>546</sup> πολλῶ πλείους. This expression would seem to mean that the prisoners taken by the allied force much exceeded in number the small remnant which fled to Rhegium. It is unnecessary to suppose a lacuna.

<sup>547</sup> ἐγένετο διάστροφα. This would be the result of the vengeance of the χθόνιοι θεοί, angry at the blood which had been shed upon the earth. See MÜLLER, *Ar-*

*pendix to the Edition of the Eumenides*, §§ 54—57.

<sup>548</sup> ἐς Δελφοὺς ἔπεμπον. The connexion of the Agylleans (Cærites) with Delphi appears from the fact, mentioned by STRABO, that there was an Ἀγυλλαίων καλούμενος θησαυρὸς there (v. cap. 2, p. 356). They had great reputation, he says, among the Greeks both for their courage and for their justice, in abstaining from piracy.

<sup>549</sup> ἐναγίζουσι. To this passage probably is to be referred the gloss of SUIDAS, Ἐναγίζειν παρ' Ἡροδότῃ χῶρος φέρειν. The proper form of propitiating the dead was by libations (SOPH. *Elect.* 400). It may be observed that there were hot mine-



καὶ οὗτοι μὲν τῶν Φωκαίων τοιοῦτω μὶν διεχρήσαντο· οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν ἐς τὸ Ῥήγιον καταφυγόντες, ἐνθεύτην ὀρμεῶμενοι ἐκτίσαντο πόλιν γῆς τῆς Οἰνωτρίας ταύτην, ἥτις νῦν Ῥέλη καλεῖται<sup>166</sup>. ἔκτισαν δὲ ταύτην, πρὸς ἀνδρὸς Ποσειδωνιῆτεω μαθόντες<sup>167</sup> ὡς τὸν Κύρνον σφί ἡ Πυθίη ἔχρησε κτίσαι ἥρων ἐόντα, ἀλλ' οὐ τὴν νῆσον.

The survivors build *Velia*, and dedicate a fane to *Cyrnus*, a hero.

Φωκαίης μὲν νῦν πέρι τῆς ἐν Ἰωνίῃ οὕτως ἔσχε. παραπλήσια 168 δὲ τούτοις καὶ Τήϊοι ἐποίησαν ἐπεὶ τε γὰρ σφεων εἶλε χώματι τὸ τεῖχος Ἀρπαγος, ἐσβάντες πάντες ἐς τὰ πλοῖα οἴχοντο πλέοντες ἐπὶ τῆς Θρηίκης, καὶ ἐνθαῦτα ἔκτισαν πόλιν Ἀβδηρα τὴν πρότερος τούτων Κλαζομένιος Τιμήσιος κτίσας, οὐκ ἀπώνητο, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ Θρηίκων ἐξελασθεὶς τιμὰς νῦν ὑπὸ Τηίων τῶν ἐν Ἀβδηροῖσι ὡς ἦρας ἔχει.

The *Teians* desert their town, and build *Abdera*.

Οὗτοι μὲν νῦν Ἰωνῶν μόνου, τὴν δουλοσύνην οὐκ ἀνεχόμενοι, 169 ἐξέλιπον τὰς πατρίδας· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι Ἰῶνες, πλὴν Μιλησίων, διὰ μάχης μὲν ἀπικέατο Ἀρπάγῃ κατὰπερ οἱ ἐκλιπόντες, καὶ ἄνδρες ἐγένοντο ἀγαθοὶ περὶ τῆς ἐωυτοῦ ἑκάστος<sup>168</sup> μαχόμενοι, ἐσσω-

The rest of the Ionians on the main, after resisting separately, submit.

ral springs in the neighbourhood of Cære (Strabo, v. cap. 2), and also a grove sacred to Silvanus (Virgil, *Æn.* viii. 597); all the usual accompaniments, therefore, of a ritual analogous to that of Amphiarus, Trophonius, Asclepius, and Faunus. See note 163, above.

<sup>166</sup> ἥτις νῦν Ῥέλη καλεῖται. The city in question is Elea, the native place of Parmenides and Zeno, on the coast of Italy, about twenty miles south of Paestum. The form of the name which appears on the coins is ΤΕΛΗ or ΤΕΛΙΑ,—from the latter of which, the initial letter being the *digamma*, the Latin name *Velia* is directly derived. The name is undoubtedly derived from its proximity to the Pæstine marshes (ἐλη), just as the name *Velitæ* was from the proximity of that town to the Pomptine swamps.

<sup>167</sup> πρὸς ἀνδρὸς Ποσειδωνιῆτεω μαθόντες. *Cyrnus*, the hero, was a mythical personage connected with the conjoint worship of Poseidon and Demeter. He was an Argive in the time of Inachus, who sailed to the Carian Chersonese, and there built a city called after his own name. *Triopas* (see note 587) came thither afterwards to be purified from a murder he had committed (Dion. Sic. v. 60, 61). Now,

while Poseidonia, as its name imports, had for its tutelary deity Poseidon, Elea was famous for its worship of Demeter, inasmuch that the Romans anciently always fetched their priestesses of this goddess either from that city or Naples (Cicero, *pro Balbo*, § 24). Moreover, Poseidonia was a colony from Sybaris, which had a mixed population of Achæans and Troezenians, the former predominating (Aristot. *Polit.* v. p. 1303). The establishment of the fane of *Cyrnus*, therefore, by the counsel of a Poseidonian, was probably the sealing of a compact between the two neighbouring towns, which possessed common religious traditions and common blood, and had common enemies in the Etruscans. See notes 63 and 231, above. It may be remarked, that an account given by Scymnus Chius that Neapolis was founded by Cumæans and Phocæans harmonizes very well with the statement of Strabo that it was a colony of the former, if we understand that the Phocæans he speaks of are really those of *Velia*,—and in its turn explains Cicero, in the passage above cited, coupling Neapolis and *Velia* together.

<sup>168</sup> περὶ τῆς ἐωυτοῦ ἑκάστος. See note 509, above.

The island-  
ers are  
struck with  
panic.

170

Advice  
offered by  
Bias to the  
Ionians;

also by  
Thales.

θέντες δὲ καὶ ἀλόντες ἔμενον κατὰ χώραν ἕκαστοι καὶ τὰ ἐπιτασ-  
σόμενα ἐπετέλεον<sup>563</sup>. Μιλήσιοι δὲ, ὡς καὶ πρότερόν μοι εἶρηται,  
αὐτῷ Κύρῳ ὄρκιον ποιησάμενοι ἡσυχίην ἄγον. οὕτω δὴ τὸ δεύτε-  
ρον Ἴωνίη ἐδεδούλωτο. ὡς δὲ τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ Ἴωνας ἐχειρώσατο  
Ἀρπαγος, οἱ τὰς νήσους ἔχοντες Ἴωνες καταρρωδήσαντες ταῦτα,  
σφέας αὐτοὺς ἔδοσαν Κύρῳ.

Κεκαωμένων δὲ Ἴωνων, καὶ συλλεγομένων οὐδὲν ἦσσαν ἐς τὸ  
Πανιώνιον<sup>564</sup>, πυνθάνομαι γνώμην Βιάντα ἄνδρα Πριηνέα ἀπο-  
δέξασθαι Ἴωσι χρησιμωτάτην τῇ εἰ ἐπέλθοντο, παρείχε ἄν σφι  
εὐδαιμονέειν Ἑλλήνων μάλιστα· ὃς ἐκέλευε “κοινῷ στόλῳ Ἴωνας  
ἀερθέντας πλέειν ἐς Σαρδῶν<sup>565</sup>, καὶ ἔπειτα πόλιν μίαν κτίζειν πάν-  
των Ἴωνων καὶ οὕτω ἀπαλλαχθέντας σφέας δουλοσύνης εὐδαι-  
μονήσειν, νήσων τε ἀπασέων μεγίστην νεμομένους καὶ ἄρχοντας  
ἄλλων μένουσι δὲ σφι ἐν τῇ Ἴωνίῃ οὐκ ἔφη ἐνορᾶν ἐλευθερίην ἔτι  
ἐσομένην.” αὕτη μὲν Βιάντος τοῦ Πριηνέος γνώμη ἐπὶ διεφθαρ-  
μένοισι Ἴωσι γενομένη· χρηστὴ δὲ καὶ πρὶν ἢ διαφθαρῆναι Ἴωνίην  
Θάλεω ἀνδρὸς Μιλησίου ἐγένετο, τὸ ἀνέκαθεν γένος ἐόντος Φοί-  
νικος<sup>566</sup>. ὃς ἐκέλευε “ἐν βουλευτήριον Ἴωνας ἐκτῆσθαι, τὸ δὲ εἶναι  
ἐν Τέφῳ<sup>567</sup>. Τέων γὰρ μέσον εἶναι Ἴωνίης· τὰς δὲ ἄλλας πόλεις

<sup>563</sup> τὰ ἐπιτασόμενα ἐπετέλεον. See the note on iv. 138, ἦσαν δὲ οὗτοι.

<sup>564</sup> συλλεγομένων οὐδὲν ἦσσαν ἐς τὸ Πανιώνιον. The Panionium appears to have been the ordinary place of meeting long afterwards. (See vi. 7, ἐς Πανιώνιον.) It will be remembered that, before the arrival of Harpagus, the Prieniens had been made slaves of (§ 161). If, therefore, the following story belongs to the same historical account, Bias cannot have been at the congress in the character of a delegate from Priene,—but only in a private capacity.

<sup>565</sup> ἐς Σαρδῶν. There was excellent policy in this recommendation; for the resources of the island were one of the most important elements of the power of Carthage (see note on v. 106, νήσον τὴν μεγίστην). A footing once obtained there, the commerce with the interior of Africa and that with Spain might have been in a great measure transferred from the Phœnician to the Hellenic race, through Cyrene in the one case, and Massilia in the other. The fear of this no doubt stimulated the attack on the Phœcean settlement in Corsica

(§ 166); for from Corsica a formidable attack might easily have been made on Sardinia. Bias's project seems to have been entertained afterwards by Aristagoras (v. 124).

<sup>566</sup> ἐόντος Φοίνικος. It is singular that Herodotus, having mentioned Thales twice before as a well-known character, should now, for the first time, give his description and descent. It is possible that this paragraph belongs to an early draft of the work, in which those two passages did not exist. Or it may be that here Herodotus is closely following an earlier written authority, in which Thales was introduced to notice as in the text. It is also remarkable that a Milesian should take part in the congress, as Miletus had made a peace with Cyrus. (See above, note 481.) But perhaps Thales, who had been in the Lydian camp at the beginning of the war (§ 76), was personally compromised, and, like Bias, present only as a private person at the congress. Or the advice may have been given even before the outbreak of the war.

<sup>567</sup> τὸ δὲ εἶναι ἐν Τέφῳ. See note on vi. 7; and on vi. 8, Τήϊον.

οικομένους μὴδὲν ἦσσαν<sup>568</sup> νομίζεσθαι, κατάπερ εἰ δῆμοι εἶεν." οὕτω μὲν δὴ σφί γνώμας τοιάσδε ἀπεδέξαντο.

"Ἀρπαγος δὲ καταστρεψάμενος Ἰωνίην, ἐποίεετο στρατηγὴν ἐπὶ 171  
Κᾶρας καὶ Καυνίους καὶ Λυκίους, ἅμα ἀγόμενος καὶ Ἰωνας καὶ Harpagus  
Διολέας<sup>569</sup>. εἰσὶ δὲ τούτων Κᾶρες μὲν ἀπυγμένοι ἐς τὴν ἡπειρον Carians,  
ἐκ τῶν νήσων. τὸ γὰρ παλαιὸν ἔοντες Μῖνω τε κατήκοι<sup>570</sup> καὶ formerly  
καλεόμενοι Δέλεγες<sup>571</sup>, εἶχον τὰς νήσους φόρον μὲν οὐδένα ἵποτε- islanders  
λέοντες, ὅσον καὶ ἐγὼ δυνατὸς εἰμι μακρότατον<sup>572</sup> ἐξικέσθαι ἀκοῇ, under the  
οἱ δὲ, ὅπως Μῖνως δέοιτο, ἐπλήρουν οἱ τὰς νέας ἅτε δὲ<sup>573</sup> Μῖνω τε name of  
κατεστραμμένου γῆν πολλὴν καὶ εὐτυχέοντος τῷ πολέμῳ, τὸ Lelegas.  
Καρικὸν ἦν ἔθνος λογιμῶτατον<sup>574</sup> τῶν ἐθνῶν ἀπάντων κατὰ τοῦτον  
ἄμα τὸν χρόνον μακρῷ μάλιστα καὶ σφί τριζὰ ἐξευρήματα ἐγέ-  
νετο<sup>575</sup>, τοῖσι οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐχρήσαντο καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τὰ κράνεα Their ar-  
λόφους ἐπιδέεσθαι Κᾶρες εἰσι οἱ καταδέξαντες, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς ἀσπί- mour adopt-  
δας τὰ σημήϊα ποιεέσθαι, καὶ ὄχανα ἀσπίσι οὗτοί εἰσι οἱ ποιη- ed by the  
Hellenes.

<sup>568</sup> μὴδὲν ἦσσαν. These two words appear to be a conjunction of two diverse readings taken up into the text, viz. μὴδὲ νομίζεσθαι καὶ ἦσσαν νομίζεσθαι. Either the one or the other of these will give an appropriate sense, "but that the rest should not even be looked upon as inhabited cities, just as would be if they were demes;" or, "should be less regarded as inhabited cities," &c. It should be remembered, that into the notion of a πόλις always entered that of self-government, in foreign relations as well as in domestic. By absolutely delegating the former of these, each member of the confederacy would become a mere parish.

<sup>569</sup> καὶ Ἰωνας καὶ Διολέας. See above, note 476; and below, 593. See also note on iv. 138, ἦσαν δὲ οὗτοι.

<sup>570</sup> Μῖνω τε κατήκοι. This must be taken as merely resting upon tradition, and not having the certainty of history. See the distinction drawn by Herodotus himself between the stories of Minos and others of the olden time, and genuine history (iii. 122). The most ancient authentic naval engagement took place 260 years before the end of the Peloponnesian war (THUCYD. i. 18).

<sup>571</sup> καλεόμενοι Δέλεγες. PHILIP of Theangela, in an especial treatise on the relation between the Carians and Lelegians, considered the latter as standing in the same relation to the former as the Helots to the Lacedæmonians, or the

Penestæ to the Thessalians (*op. Athen. vi. p. 271*). Both Carians and Lelegians appear as equals in the Trojan army (*Iliad* x. 428), and the latter have the epithet φιλοπτόλεμοι applied to them (xxi. 86); but the Villosion Schol. says that they are the inhabitants of a Pedasus in Mount Ida, mentioned *Iliad* xx. 92. 96.

<sup>572</sup> ὅσον . . . μακρότατον. The preposition is used in a similar phrase, ii. 34, ἐπ' ὅσον μακρότατον, and iv. 16. 192, ὅσον ἐπὶ μακρότατον.

<sup>573</sup> ἅτε δέ. One MS has ἅτε δὴ, another ἅτε δὲ δὴ, which Gaisford adopts.

<sup>574</sup> λογιμῶτατον. STEPH. BYZ. (v. Καρία) has the variation δοκιμῶτατον.

<sup>575</sup> καὶ σφί τριζὰ ἐξευρήματα ἐγένετο.

This seems to have been an inference (and a reasonable one) from the appearance of the armour found in the tombs of the Carians, whose remains were removed from the whole of Delos in the sixth year of the Peloponnesian war. This armour was identical with that used by the continental Carians (THUCYD. i. 8). Delos had been similarly purified, as much of it as was within sight of the temple, by Pisistratus (above, § 64), so that no argument can be drawn as to the date of the composition of this passage. The greater part of the islands of the Ægean were inhabited by "Carians and Phœnicians," pirates by profession, before the seas were swept clear by Minos (THUCYD. i. 8).

σάμενοι πρῶτοι· τέως δὲ ἄνευ ὀχάνων ἐφόρεον τὰς ἀσπίδας πάντες οἵπερ ἔωθεσαν ἀσπίσι χρέεσθαι τελαμῶσι σκυτίνουσι οἰηκίζοντες, περὶ τοῖσι αὐχέσι τε καὶ τοῖσι ἀριστεροῖσι ὤμοισι περικείμενοι. μετὰ δὲ, τοὺς Κᾶρας χρόνῳ ὕστερον πολλῷ Δωριεῖς τε καὶ Ἴωνες ἐξανέστησαν ἐκ τῶν νήσων· καὶ οὕτω ἐς τὴν ἡπειρον ἀπίκοντο<sup>376</sup>. κατὰ μὲν δὴ Κᾶρας οὕτω Κρήτες λέγουσι γενέσθαι· οὐ μέντοι αὐτοὶ γε ὁμολογέουσι τοῦτοις οἱ Κᾶρες, ἀλλὰ νομίζουσι αὐτοὶ ἐωντοὺς εἶναι αὐτόχθονας ἡπειρώτας, καὶ τῷ οὐνόματι τῷ αὐτῷ ἀεὶ διαχρεωμένους τῷπερ νῦν ἀποδεικνύσι δὲ ἐν Μυλῆσιν Διὸς Καρίου ἱρὸν ἀρχαῖον<sup>377</sup>, τοῦ Μυσοῖσι μὲν καὶ Λυδοῖσι μέτεστι ὡς κασυνήρητοι εἶουσι τοῖσι Καρσί· τὸν γὰρ Λυδὸν καὶ τὸν Μυσὸν λέγουσι εἶναι Καρὸς ἀδελφεούς· τοῦτοις μὲν δὴ μέτεστι· ὅσοι δὲ ἔοντες ἄλλου ἔθνεος ὁμόγλωσσοι τοῖσι Καρσί ἐγένοντο, τοῦτοις δὲ οὐ μέτα. Οἱ δὲ Καῖνιοι αὐτόχθονες, δοκεῖν ἐμοί, εἰσὶ αὐτοὶ μέντοι ἐκ Κρήτης φασὶ εἶναι· προσκεχωρήκασιν δὲ γλῶσσαν μὲν πρὸς τὸ Καρικὸν ἔθνος, ἣ οἱ Κᾶρες πρὸς τὸ Καυνικόν· τοῦτο γὰρ οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως διακρίναι· νόμοισι δὲ χρέωνται κεχωρισμένοις πολλὸν τῶν τε ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων καὶ Καρῶν. τοῖσι γὰρ κάλλιστόν ἐστι κατ' ἡλικίην τε καὶ φιλότητα εἰλαδὸν συγγίνεσθαι ἐς πόσιν, καὶ ἀνδράσι καὶ γυναιξὶ καὶ παισί. ἰδρυθέντων δὲ σφί ἱρῶν ξεινικῶν, μετέπειτα ὥς σφί ἀπέδοξε, (ἔδοξε δὲ τοῖσι πατρίοις μῶνον χρᾶσθαι θεοῖσι,) ἐνδύντες τὰ ὅπλα<sup>378</sup> ἅπαντες Καῖνιοι

172  
The *Caunians* speak a language like the *Carian*, but have peculiar customs;

they worship no foreign gods.

<sup>376</sup> καὶ οὕτω ἐς τὴν ἡπειρον ἀπίκοντο. This would be a natural way of looking at the matter for the Cretans, if we suppose the islands and the main to have been originally covered with a *Lelegian* population, which in the former was exterminated by Dorian and Ionian invaders. If in the latter, it was overlaid by, and absorbed into, a *Carian* population (a kindred race to the *Mysians* and *Lydians*), the native legends of the *Carians* on the main would, as naturally, represent them to be autochthonous.

<sup>377</sup> Διὸς Καρίου ἱρὸν ἀρχαῖον. This *Zeus Carius* must not be confounded with the *Zeus Σαρπίσιος* who was worshipped by the *Carians* alone (see note on v. 119). He belongs to an entirely distinct religious system, and is substantially identical with the *Poseidon* of Mantinea (PAUSANIAS, viii. 10. 4), with the *Poseidon* or *Erechtheus* associated with *Athene Polias*

at Athens, with *Tritopos* (see note 587), and with the primeval deity worshipped in the earliest times on the acropolis at Megara. (See the note on the family worship of *Isagoras*, v. 66, and that on the native legendary accounts of the early population of the *Megarid*, v. 76.) His native name seems to have been *Ogos*. Possibly he is the *Poseidon* mentioned by THEOPHRASTUS (*ap. Athen.* ii. p. 42), whose temple stood by a river in Caria, the quality of whose water had been changed by volcanic action,—or, as Theophrastus expresses it, by thunderbolts entering the ground in its neighbourhood.

<sup>378</sup> ἐνδύντες τὰ ὅπλα. It may be presumed from this custom that the *καῖνιοι θεοὶ* of the *Caunians* was a war-god. Traces of something very similar appear in a old Westphalian saw, given by GRAMM (*Deutsche Mythologie*, p. 211), in which *Ermin*, the Teutonic *Mars*, is invoked to

ἡβηδὸν<sup>379</sup> τύπτοντες δούρασι τὸν ἥερα μέχρι οὖρων τῶν Καλυ-  
δικῶν<sup>380</sup> ἔποντο, καὶ ἔφασαν ἐκβάλλειν τοὺς ξεινικούς θεούς. καὶ  
οὔτοι μὲν τρόποισι τοιούτοιςι χρέωνται. Οἱ δὲ Λύκιοι ἐκ Κρήτης 173  
τῶρχαῖον γεγόνασι. τὴν γὰρ Κρήτην<sup>381</sup> εἶχον τὸ παλαιὸν πᾶσαν  
βάρβαροι διενειχθέντων δὲ ἐν Κρήτῃ περὶ τῆς βασιλῆης τῶν  
Εὐρώπης παιδῶν<sup>382</sup> Σαρπηδόνοσ τε καὶ Μίνω, ὡς ἐπεκράτησε τῇ  
στάσει Μίνωσ, ἐξήλασε αὐτόν τε Σαρπηδόνα καὶ τοὺς στασιώτας  
αὐτοῦ οἱ δὲ ἀπωσθέντες ἀπίκοντο τῆς Ἀσίης ἐς γῆν τὴν Μιλυ-  
άδα<sup>383</sup>. τὴν γὰρ νῦν Λύκιοι νέμονται αὕτη τὸ παλαιὸν ἦν Μιλυάς·  
οἱ δὲ Μιλύαι τότε Σόλυμοι ἐκαλέοντο<sup>384</sup>. τέως μὲν δὴ αὐτῶν  
Σαρπηδὼν ἦρχε, οἱ δὲ ἐκαλέοντο τό περ τε ἡνείκαντο οὖνομα καὶ  
νῦν ἔτι καλέονται ὑπὸ τῶν περιόικων οἱ Λύκιοι, Τερμίλαι<sup>385</sup>. ὡς  
δὲ ἐξ Ἀθηνέων Λύκος ὁ Πανδίωνος ἐξελασθεὶς καὶ οὗτος ὑπὸ τοῦ  
ἀδελφεοῦ Αἰγέως, ἀπύκετο ἐς τοὺς Τερμίλας παρὰ Σαρπηδόνα,  
οὕτω δὴ κατὰ τοῦ Λύκου τὴν ἐπωνυμίην Λύκιοι ἀνὰ χρόνον  
ἐκλήθησαν νόμοισι δὲ τὰ μὲν Κρητικοῖσι τὰ δὲ Καρικοῖσι χρέων-  
ται· ἐν δὲ τὸδε ἴδιον νενομίκασι, καὶ οὐδαμοῖσι ἄλλοισι συμφέρον-  
ται ἀνθρώπων καλέουσι ἀπὸ τῶν μητέρων ἐωντοὺς καὶ οὐκ ἀπὸ

The Lycians  
came from  
Crete under  
Sarpedon,  
the brother  
of Minos;  
  
they are  
called Ly-  
cians from  
Lycus, a  
son of  
Pandion.

"rouse himself and let his fife and drums  
sound; for that the emperor" (probably  
Charlemagne) "is coming to hang him  
up." One may be inclined to conjecture  
that the Caunians were a comparatively  
pure remnant of the race which in Caria  
had amalgamated with the Leleges, and  
adopted their worship, — although even  
there, at Labranda, there was a purely  
martial deity. See v. 119.

<sup>379</sup> ἡβηδόν. This phrase occurs again  
in vi. 21, where see the note.

<sup>380</sup> μέχρι οὖρων τῶν Καλυδικῶν. See  
note 585.

<sup>381</sup> τὴν γὰρ Κρήτην . . . βάρβαροι. From  
this expression it may be inferred that the  
Cretan νόμιμα (whatever they were), which  
prevailed among the Lycians, were such as  
existed in that island antecedently to the  
great influx of Hellenes into it. See the  
sketch of the fortunes of Crete, apparently  
resting on Delphic traditions (vii. 169—  
171).

<sup>382</sup> τῶν Εὐρώπης παιδῶν. It will be  
observed that this is a different legend  
from that in the *Iliad* (vi. 189). There  
Sarpedon is made a son of Bellerophon  
and the daughter of the Lycian king;  
here he is a Cretan, son of Zeus and Eu-  
ropa; and in a third account (ΕΡΗΘΕΥΣ

ap. *Strabon*. xiv. c. i. p. 165) he comes  
not to Lycia, but to Miletus.

<sup>383</sup> ἐς γῆν τὴν Μιλυάδα. Probably the  
name Μιλυάς is significant: otherwise one  
can hardly conceive a country called by  
that name while its inhabitants went by  
that of *Solyimi*. It seems likely that there  
is some etymological connexion, yet to be  
defined, between the words Μιλυάς and  
Τερμίλαι.

<sup>384</sup> τότε Σόλυμοι ἐκαλέοντο. HOMER  
makes Bellerophon, when sent to Lycia,  
engage Σόλυμοισι κυδαλλμοῖσι (*Iliad*, vi.  
185), and some have thought that these  
*Solyimi* were the "ancient Lycians," whose  
language has been recently recovered.  
This can hardly be the case unless the  
Τερμίλαι and Σόλυμοι are identical.

<sup>385</sup> Τερμίλαι. The researches of FEL-  
LOWES in Lycia have pretty well estab-  
lished the following points with regard  
to the Tremilæ or Termilæ, whom he  
considers as the "ancient Lycians," exter-  
minated by Harpagus.

1. They are characterised by inscriptions  
in a distinct language, which appears to  
be of the Indo-Germanic family, but con-  
tains some Semitic words taken in *ad ex-  
tra*. This may arise from intercourse with  
Phœnicia.

They name themselves after their mothers.

τῶν πατέρων εἰρομένου δὲ ἑτέρου τὸν πλησίον τίς εἴη; καταλέξει  
 ἐωυτὸν μητρόθεν καὶ τῆς μητρὸς ἀνανεμέεται τὰς μητέρας· καὶ ἦν  
 μέν γε γυνὴ ἀστὴ δούλῳ συνοικήσῃ, γενναῖα τὰ τέκνα νενόμισται·  
 ἦν δὲ ἀνὴρ ἀστὸς καὶ ὁ πρῶτος αὐτῶν γυναικα ξελὴνη ἢ παλλακὴν  
 ἔχῃ, ἅτιμα τὰ τέκνα γίνεται.

174

Caria is easily subdued by Harpagus.

Οἱ μὲν νυν Κάρες οὐδὲν λαμπρὸν ἔργον ἀποδεξάμενοι, ἔδου-  
 λώθησαν ὑπὸ Ἀρπάγου οὔτε αὐτοὶ οἱ Κάρες ἀποδεξάμενοι οὐδὲν  
 οὔτε ὅσοι Ἑλλήνων ταύτην τὴν χώραν οἰκέουσι. οἰκέουσι δὲ καὶ  
 ἄλλοι<sup>300</sup> καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων ἄποικοι Κνίδιοι<sup>301</sup>, τῆς χώρας τῆς  
 σφετέρης<sup>302</sup> τετραμμένης ἐς πόντον, ἀργμένης δὲ ἐκ τῆς χερσονήσου

2. In these inscriptions the parties are invariably named after their mothers, not after their fathers.

3. On the coins, with inscriptions in this language, appear the Triquetra (a triangle formed of three human legs—like the device of the Isle of Man, and that which appears on some Sicilian coins), the Asiatic Sphinx, Bellerophon, Pegasus, and Pan.

4. There is a peculiar kind of pointed arch in the rock tombs; and on the bas-reliefs the legends of Sarpedon, Glaucus, and Europa, are common; also the figures of a lion and a bull.

Fellows considers the country to have consisted of a northern and southern division, the metropolis of the former being, in old Lycian *Troouneme*, in Greek *Tlos*; that of the latter, in old Lycian perhaps *Kopalte* perhaps *Arina*, but in Greek *Xanthus*. Other Lycian towns are *Pinara*, *Méré* (Gr. *Myra*), *Gadaga* (Gr. *Gagæ*), *Trabala*, *Breclé*, and *Pedassis*. Traces of Lycians are also found in the tombs of those cities which the Greeks called *Calynda*, *Telmessus*, *Massicytus*, *Antiphellus*, *Limyra*, and *Cadyanda*, all lying within the district cut off by the range of Taurus running east and west.

<sup>300</sup> καὶ ἄλλοι. Possibly there is a reference here to Halicarnassus. See above, § 144.

<sup>301</sup> Λακεδαιμονίων ἄποικοι Κνίδιοι. This colony was probably founded before the Heraclide invasion, while the Laconian territory was filled with an Achæo-Minyæan population (see note on v. 72), and on this supposition Herodotus's statement is reconcilable with the local traditions of the Cnidians, who considered *Triopas* as their founder (PAUSAN. x. 11. 1). *Triopas* undoubtedly belongs to the religious

system which prevailed in the Peloponnese antecedently to the Heraclide invasion. His son *Pelasgus* was the reputed founder of the temple of Demeter *Pelasgis* at Argos (PAUSAN. ii. 22. 1). His daughter *Messene*, marrying a younger son of *Lelex*, king of Laconia, colonized and gave her name to *Messenia* (PAUSAN. iv. 1. 1), and the orgies of the *μεγάλαι θεαί* were brought from Eleusis to the newly-occupied territory in her time, although afterwards much extended by *Lycus* the son of *Pandion* (PAUSAN. iv. 1. 5). Under these circumstances the Apollo of the Triopian temple would be nearly identical with the Achæan deity worshipped at *Thornax*, and at *Amyclæ* (see note 236). The coins of *Cnidus* bear the impress of *Aphrodite*, *Apollo*, *Dionysus*, *Athene*, and *Poseidon*; with which last undoubtedly *Triopas* has much affinity. See the myths relative to him given (*suo voce*) in Smith's Dictionary of Biography and Mythology, and the description of the offering of the Cnidians in note 492.

<sup>302</sup> τῆς χώρας . . . τὸ δὲ *Τριπίον* καλεῖται. "Their domain looking seaward, and commencing from the Bubassian peninsula, that which goes by the name *Triopium*." I have transposed the clauses of the sentence. In the MSS which Gaisford follows, the words τὸ δὲ *Τρ. κ.* come between *πόντον* and *ἀργμένης*, allowing of no adequate sense. In the peninsula in question there was a *rémevos* of *Artemis* (called in Egyptian *Bubasti*, ii. 137. 156), possibly for the behoof of Egyptianized Greeks who traded to *Cnidus*, just as there was a temple at *Naucratis*, at which the Cnidians sacrificed (ii. 178). *Dionorus* gives the legend by which the Greeks connected this *Parthenos*, as he calls her, with the Triopian

τῆς Βυβασσίνης τὸ δὴ Τριόπιον καλεῖται, εὐούσης τε πάσης [τῆς Κνιδίης,] πλὴν ὀλίγης περιρρέου· (τὰ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῆς πρὸς βορρῇν ἄνεμον ὁ Κεραμεικὸς κόλπος ἀπέργει, τὰ δὲ πρὸς νότον ἢ κατὰ Σύμην τε καὶ Ῥόδον θάλασσα·) τὸ ὦν δὴ ὀλίγον τοῦτο, ἐὼν ὅσον τε ἐπὶ πέντε στάδια, ὥρυsson οἱ Κνιδιοὶ ἐν ὅσῳ Ἀρπαγὸς τὴν Ἰωνίην κατεστρέφετο, βουλόμενοι νῆσον τὴν χώραν ποιῆσαι· ἐντὸς δὲ πᾶσά σφι ἐγένετο<sup>399</sup>. τῇ γὰρ ἡ Κνιδίη χώρα ἐς τὴν ἡπειρον τελευτᾷ, ταύτῃ ὁ ἰσθμὸς ἐστὶ τὸν ὥρυsson καὶ δὴ πολλῇ χειρὶ ἐργαζομένων τῶν Κνιδίων, μᾶλλον γάρ τι καὶ θεϊότερον ἐφαίνοντο τιτρώσκεσθαι οἱ ἐργαζόμενοι τοῦ οἰκότος τὰ τε ἄλλα τοῦ σώματος καὶ μάλιστα τὰ περὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς θραυνομένης τῆς πέτρης, ἔπεμπον ἐς Δελφοὺς θεοπρόπους ἐπερησομένους τὸ ἀντίξουν ἢ δὲ Πυθίῃ σφι, ὡς αὐτοὶ Κνιδιοὶ λέγουσι, χρᾶ ἐν τριμέτρῳ τόνῳ τάδε·

Ἴσθμὸν δὲ μὴ πυργοῦτε, μήδ' ὀρύσσετε·  
Ζεὺς γὰρ κ' ἔθηκε νῆσον, εἰ κ' ἐβούλετο.

Κνιδιοι μὲν, ταῦτα τῆς Πυθίης χρῆσάσης, τοῦ τε ὀρύγματος ἐπαύσαντο καὶ Ἀρπάγῃ ἐπιόντι σὺν τῷ στρατῷ ἀμαχητὶ σφεας αὐτοὺς παρέδωκαν. Ἦσαν δὲ Πηδασέες<sup>175</sup> οἰκοῦντες ὑπὲρ Ἀλικαρνησσοῦ μεσόγαίαν τοῖσι ὅκως τι μέλλοι ἀνεπιτήδεον ἔσεσθαι, αὐτοῖσιν τε καὶ τοῖσι περιολκοῖσι, ἡ ἱερεὶή τῆς Ἀθηναίης πώγωνα μέγαν ἴσχει· τρίς σφιν τοῦτο ἐγένετο<sup>176</sup>. οὗτοι τῶν περὶ Καρίην ἀνδρῶν μούνοί τε ἀντέσχον χρόνον Ἀρπάγῃ καὶ πρήγματα παρέσχον πλείστα, ὁρος τειχίσαντες τῷ οὐνομά ἐστι Δίδη.

Apollo (v. 63). It seems therefore scarcely doubtful, that the same peninsula which the Cnidians called Triopium, the navigators, whose home was in Egypt, would call the Bubassian peninsula; and it becomes highly probable, under such circumstances, that Cnidus furnished one instance among many of the intercourse of Achaeans and Egyptians, at least for the purposes of commerce, in very early times. See the note on ii. 154. It should be however remarked, that *Βυβασσῆς* is a conjectural emendation of *Vossius* (by the help of a passage in POMPONIUS MELA, i. 16), all the MSS having *Βυβλασῆς*.

589 *ἐγένετο*. This is the conjectural emendation of Bekker, the MSS having the aorist *ἐγένετο*. It is equivalent to *ἔμελλε γενήσασθαι*.

<sup>500</sup> ἦσαν δὲ Πηδασέες. This phrase

seems to indicate that, at the time Herodotus was writing, a town Πήδαρα no longer existed. These Pedasians were originally, according to some accounts, Leleges from Ida (see note on viii. 87, ἀνδρῶν τε Καλυπτεύων). STRABO says that in his time the region was called Pedasis, but that there were no traces of the town. Possibly when Miletus was taken (vi. 90), and the land round about it given to the Pedaeans, Pedasa was razed to the ground. Strabo speaks of traces of Leleges remaining at Miletus, as well as throughout Caria (ῥάφιοι καὶ ἐρύματα καὶ ἔχρη κατοικίῃν δεικνύται, xiii. c. 1, p. 128). The remains at Miletus are perhaps due to the occupation mentioned by Herodotus (vi. 20).

<sup>391</sup> τρίς σφι τοῦτο ἐγένετο. See note on viii. 104. ὅς τις ἕδη ἐγένετο.

176

Obstinate  
defence of  
*Xanthus*  
in Lycia.

Πηδασέες μὲν νυν χρόνῳ ἐξαιρέθησαν. Δύκιοι δέ, ὥς ἐς τὸ Ξάνθιον πεδῖον ἤλασε<sup>176</sup> ὁ Ἄρπαγος τὸν στρατὸν, ὑπεξιόντες καὶ μαχόμενοι ὁλόγοι πρὸς πολλοὺς ἀρετὰς ἀπεδείκνυντο· ἐσωθέντες δὲ καὶ κατεilhέντες ἐς τὸ ἄστυ, συνήλισαν ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν τὰς τε γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰ χρήματα καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας, καὶ ἔπειτα ὑπήψαν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν πᾶσαν ταύτην καλεσθαι· ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες καὶ συνομόσαντες ὄρκους δεινοὺς, ὑπεξελθόντες ἀπέθανον πάντες Ξάνθιοι μαχόμενοι· τῶν δὲ νῦν Δυκίων φαμένον Ξανθίων εἶναι, οἱ πολλοὶ, πλὴν ὀγδώκοντα ἰστίων, εἰσὶ ἐπήλυδες· αἱ δὲ ὀγδώκοντα ἰστίαι αὐταὶ ἔτυχον τῆνικαῦτα ἐκδημέουσαι, καὶ οὕτω περιεγένοντο· τὴν μὲν δὴ Ξάνθον οὕτως ἔσχε ὁ Ἄρπαγος<sup>177</sup>. παραπληρώως δὲ καὶ τὴν Καῦνον ἔσχε. καὶ γὰρ οἱ Καῦνιοι τοὺς

177

Cyrus him-  
self subduces  
Upper Asia.

Δυκίους ἐμμήσαντο τὰ πλέω. Τὰ μὲν νυν κάτω τῆς Ἀσίας Ἄρπαγος ἀνάστατα ἐποίηε, τὰ δὲ ἄνω αὐτῆς αὐτὸς Κύρος, πᾶν ἔθνος καταστρεφόμενος καὶ οὐδὲν παρῆλθαι. τὰ μὲν νυν αὐτῶν πλέω παρήσομεν· τὰ δὲ οἱ παρέσχε πόνον τε πλείστον καὶ ἀξιαπηγητό-  
τατά ἐστι, τούτων ἐπιμνήσομαι.

178

Babylon, its  
size.

Κύρος<sup>178</sup> ἐπεὶ τε τὰ πάντα τῆς ἡπείρου ὑποχέλματα ἐποίησατο, Ἀσσυρίοισι ἐπετίθετο. τῆς δὲ Ἀσσυρίας ἐστὶ τὰ μὲν κού καὶ ἄλλα πολίσματα μεγάλα πολλὰ, τὸ δὲ ὀνομαστότατον καὶ ἰσχυ-

<sup>176</sup> ὥς ἐς τὸ Ξάνθιον πεδῖον ἤλασε. It will be observed that Herodotus is entirely silent as to the subjugation of the northern division of Lycia (see note 585), and also does not mention any of the many towns in the country, other than Xanthus and Patara, with which there was the most habitual commercial intercourse on the part of the Greeks. For a possible reason of the fragmentary account given of the campaign in Caria, Caunia, and Lycia, see the next note.

<sup>177</sup> τὴν μὲν δὴ Ξάνθον οὕτως ἔσχε ὁ Ἄρπαγος. In the monument discovered by FELLOWES (a model of which is in the British Museum), which is supposed to represent the capture of Xanthus, it has been remarked that the costume both of the besiegers and defenders is the same, and is the ordinary Greek armour. Perhaps this may arise from the circumstance of the monument having been executed long after the event it commemorates.—Leake and Head conjecture 150 years;—but on the other hand it may have been by a force levied in Ionia and Æolis, under

Persian command (see § 171, *init.*), that Xanthus was reduced, without Asiatic troops being employed in that part of the operations. And this may furnish a clue to the very strange fact noticed in the last note. Herodotus apparently has only Hellenic traditions to follow: and the Hellenic forces employed by Harpagus may have acted only against the particular places he mentions. Of what was done by the other *corps* of the grand army they would be ignorant; and therefore no memory of the transactions would be preserved. And also, as becoming early incorporated among the Persian auxiliaries, the circumstances of their own subjugation would die away in their recollections, and thus produce the similar omission noticed in the note 476. It may be also doubted whether, in some important instances, the vassalage of the Ionians and Æolians to the Persian king was altogether involuntary. See the note on iv. 138, ἦσαν δὲ οὗτοι.

<sup>178</sup> Κύρος. S, V, δ, and d here resume the thread of the history (see note 468) with the words Κύρος δέ.



ρότατον καὶ ἔνθα σφι Νίνου ἀναστάτου γενομένης τὰ βασιλῆα  
κατεστήκεε ἦν Βαβυλῶν<sup>595</sup>, εἴουσα τοιαύτη δὴ τις πόλις κέεται ἐν  
πεδίῳ μεγάλῳ, μέγας εἴουσα μέτωπον ἕκαστον εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν  
σταδίων, εἴουσης τετραγώνου· οὔτοι στάδιοι τῆς περιόδου τῆς  
πόλιος γίνονται συνάπαντες ὀγδώκοντα καὶ τετρακόσιοι· τὸ μὲν  
νυν μέγας τοσοῦτόν ἐστι τοῦ ἄστεος τοῦ Βαβυλωνίου. ἐκε-  
κόσμητο<sup>596</sup> δὲ ὡς οὐδὲν ἄλλο πόλισμα τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν τάφρος μὲν  
πρῶτά μιν βαθέα τε καὶ εὐρέα καὶ πλὴν ὕδατος περιβέει· μετὰ δὲ,  
τείχος πεντήκοντα μὲν πηχέων βασιλῆων ἐὼν τὸ εὖρος, ὕψος δὲ,  
διηκοσίων πηχέων (ὁ δὲ βασιλῆος πῆχυς τοῦ μετρίου ἐστὶ  
πῆχεος μέζων τρισὶ δακτύλοις<sup>597</sup>). Δεῖ δὴ με πρὸς τοῦτοις ἐτι 179  
φράσαι, ἵνα τε ἐκ τῆς τάφρου ἡ γῆ ἀναισιμώθῃ καὶ τὸ τεῖχος ὄντινα Mode of  
τρόπον ἔργαστο. ὀρύσσοντες ἅμα τὴν τάφρον ἐπλύνθουν τὴν γῆν walls.  
τὴν ἐκ τοῦ ὀρύγματος ἐκφερομένην, ἐλκύσαντες δὲ πλίνθους<sup>598</sup> ἱκα-  
νὰς ὥπτησαν αὐτὰς ἐν καμίνοις· μετὰ δὲ, τέλματι χρεώμενοι Use of  
ἀσφάλτῳ θερμῇ, καὶ διὰ τριήκοντα δόμων πλίνθου ταρσοὺς καλὰ asphalt for  
μὼν διαστοιβάζοντες<sup>599</sup>, εἵδειμαν πρῶτα μὲν τῆς τάφρου τὰ χεῖλεα, mortar;

<sup>595</sup> ἦν Βαβυλῶν. Herodotus speaks of this city in the past tense, a form of speech appropriate to an extremely altered condition. Compare ἦσαν δὲ Πηδασέες above, § 175, and THUCYDIDES, i. 10: ὅτι μὲν Μυκῆναι μικρὸν ἦν, (Mycenae having at the time he wrote been dismantled by the Argives.) So, below, the expression ἐκεκόσμητο, and § 180, τετελίσσεται is used.

<sup>596</sup> ἐκεκόσμητο. Here again the tense used is such as to imply that the state of things described no longer existed. The dimensions assigned by Herodotus, if reduced to English measures, give in round numbers for the periphery of the rampart 55 miles, 340 feet for the height, and 85 feet for the thickness of the walls. Some idea may be formed of the magnitude of the work by conceiving a viaduct for five or six lines of railway of the height of St. Paul's Cathedral carried from the Shoreditch to the Cambridge Station of the Eastern Counties Railway. Supposing the wall to be at the summit only half the thickness of the base, the mere laying of the bricks above the level of the ditch would, at an extremely favourable computation, have employed the incessant labour of 178,000 men for eleven months. This does not include those employed in excavating the earth, making the bricks, preparing the mortar,

overlooking the task-work, or any other service whatever.

<sup>597</sup> μέζων τρισὶ δακτύλοις. There is a good deal of difficulty in understanding this notice if we suppose the δακτύλοι to be each the twenty-fourth part of the common πῆχυς, which would be the obvious way of taking the passage. BOECKH (*Metrolologische Untersuchungen*, pp. 212, seqq.) has shown very satisfactorily that the βασιλῆος πῆχυς stood to the common one in the relation of the cube-root of 3 to the cube-root of 2. He estimates the former at 234·654975 Paris lines (= 20·8397 inches), and the latter at 204·99 lines. Now, if the "three dactyls" be common ones, the addition of them to the common cubit will give only 230·615 lines, which is 4·04 lines too little. If, however, they are royal ones, their addition will make the royal cubit 234·322 lines, which is only  $\frac{3}{1000}$  of a line too small, quite an inconsiderable quantity in practice, being about the  $\frac{1}{16}$  of an inch. For a reason why the royal πῆχυς should have been tacitly adopted, see note on ii. 168. It was nearly coincident with the Egyptian and the Samian, i.e. with the measure familiar to merchants.

<sup>598</sup> ἐλκύσαντες πλίνθους. See below, ii. 136, πλίνθους εἴρυσαν.

<sup>599</sup> ταρσοὺς καλὰ μὼν διαστοιβάζοντες,

δεύτερα δὲ αὐτὸ τὸ τεῖχος τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἐπάνω δὲ τοῦ τείχεος παρὰ τὰ ἔσχατα, οἰκήματα μονόκωλα<sup>599</sup> ἔδειμαν τετραμμένα ἐς ἄλληλα· τὸ μέσον δὲ τῶν οἰκημάτων ἔλιπον τεθρίππῃ περιέλασιν. πύλαι δὲ ἐνεστᾶσι πέριξ τοῦ τείχεος ἑκατὸν, χάλκεαι πᾶσαι, καὶ σταθμοὶ τε καὶ ὑπέρθυρα ὡσαύτως. ἔστι δὲ ἄλλη πόλις ἀπέχουσα ὀκτὼ ἡμερέων ὁδὸν ἀπὸ Βαβυλῶνος<sup>601</sup>. Ἴς οὖνομα αὐτῇ· ἔνθα ἐστὶ ποταμὸς οὐ μέγας· Ἴς καὶ τῷ ποταμῷ τὸ οὖνομα· ἐσβάλλει δὲ οὗτος ἐς τὸν Εὐφρῆτην ποταμὸν τὸ ῥέεθρον. οὗτος ὦν ὁ Ἴς ποταμὸς ἅμα τῷ ὕδατι θρόμβους ἀσφάλτου ἀναδιδόει πολλοὺς· ἔνθεν ἡ ἀσφαλτος ἐς τὸ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι τεῖχος ἐκομισθη. Τετείχιστο<sup>602</sup> μὲν νυν ἡ Βαβυλὼν τῷ τρόπῳ τοιῆδε. ἔστι δὲ δύο φάρσσαι<sup>603</sup> τῆς πόλιος· τὸ γὰρ μέσον αὐτῆς ποταμὸς διέρχει, τῷ οὖνομά ἐστι Εὐφρῆτης. ῥέει δὲ ἐξ Ἀρμενίων ἐὼν μέγας καὶ βαθὺς καὶ ταχύς· ἐξίει<sup>604</sup> δὲ οὗτος ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν. τὸ ὦν δὴ τεῖχος ἑκάτερον τοὺς ἀγκῶνας ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐλήλαται· τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου [αἱ ἐπικαμπαὶ] παρὰ χεῖλος ἑκάτερον τοῦ ποταμοῦ αἵμασι<sup>605</sup> πλύνθων ὑπτέων παρατείνει. τὸ δὲ ἄστυ αὐτὸ, ἐὼν

whence procured.

180  
The city is divided by the Euphrates.

"interposing layers of wattled reeds." According to RENNELL, modern travellers find a layer of this description "at every sixth, seventh, or eighth course in *Agger-luf*, apparently a Babylonish building; and M. Beauchamp found them at every course in some of the buildings in Babylon." (*Geography of Herodotus*, p. 353.) RICH (*Memoir on Babylon*) confirms this statement. The walls of Seis are built in a similar manner. See WILKINSON, quoted in note on ii. 169.

<sup>599</sup> οἰκήματα μονόκωλα. These appear to be a mere covered way along the summit of the wall, on each side of it, something like what is seen in the streets of Bern, and in parts of Chester. One great advantage would be the shade which it furnished to foot-passengers. It does not seem necessary to translate τεθρίππῃ περιέλασιν, "room to turn a quadriga," the sense "room for a quadriga to drive round the walls" being as appropriate. STRABO's account is, that there is good room to pass: ὡς τέθριππα ἐναυτιοδρομεῖν ἀλλήλοις ῥαδίως (xvi. c. i. p. 335).

<sup>601</sup> ἑκτὼς ἡμερέων ὁδὸν ἀπὸ Βαβυλῶνος. If these be reckoned as caravan journeys of sixteen miles a day, the site of Babylon may be very fairly determined. Taking the ruin now called the tower of Belus

for the centre of the city, its latitude is 32° 31' N.; and 128 geographical miles above, reckoning along the bank of the Euphrates, is a town called *Hit*, near which are some bituminous fountains. These are no doubt the ποταμὸς οὐ μέγας, and *Hit* the Ἴς of Herodotus. (RENNELL, *Geography of Herodotus*, p. 350.)  
<sup>602</sup> τετείχιστο. See note 595 and 596.

<sup>603</sup> φάρσσαι. This is probably the Greek form of the Chaldaic word which signified a division. The root is apparently the same as that of the word *Pharisee*, and of the expressions *apharsin* and *peres* in DANIEL (v. 25, 28).

<sup>604</sup> ἐξίει. Schaefer writes this word, which is a present tense, ἐξίει. But Schweighäuser rightly argues that it must be regarded as derived from the full form ἐξίει, not by the contraction of the two last syllables into one, which would be alien from the genius of the Ionic dialect, but by the elision of the penultimate syllable for the sake of euphony. This proceeding would be analogous to the derivation of αἰτέο, ἐξηγέο, φοβέαι, προθυμίαι, Ἡρακλέοι, from αἰτέο, ἐξηγέο, φοβέαι, προθυμέαι, Ἡρακλέεοι. See also notes 138 and 314, above.

πλήρες οἰκίαν τριωρόφων τε καὶ τετρωρόφων<sup>605</sup>, κατατέμνεται  
 τὰς ὁδοὺς ἰβείας, τὰς τε ἄλλας καὶ τὰς ἐπικαρσίας τὰς ἐπὶ τὸν  
 ποταμὸν ἔχουσας. κατὰ δὴ ὧν ἐκάστην ὁδὸν ἐν τῇ αἵμασῃ τῇ  
 παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν πυλίδες ἐπήσαν<sup>606</sup>, ὅσαι περ αἱ λαύραι τοσαῦται  
 ἀριθμὸν ἦσαν δὲ καὶ αὐταὶ χάλκεαι, φέρουσαι καὶ αὐταὶ ἐς αὐτὸν  
 τὸν ποταμὸν. Τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τὸ τεῖχος θώρηξ ἐστὶ ἕτερον δὲ 181  
 ἔσωθεν τεῖχος περιθεῖ, οὐ πολλῷ τέφρῳ ἀσθενέστερον τοῦ ἐτέρου  
 τετρίχιστο ἐν μέσῳ ἐν τῷ ἦεν τὰ βασιλῆα<sup>607</sup>, περιβόλῳ μεγάλῳ  
 τε καὶ ἰσχυρῷ<sup>608</sup>. ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐτέρῳ, Διὸς Βήλου ἱρὸν χαλκόπυλον,  
 καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ τοῦτο ἔτι ἔδον<sup>609</sup>, δύο σταδίων πάντη, ἔδον τετράγωνον. ἐν  
 μέσῳ δὲ τοῦ ἱροῦ πύργος στερεὸς οἰκοδόμηται, σταδίου καὶ τὸ  
 μῆκος καὶ τὸ εὖρος· καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ πύργῳ ἄλλος πύργος ἐπιβέ-  
 βηκε καὶ ἕτερος μάλα ἐπὶ τούτῳ, μέχρις οὐ ὀκτὼ πύργων· ἀνα-  
 βασίς δὲ ἐς αὐτοὺς ἔξωθεν κύκλῳ περὶ πάντας τοὺς πύργους ἔχουσα  
 πεποήται· μεσοῦντι δὲ κοινῇ ἀναβάσει ἐστὶ καταγωγὴ τε καὶ  
 θῶκοι ἀμπαυστήριοι, ἐν τοῖσι κατίζοντες ἀμπαύονται οἱ ἀνα-

In each division a large edifice existed: in one the royal palace; in the other, the temple of Belus still remains.

Its dimensions,

description,

<sup>605</sup> τριωρόφων τε καὶ τετρωρόφων. The MSS have τριωρόφων, which is probably a mere mistake. DIONYSIUS (*Art. Rhet.* i. 3) seems to have found τετρωρόφων καὶ ἐξωρόφων, which is more likely to have been from a variation in the MS which he used, than from a slip of the memory. See note 352.

<sup>606</sup> ἐπήσαν. The manuscript S has ἐστῆσαν.

<sup>607</sup> ἐν δὲ φάρσει ἐκατέρῳ. S, V, b, d leave out what follows to the beginning of § 184. It is very remarkable that STRABO speaks of the walls of Babylon and of the hanging garden as if they still existed, though he does not positively say so. But of the temple of Belus (which he calls Βήλου τάφος) he expressly says it was in ruins, having been destroyed, according to report, by Xerxes (see note 631). Alexander, he adds, wished to restore it, but was prevented by the magnitude of the works; for the clearing away of the rubbish employed 10,000 men, and just afterwards the king died, and his successors thought nothing more of the matter (xvi. c. i. p. 336). See note 610.

<sup>608</sup> ἦεν τὰ βασιλῆα. The MS F has εἶεν τὰ β. Gronovius reads from conjecture ἐν τῷ μὲν τὰ β., which is ap-

proved by Bekker. Another conjectural change is ἐν τῷ μὲν ἐν τ. β. But there appears to be an intentional opposition between the palace "which had existed" and the temple of Bel which was "remaining to the author's time." See, however, the last note.

<sup>609</sup> I should be inclined to transpose the clause περιβόλῳ μεγάλῳ τε καὶ ἰσχυρῷ, and to read τετρίχιστο ἐν μέσῳ, περιβόλῳ μεγάλῳ τε καὶ ἰσχυρῷ, ἐν τῷ ἦεν τὰ βασιλῆα, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐτέρῳ, κ.τ.λ.

<sup>610</sup> καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ τοῦτο ἔτι ἔδον. It is to me doubtful whether this is the assertion of Herodotus as an eye-witness. See the passage from STRABO, quoted in note 607. Strabo's account of the original dimensions of the tomb (which he says had been a pyramid) makes each side one stade, and the height the same. He makes no mention of a precinct, probably because the space between it and the central monument was covered with the ruins of the latter, and the whole area was reckoned as the base of the tomb. The dimensions which he gives of the walls of the city are very much below those of Herodotus. See the note on iv. 124, τῶν ἔτι ἐς ἐμὲ τὰ ἀρετῆα οὕα ἦν.

and ritual on the summit, superintended by Chaldean priests.

βαίνοντες· ἐν δὲ τῷ τελευταίῳ πύργῳ νηὸς ἔπαισι μέγας· ἐν δὲ τῷ νηῷ κλίνη μεγάλη κέεται εὐ ἐστρωμένη, καὶ οἱ τράπεζα παρακείμεται χρυσῇ ἄγαλμα δὲ οὐκ ἐνι οὐδὲν αὐτόθι ἐνιδρυμένον οὐδὲ νύκτα οὐδεὶς ἐναυλιζέται ἀνθρώπων, ὅτι μὴ γυνή μούνη τῶν ἐπιχωρίων τὴν ἂν ὁ θεὸς ἔληται ἐκ πασέων, ὡς λέγουσι οἱ Χαλδαῖοι, ὄντες ἱρέες τούτου τοῦ θεοῦ. Φασὶ δὲ οἱ αὐτοὶ οὗτοι, ἔμοι μὲν οὐ πιστὰ

182

Similar customs at Egyptian Thebes and Patara.

λέγοντες, τὸν θεὸν αὐτὸν φοιτᾶν τε ἐς τὸν νηὸν καὶ ἀμπαύεσθαι ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης, κατὰ περ ἐν Θήβῃσι τῇσι Αἰγυπτίῃσι κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, ὡς λέγουσι οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι· καὶ γὰρ δὴ ἐκεῖθι κοιμᾶται ἐν τῷ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Θηβαίου<sup>611</sup> γυνή· ἀμφότεραι δὲ αἷται λέγονται ἀνδρῶν οὐδαμῶν ἐς ὁμίλην φοιτᾶν καὶ κατὰ περ ἐν Πατάροισι τῆς Λυκίας ἡ πρόμαντις τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐπεὶ γένηται· οὐ γὰρ ὦν αἰεὶ ἐστὶ χρηστήριον αὐτόθι<sup>612</sup>. ἐπεὶ δὲ γένηται, τότε ὦν συγκατακληῖται τὰς νύκτας ἔσω ἐν τῷ νηῷ. Ἔστι δὲ τοῦ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι ἱεροῦ καὶ ἄλλος κάτω νηὸς<sup>613</sup>. ἔνθα ἄγαλμα μέγα τοῦ Διὸς ἐνι κατήμενον χρύσειον, καὶ οἱ τράπεζα μεγάλη παρακείμεται χρυσῇ, καὶ τὸ βάθρον οἱ καὶ ὁ θρόνος χρυσεὸς ἐστὶ, καὶ, ὡς ἔλεγον οἱ Χαλδαῖοι, τάλαντων<sup>614</sup> ὀκτακοσίων χρυσίου πεποιεῖται ταῦτα· ἔξω δὲ τοῦ νηοῦ βωμὸς ἐστὶ χρύσεος. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλος βωμὸς μέγας, ὅπου θύεται τὰ τέλεα τῶν προβάτων. ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῦ χρυσεοῦ βωμοῦ οὐκ ἔξεστι θύειν ὅτι μὴ γαλαθηνὰ μούνα· ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ μέζονος βωμοῦ καὶ καταγίζουσι λιβανωτοῦ χίλια τάλαντα<sup>615</sup> ἔτεος ἐκάστου οἱ Χαλδαῖοι, τότε ἐπεὶ τὴν ὀρθὴν ἄγωσι τῷ θεῷ τούτῳ. ἦν δὲ ἐν τῷ τεμένει

183

Another temple on the same site below, with a golden statue of Zeus, and an altar.

τοῦτ' ἔτι τὸν χρόνον ἐκείνον<sup>616</sup> καὶ ἀνδριάς δυνάδεκα πηχέων, χρύσεος, στερεός. ἐγὼ μὲν μιν οὐκ εἶδον τὰ δὲ λέγεται ὑπὸ Χαλδαίων, ταῦτα λέγω. τοῦτ' ἔτι ἀνδριάντι Δαρεῖος μὲν ὁ Ἰστιάσπεος ἐπι-

Another large altar.

A colossus of solid gold once existed, carried off by Xerxes.

<sup>611</sup> Θηβαῖος. The MSS which have this form here have in ii. 52 the more common one, Θηβαῖον. In ii. 54, all agree in this form. So little constancy is there in the existing MSS of this author.

<sup>612</sup> οὐ γὰρ ἂν αἰεὶ ἐστὶ χρηστήριον αὐτόθι. The tradition ran, that the deity divided his time between Delos and Patara, passing the summer in the former, and the winter in the latter (Strabius, ad *Æn.* iv. 143). Hence Horace uses the title "Delius et Patareus Apollo." (3 *Od.* iv. 64.)

<sup>613</sup> ἄλλος κάτω νηός. This seems to have been "a crypt."

<sup>614</sup> τάλαντων. The talent here spoken

of will no doubt be the Babylonian; for the magnitude of which see the note on iii. 89, *δύναται Εὐβοίας ἐβδομήκοντα μνέας*.

<sup>615</sup> χίλια τάλαντα. See the last note.

<sup>616</sup> τὸν χρόνον ἐκείνον. It is not very easy to explain this phrase, if we suppose it to have come from the hand of Herodotus. I should be almost inclined to suspect the passage ἦν δὲ ἐν τῷ τεμένει . . . τὸν ἀνδριάντα, a subsequent annotation, and then τ. χρ. ἐκείν. might mean "that time of which Herodotus was just speaking," in the present tense. See note 532.

βουλευσας, οὐκ ἐτόλμησε λαβεῖν Ἡέρξης δὲ ὁ Δαρείου ἔλαβε<sup>117</sup>, καὶ τὸν ἱεὶά ἀπέκτεινε ἀπαγορεύοντα μὴ κινέειν τὸν ἀνδριάντα. τὸ μὲν δὴ ἱὸν τοῦτο οὕτω κεκόσμητο<sup>118</sup>, ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἴδια ἀναθήματα πολλὰ.

Τῆς δὲ Βαβυλῶνος ταύτης<sup>119</sup> πολλοὶ μὲν κου καὶ ἄλλοι ἐγένοντο 184 βασιλεῖς, τῶν ἐν τοῖσι Ἀσσυριοῖσι λόγοισι<sup>120</sup> μνήμην ποιήσομαι, οἱ τὰ τείχεά τε ἐπεκόσμησαν καὶ τὰ ἱερά ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ γυναῖκες δύο. ἡ μὲν πρότερον ἄρξασα τῆς ὑστερον γενεῇσι πέντε πρότερον γενομένη, τῇ οὖνομα ἦν Σεμίραμις<sup>121</sup>, αὕτη μὲν ἀπεδέξατο χώματα ἀνὰ τὸ πεδίον ἔοντα ἀξιοθέητα· πρότερον δὲ ὥσθες ὁ ποταμὸς ἀνὰ τὸ πεδίον πᾶν πελαγίζειν. Ἡ δὲ δὴ δεύτερον γενομένη ταύτης 185 βασιλεία, τῇ οὖνομα ἦν Νίτωκρις, (αὕτη δὲ συνετατέρη γενομένη τῆς πρότερον ἀρξάσης,) τοῦτο μὲν μνημόσυνα ἐλίπετο τὰ ἐγὼ ἀπηγγέσσομαι· τοῦτο δὲ τὴν Μῆδων ὀρώσα ἀρχὴν μεγάλῃν τε καὶ οὐκ ἀτρεμίζουσαν, ἄλλα τε ἀραιρημένα ἄσπετα αὐτοῖσι ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ τὴν Νῖνον<sup>122</sup>, προεφυλάξατο ὅσα ἐδύνατο μάλιστα, πρῶτα μὲν τὸν Εὐφρήτην ποταμὸν ῥέοντα πρότερον ἰθὺν, ὅς σφι διὰ τῆς πόλιος μέσης ῥέει, τοῦτον ἀνωθεν διώρυχας ὀρύξασα οὕτω δὴ τι ἐποίησε σκολιὸν, ὥστε δὴ τρις ἐς τῶν τινα κοιμέων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσσυρίῃ

<sup>117</sup> Ἡέρξης δὲ ὁ Δαρείου ἔλαβε. See note 631, and that on iii. 153, τῶν οἱ . . . μία ἔτεκε.

<sup>118</sup> κεκόσμητο. This is the reading retained by Gaisford, on the authority of one MS. The others have κεκόσμηται. See note 595.

<sup>119</sup> τῆς δὲ Βαβυλῶνος ταύτης. The manuscripts S, V, b, d, here resume the thread of the narrative from § 181.

<sup>120</sup> ἐν τοῖσι Ἀσσυριοῖσι λόγοισι. In this portion of his work (which it would seem he never executed), Herodotus probably intended to insert the capture of Nineveh by Cyaxares, of which he promises an account above (§ 106). Compare a similar case, vii. 213. In one MS of ARISTOTLE, the word Ἡρόδοτος stands instead of Ἡρόδοτος, which is the reading of four other MSS, in a passage (*Hist. Animal.* viii. 18) which speaks of a work called the *πολιορκία τῆς Νίνου*: but this doubtful reference is the only one to be found to such a work in all the remaining writers of antiquity.

<sup>121</sup> τῇ οὖνομα ἦν Σεμίραμις. STRABO (xvi. c. i. p. 333) says that there are at-

tributed to her, besides the works at Babylon, πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα κατὰ πᾶσαν γῆν σχεδὸν, ὅση τῆς ἡπείρου ταύτης (Asia) ἔστι· τὰ τε χώματα ἃ δὴ καλοῦσι Σεμίραμιδος, καὶ τεῖχη, καὶ ἐρυμάτων κατασκευαί, καὶ συρίγγων τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ὑδρείων, καὶ κλιμάκων, καὶ διαρύχων ἐν ποταμοῖς καὶ λίμναις, καὶ ὁδῶν, καὶ γεφυρῶν. In the early history of Armenia, by MORIS of Chorene, works are attributed to her in the neighbourhood of the lake Van, which appear to be products of the imagination, suggested by volcanic phenomena. At the present day, works which were formerly attributed to Semiramis are ascribed to Nimrod (see note 628). The dyke described in the next section is, not improbably, the very work which STRABO (xi. c. 14, p. 461) describes as τὸ τῆς Σεμίραμιδος καλούμενον διατείχισμα, which was on the Tigris, at no great distance from Opis.

<sup>122</sup> ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ τὴν Νῖνον. This capture is represented by Herodotus as taking place in the latter part of the reign of Cyaxares (§ 106). But see note 352.

Babylon had many kings of note, who built the walls and the temples, and among them two women,— Semiramis, and, five generations afterwards, Nitocris,— both notable for their engineering operations with regard to the river.

Circuitous  
navigation.

Pool in the  
vicinity of  
Babylon.

ἀπικνέεται ῥέων τῇ δὲ κόμῃ οὐνομά ἐστι ἐς τὴν ἀπικνέεται ὁ  
Εὐφρήτης Ἀρδέρικκα<sup>622</sup>. καὶ νῦν οἱ ἂν κομίζονται ἀπὸ τῆσδε τῆς  
θαλάσσης ἐς Βαβυλῶνα, καταπλέοντες ἐς τὸν Εὐφρήτην ποτα-  
μὸν<sup>623</sup> τρίς τε ἐς τὴν αὐτὴν ταύτην κόμην παραγίνονται καὶ ἐν  
τρισὶ ἡμέρησι. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτο ἐποίησε, χῶμα δὲ παρέχωσε  
παρ' ἐκάτερον τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸ χεῖλος, ἄξιον θύματος μέγαθος καὶ  
ῥυθος ὅσον τί ἐστι· κατίπερθε δὲ πολλῶ Βαβυλῶνος ὤρυσσε  
ἐλυτρον λίμνη<sup>624</sup> ὀλίγον τι παρατείνουσα ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ, βάθος  
μὲν ἐς τὸ ὕδωρ αἰεὶ ὀρύσσουσα<sup>625</sup> εὖρος δὲ τὸ περίμετρον αὐτοῦ  
ποιεῖσα εἰκοσί τε καὶ τετρακοσίων σταδίων· τὸν δὲ ὀρυσσόμενον  
χοῦν ἐκ τούτου τοῦ ὀρύγματος ἀναισίμου παρὰ τὰ χεῖλα τοῦ  
ποταμοῦ παραχέουσα, ἐπεὶ τε δὲ οἱ ὠρυκτο, λίθους ἀγαγομένη  
κρηπίδα κύκλῳ περὶ αὐτὴν ἤλασε. ἐποίηε δὲ ἀμφοτέρα ταῦτα,  
τόν τε ποταμὸν σκολιὸν καὶ τὸ ὄρυγμα πᾶν ἔλος, ὥς ὃ τε ποταμὸς  
βραδύτερος εἴη<sup>627</sup> περὶ καμπὰς πολλὰς ἀγνύμενος, καὶ οἱ πλόοι  
ἕωςι σκολιοὶ ἐς τὴν Βαβυλῶνα, ἔκ τε τῶν πλῶν ἐκδέκται περι-  
οδος τῆς λίμνης μακρῇ<sup>628</sup>. κατὰ τοῦτο δὲ εἰργάζετο τῆς χόρης τῇ

<sup>622</sup> Ἀρδέρικκα. The σταθμοὶ in the neighbourhood of Susa, where Darius located the captive Eretrians (vi. 119), was called by the same name, which was doubtless significant in Chaldaic. See the note on that passage.

<sup>623</sup> καταπλέοντες ἐς τὸν Εὐφρήτην ποταμὸν. This is a very strange phrase, and seems to indicate a belief on the part of the narrator, that a water-passage existed from the Mediterranean (τῆσδε τῆς θαλάσσης) into the Euphrates; a notion which may possibly have arisen from an indistinct knowledge of the line of traffic passing up the Orontes, and after a land-portage meeting the Euphrates, a course analogous to that by the Phasis and Cyrus, described above in note 363.

<sup>624</sup> ἐλυτρον λίμνη, "a reservoir for a pool." Thus ἐλυτρον ὁδόν (iv. 173) are "tanks" to hold the potable water.

<sup>625</sup> ἐς τὸ ὕδωρ αἰεὶ ὀρύσσουσα, "digging till she came to water." This is not *slagant*, but *spring* water, that which rose up from a pervious stratum, after the alluvium of the surface had been removed. I believe that Herodotus never uses the word ὕδωρ except where *potable* water is meant.

<sup>627</sup> ὥς ὃ τε ποταμὸς βραδύτερος εἴη. Here no doubt we have the real reason

of the formation of the canal. It was made to equalize the variable supply by the river, which rendered navigation impossible. The pool too, besides its uses as a reservoir, probably formed a dock for the barges to lie in, which, before Babylon was depopulated, must have brought provisions for the use of the population within the walls. The κρηπίς was a stone quay which ran round the margin. But the Greeks, quite unfamiliar with artificial navigation, viewed all the works as parts of a system of defence. See the next note.

<sup>628</sup> ἔκ τε τῶν πλῶν ἐκδέκται περίοδος τῆς λίμνης μακρῇ. It seems probable that an additional supply of water for the "pool" was gained by running a dam across the whole or a great part of the river, so that the navigation of the upper Euphrates ended here. The following passage from LAYARD'S *Nineveh* will serve to illustrate not only the text, but also the whole account of the great engineering works attributed to the two queens. The writer was passing down the Tigris on a raft in the middle of April, and in the vicinity of Nimroud "the waters of the river, swollen by the melting of the snows on the Armenian hills, were broken into a thousand foam-

αἱ τε ἐσβολαὶ ἦσαν καὶ τὰ σύντομα τῆς ἐκ Μήδων οδοῦ, ἵνα μὴ ἐπιμισγόμενοι οἱ Μῆδοι ἐκμανθάνοιεν αὐτῆς τὰ πρήγματα. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἐκ βάθεος περιεβάλετο, τοιήνδε δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν παρενθήκην ἐποιήσατο· τῆς πόλιος εἰσόδου δύο φαρσέων<sup>629</sup>, τοῦ δὲ ποταμοῦ μέσον ἔχοντος, ἐπὶ τῶν πρότερον βασιλέων ὅπως τις ἐθέλοι ἐκ τοῦ ἐτέρου φάρσεος εἰς τοῦτερον διαβῆναι, χρὴν πλοῖον διαβαίνειν καὶ ἦν, ὥς ἐγὼ δοκέω, ὀχληρὸν τοῦτο· αὕτη δὲ καὶ τοῦτο προεῖδε· ἐπεὶ τε γὰρ ὥρυσσε τὸ ἔλκτρον τῇ λίμνῃ, μνημόσυνον τόδε ἄλλο ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔργου ἐλπίετο· ἐτάμνετο λίθους περιμήκεας· ὥς δέ οἱ ἦσαν οἱ λίθοι ἐτοῖμοι καὶ τὸ χωρίον ὁρώρυκτο, ἐκτρέψασα τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸ ῥέεθρον πᾶν εἰς τὸ ὥρυσσε χωρίον, ἐν τῷ ἐπίμπλατο τοῦτο ἐν τούτῳ ἀπεξηρασμένοι τοῦ ἀρχαίου ῥέεθρου, τοῦτο μὲν τὰ Quays along the banks of the river, and a dam across. χεῖλεα τοῦ ποταμοῦ, κατὰ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὰς καταβάσιαις τὰς ἐκ τῶν πυλίδων εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν φερούσας, ἀνοικοδόμησε πλίνθοισι ὀπητήσι, κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον τῷ τείχεϊ, τοῦτο δὲ κατὰ μέσην κου μάλιστα τὴν πόλιν<sup>630</sup>, τοῖσι λίθοισι τοὺς ὠρύξατο οἰκοδόμει

ing whirlpools by an artificial barrier built across the stream. On the eastern bank the soil had been washed away by the current, but a solid mass of masonry still withstood its impetuosity. The Arab who guided my small raft gave himself up to religious ejaculations as we approached this formidable cataract, over which we were carried with some violence. Once safely through the danger, he explained to me that this unusual change in the quiet face of the river was caused by a great dam which had been built by Nimrod, and that in the autumn, before the winter rains, the huge stones of which it was constructed, squared and united by cramps of iron, were frequently visible above the surface of the stream. It was, in fact, one of those monuments of a great people, to be found in all the rivers of Mesopotamia, which were undertaken to ensure a constant supply of water to the innumerable canals spreading like network over the surrounding country, and which, even in the days of Alexander, were looked upon as the works of an ancient nation. No wonder that the traditions of the present inhabitants of the land should assign them to one of the founders of the human race! The Arab explained the connexion between the dam and the city built by *Athur*, the lieu-

tenant of Nimrod, the vast ruins of which were then before us, and of its purpose as a causeway for the mighty hunter to cross to the opposite palace now represented by the mound of *Hammum Ali*." (Chap. i. p. 9.)

<sup>629</sup> τῆς πόλιος εἰσόδου δύο φαρσέων, "the city being one composed of two divisions;" an uncommon construction. There is said to be an ample supply of stone a little above *Hil*, where the bitumen springs were (see note 601), and from hence probably the masses used in the works near Babylon were floated down. That they came from a distance seems implied in the expression λίθους ἀγαγομένην, § 185.

<sup>630</sup> κατὰ μέσην κου μάλιστα τὴν πόλιν. It is not easy to conceive the operations described by Herodotus as taking place in the order in which he represents. The natural course would be, first to dig the basin, then to form a dam across the river just below the intended entrance, and, finally, to open this. If the last operation took place just when the river began to fall, a considerable time would elapse before the basin filled, and in the meanwhile the bed below the dam would be left dry, and the χεῖλεα τοῦ ποταμοῦ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν might be built up with bricks. But such a dam would not be

γέφυραν δέουσα τοὺς λίθους σιδήρῳ τε καὶ μολύβδῳ. ἐπιτείνεσκε δὲ ἐπ' αὐτήν, ὅπως μὲν ἡμέρῃ γένοιτο, ξύλα τετράγωνα ἐπ' ὧν τὴν διάβασιν ἐποιεῖντο οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι· τὰς δὲ νύκτας τὰ ξύλα ταῦτα ἀπαιρέεσκον τοῦδε εἵνεκα, ἵνα μὴ διαφοντεύοντες τὰς νύκτας κλέπτοιεν παρ' ἀλλήλων. ὥς δὲ τό τε ὀρυχθὲν λίμνη πλήρης ἐγεγόνεε ὑπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν γέφυραν ἐκεκόσμητο, τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν ἐς τὰ ἀρχαῖα ῥέεθρα ἐκ τῆς λίμνης ἐξήγαγε καὶ οὕτω τὸ ὀρυχθὲν ἔλος γενόμενον ἐς δέον ἐδόκεε γεγόνεαι, καὶ τοῖσι πολυήρῃσι γέφυρα ἦν κατεσκευασμένη.

187  
Sepulchre  
of Nitocris  
opened by  
Darius.

Ἡ δ' αὐτὴ αὕτη βασιλεια καὶ ἀπάτην τοιγάρ τινα ἐμψαυήσατο· ὑπὲρ τῶν μάλιστα λεωφόρων πυλέων τοῦ ἄστεος τάφον ἑωυτῇ κατεσκευάσατο μετέωρον ἐπιπολῆς αὐτέων τῶν πυλέων· ἐνεκόλαψε δὲ ἐς τὸν τάφον γράμματα λέγοντα τάδε ΤΩΝ ΤΙΣ ΕΜΕΤ ὙΣΤΕΡΟΝ ΓΙΝΟΜΕΝΩΝ ΒΑΒΥΛΩΝΟΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΗΝ ΣΠΑΝΙΣΗΙ ΧΡΗΜΑΤΩΝ, ΑΝΟΙΞΑΣ ΤΟΝ ΤΑΦΟΝ ΛΑΒΕΤΟ ὍΚΟΣΔ ΒΟΤΛΕΤΑΙ ΧΡΗΜΑΤΑ. ΜΗ ΜΕΝΤΟΙ ΓΕ ΜΗ ΣΠΑΝΙΞΑΣ ΓΕ, ΑΛΛΩΣ ΑΝΟΙΞΗΙ· ΟΤ ΓΑΡ ΑΜΕΙΝΟΝ. οὗτος ὁ τάφος ἦν ἀκίνητος μέχρι οὗ ἐς Δαρείου περιήλθε ἡ βασιλιγῇ· Δαρείῳ<sup>631</sup> δὲ καὶ δεῖνον ἐδόκεε εἶναι τῇσι πύλῃσι ταύτῃσι μηδὲν χρεέσθαι, καὶ χρημάτων κειμένων καὶ αὐτῶν [τῶν χρημάτων] ἐπικαλεομένων, μὴ οὐ λαβεῖν αὐτά· τῇσι

in the middle of the city, but above it. Possibly a second one was built, the γέφυρα spoken of by Herodotus, in order to head up the water and keep a constant level in the neighbourhood of the palace; an effect which would be produced if a supply was furnished by sluices, some communicating between the "pool" and the "old bed," and the others in the upper dam. This supply would take place only when the river was low, so that its level became inferior to that of "the pool," and the latter, by letting the water out of it, would become a swamp, and oblige those who came down the Euphrates to make a great circuit, thus giving a colour to the notion expressed above (see note 627). It will be seen that all the particular operations spoken of by Herodotus may have taken place, but not in the manner or with the object he represents. Nothing is more likely than that he was unaware of the existence

of the upper dam, which, if it existed in his time, was κατ'ἐπερθε πολλῶν Βαβυλωνίων (§ 185).

<sup>631</sup> Δαρείῳ. Ctesias does not appear to have related any expedition of Darius against Babylon, nor any profanation of the tomb by him. But he does make Xerxes open the sarcophagus (πύλος) of Belitamas (= Belus) there, which was religiously preserved, and fail in the attempt to fill it with oil, as, says Ctesias, καὶ ἐπεγράπτο (ap. Photium, Bibl. p. 39, ed. Bekker). ALIAN (Var. Hist. xiii. 3) gives the same account, with fuller particulars, one of which is that the sarcophagus was of glass,—a circumstance which derives some plausibility from the discoveries recently made at Nineveh. STRABO (xvi. c. 1, p. 336) likewise says that the tomb of Belus was in ruins,—“destroyed, as they say, by Xerxes.”



δὲ πύλῃσι ταύτησι οὐδὲν ἔχρᾱτο τοῦδε εἵνεκα, ὅτι ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς οἱ ἐγίνετο ὁ νεκρὸς διεξελαύνοντι· ἀνοίξας δὲ τὸν τάφον, εὗρε χρήματα μὲν οὐ, τὸν δὲ νεκρὸν, καὶ γράμματα λέγοντα τάδε· Εἰ μὴ ἀπληστος τε εἶας<sup>632</sup> χρημάτων καὶ αἰσχροκερδῆς, οὔκ ἂν νεκρὸν θῆκας ἀνεώλιγες· αὕτη μὲν ἦ βασιλεία τοιαύτη τις λέγεται γενέσθαι.

Ὁ δὲ δὴ Κῦρος ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς γυναικὸς τὸν παῖδα ἐστρατεύετο, 188  
 ἔχοντά τε τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ ἑωυτοῦ τοῦνομα Λαβυνήτου<sup>633</sup> καὶ τὴν Cyrus in-  
 Ἀσσυρίων ἀρχὴν. (στρατεύεται δὲ δὴ βασιλεὺς ὁ μέγας καὶ vades Laby-  
 σιτίοισι εὖ ἐσκευασμένοισι ἐξ οἴκου καὶ προβάτοισι· καὶ δὴ καὶ netus, the  
 ὕδωρ ἀπὸ τοῦ Χοάσπεω ποταμοῦ<sup>634</sup> ἅμα ἄγεται τοῦ παρὰ Σούσα son of Nito-  
 ῤεοντος, τοῦ μούνου πίνει βασιλεὺς<sup>635</sup> καὶ ἄλλου οὐδεὸς ποταμοῦ cris.  
 τούτου δὲ τοῦ Χοάσπεω τοῦ ὕδατος ἀπεψημένου πολλὰ κάρτα  
 ἅμαξαι τετράκυκλοι ἡμιόνειαι κομίζονται ἐν ἀγγείοισι ἀργυρέοισι,  
 ἔπονται ὅπῃ ἂν ἐλαύνῃσι ἐκάστοτε.) Ἐπεὶ τε δὲ ὁ Κῦρος πορευό- 189  
 μένος ἐπὶ τὴν Βαβυλῶνα ἐγίνετο ἐπὶ Γύνδῃ ποταμῷ<sup>636</sup>, τοῦ αἰ μὲν His anger at  
 the river  
 Gyndes.

<sup>632</sup> εἶας. The form εἶα is used ii. 19.

<sup>633</sup> Λαβυνήτου. It is questionable whether this name, like the Etruscan *Lars*, is not a title of honour or dignity rather than a proper name. "Labynetos the Babylonian" is mentioned in conjunction with "Syennesis the Cilician" (above, § 74), as mediating a peace between the Lydians and Medes in the year 610 B.C. A Labynetos is also represented as king of the Babylonians, and an ally of Croesus in § 77. It is natural to presume that this latter Labynetos is the same with the one in the text, according to the view of Herodotus; but it does not, from Herodotus, appear in what exact relation he stood to the Labynetos mentioned § 74. Neither does it seem certain that the historical cycle to which the account of Babylon (§§ 178—191) belongs, contained the account of the Lydian and Median war (§§ 73, 74).

<sup>634</sup> τοῦ Χοάσπεω ποταμοῦ. See note on v. 49.

<sup>635</sup> τοῦ μούνου πίνει βασιλεὺς. RENNELL remarks on the much greater importance attached by Asiatics than by Europeans to the quality of water. It may also be observed that some waters travel much better than others; and that this property was considered in the regulation in question seems evident from the boiling the water before bottling it. When

MOUNTSTUART ELPHINSTONE went on his embassy to Caubul, Bahawal Khan sent him four brazen jars of pure water from the Hyphasis, sealed with his own seal, several days' journey into the desert east of the Indus (*Candul*, p. 15). See too the commendation of the Taurus (iv. 91). For the extremely unusual form ἐλαύνῃσι in the next sentence, several MSS have ἐλαύνει.

<sup>636</sup> ἐγίνετο ἐπὶ Γύνδῃ ποταμῷ. It must be remembered that the march of Cyrus upon Babylon takes place from *Agbatana*, not from *Susa*. (See above, § 153.) This would make it not unreasonable to suppose the Gyndes the *Diyeleh*, which falls into the Tigris from the East a little below Baghdad,—a site which appears to be required by the route of Aristagoras (v. 52). But RENNELL remarks that there is great inaccuracy in the topography, as the language of the author suggests that *Opis* lies on the Tigris below the junction of the Gyndes; whereas it appears from the *Anabasis* of Xenophon (ii. 4. 25) that Opis was twenty parasangs higher up the stream than Sitace, and Sitace above the junction of the Diyeleh. (*Geography of Herodotus*, p. 202.) Certainly the vagueness is against the supposition of Herodotus having himself seen the site of Cyrus's exploit, the story of which appears to be a later legend

πηγαὶ ἐν Ματιηνοῖσι οὖρεσι<sup>637</sup>, ῥέει δὲ διὰ Δαρδανέων<sup>638</sup>, ἐκδιδοὶ δὲ ἐς ἕτερον ποταμὸν Τήγριν· ὁ δὲ παρὰ Ὀπιῳ πόλιν ῥέων ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν ἐκδιδοῖ· τοῦτον δὴ τὸν Γύνδην ποταμὸν ὡς διαβαίνειν ἐπειράτο ὁ Κύρος, ἐόντα νηυσιπέρητον<sup>639</sup>, ἐνθαυτὰ οἱ τῶν τις ἱρῶν ἵππων τῶν λευκῶν<sup>640</sup> ὑπὸ ὕβριος ἐσβὰς ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν, διαβαίνειν ἐπειράτο· ὁ δὲ μιν συμψήσας ὑποβρύχιον οἰχώκεε φέρων. κάρτα τε δὴ ἐχαλέπαινε τῷ ποταμῷ ὁ Κύρος τοῦτο ὑβρίσαντι, καὶ οἱ ἐπηπειλῆσε οὕτω δὴ μιν ἀσθενέα ποιήσειν, ὥστε τοῦ λοιποῦ καὶ γυναικάς μιν εἰπετέως τὸ γόνυ οὐ βρεχούσας διαβήσεσθαι· μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀπειλὴν, μετεῖς τὴν ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνι στρατεύουσιν διαίρει τὴν στρατιὴν δίχῃ, διελὼν δὲ, κατέτεινε σχοι νοτενέας ὑποδέξας διώρυχας<sup>641</sup> ὀγδώκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν παρ' ἐκάτερον

to account for certain works of irrigation. (See note 621.) The city *Opis* was, according to Xenophon, one of importance; and the especial particulars which a Greek merchant would know of it would be that it was in the vicinity of an important water communication with the Eastern markets. As to whether it was higher or lower than the natural mouth of the Gyndes he would neither know nor care. The importance of the site for a commercial city is evident from the fact that it was the point up to which Alexander made the Tigris navigable from the sea (STRABO, xvi. cap. i. p. 338).

<sup>637</sup> ἐν Ματιηνοῖσι οὖρεσι. See note 681.

<sup>638</sup> διὰ Δαρδανέων. One MS (K) has *Διαρδανέων*. RAWLINSON (*Geogr. Journal*, vol. ix. p. 28), with great plausibility, proposes to read *διὰ Δαρνέων*. The Diyaleh in its upper course flows through a remarkable defile called *Darneh* (lat. 35° 10', long. 46° 30'), which he identifies with the *Darna* of PROLEMY, and supposes to be alluded to here.

<sup>639</sup> ἐόντα νηυσιπέρητον, "being a river crossed by a ferry," or possibly "by a bridge of boats." The Diyaleh "is crossed by a bridge of boats a little above its mouth, and its breadth is there sixty yards." (*Penny Cyclopædia*, vol. iii. p. 267.) The same writer, speaking from personal observation, says, "at Bakooba, about forty miles above its mouth, it may, during the summer, be forded on horseback, although its stream is very rapid."

<sup>640</sup> τῶν τις ἱρῶν ἵππων τῶν λευκῶν. This feature in the narrative, like that of the transport of the Choaspes water,

bespeaks a pomp and state proper to the Persian kings after the time of Darius (see vii. 40), but hardly before. It implies a high development of the worship of the Sun-god (see vii. 54, 55); and this circumstance, combined with the number 360 (that of the days in the Babylonian and Egyptian year), leads me to think that the temple of Belus at Babylon is probably the locality where this story originated. The number 360 entered so much into Persian ideas in after-times, that STRABO speaks of a popular song, of which the subject is the useful qualities of the date-palm, and of these *that number* is enumerated (xvi. c. i. p. 343).

<sup>641</sup> κατέτεινε σχοινοτενέας . . . διώρυχας. There seems little doubt this work was entirely one of irrigation, by which the neighbourhood both of the Euphrates and the Tigris was brought into a state of garden cultivation. The Greeks probably became generally familiar, for the first time, with this process, by the expedition of the 10,000. XENOPHON (*Anab.* ii. 4. 13) describes very graphically two canals running out of the Tigris, which the army passed, the one on a bridge, the other on a raft of seven boats: *κατέτεμντο δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ τάφροι ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν αἱ μὲν πρώται μεγάλαι, ἔπειτα δὲ ἐλάττους, τέλει δὲ καὶ μικροὶ χειροὶ, ὥσπερ ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἐπὶ τὰς μελίσας*. And, if the Gyndes be the Diyaleh, that river actually formed the principal feeder of a system of irrigation on the east bank of the Tigris. "The most important of these canals," says an eye-witness, "is the Naharawan, which commenced near

τὸ χεῖλος τετραμμένας τοῦ Γύνδεω πάντα τρόπον διατάξας δὲ τὸν στρατὸν ὀρύσσειν ἐκέλευε· οἱ δὲ ὀμίλου πολλοῦ ἐργαζομένου ἦντο μὲν τὸ ἔργον, ὅμως μέντοι τὴν θερείην πᾶσαν αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ διέτριψαν ἐργαζόμενοι.

Ὡς δὲ τὸν Γύνδην ποταμὸν ἐτίσατο Κύρος ἐς τριηκοσίας καὶ 190  
ἐξήκοντά μιν διώρυχας διαλαβὼν<sup>642</sup>, καὶ τὸ δεύτερον ἔαρ ὑπέλαμπε, He advances upon Babylon in the second spring, and shuts the enemy up in their walls.  
οὕτω δὴ ἤλανε ἐπὶ τὴν Βαβυλῶνα· οἱ δὲ Βαβυλώνιοι ἐκστρατεύσαντες ἐμὲν αὐτὸν ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγένετο εὐαίωνων ἀγχοῦ τῆς πόλιος, συνέβαλόν τε οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι καὶ ἐσσωθέντες τῇ μάχῃ κατειλήθησαν ἐς τὸ ἄστυ· οἱ δὲ ἐξεπιστάμενοι ἔτι πρότερον τὸν Κύρον οὐκ ἄντρεμίζοντα, ἀλλ' ὀρέοντες αὐτὸν παντὶ ἔθνει ὁμοίως ἐπιχειρέοντα, προεσάξαντο σιτία ἐτέων κάρτα πολλῶν. ἐνθαῦτα οὗτοι μὲν λόγον εἶχον τῆς πολιορκίης οὐδένα· Κύρος δὲ ἀπορήσει ἐνείχετο, ἅτε χρόνου τε ἐγγυμομένου συχοῦ ἀνωτέρω τε οὐδὲν τῶν πρηγμάτων προκοπτομένων. Εἴτε δὴ ὦν ἄλλος οἱ ἀπορέοντι ὑπεθήκατο εἴτε 191  
καὶ αὐτὸς ἔμαθε τὸ ποιητέον οἱ ἦν, ἐποίεε δὴ τοιούδε· τάξας τὴν He succeeds in taking the city by a stratagem.  
στρατιὴν ἅπασαν ἐξ ἐμβολῆς τοῦ ποταμοῦ τῇ ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσβάλλει, καὶ ὅπισθε αὐτὶς τῆς πόλιος τάξας ἑτέρους τῇ ἐξίει ἐκ τῆς πόλιος ὁ ποταμὸς, προσεῖπε τῷ στρατῷ, ὅταν διαβατὸν τὸ ῥέεθρον ἴδωνται γενόμενον, ἐσιέναι ταύτῃ ἐς τὴν πόλιν. οὕτω τε δὴ τάξας καὶ κατὰ ταῦτα παραινέσας, ἀπήλανε αὐτὸς σὺν τῷ ἀρχηγῷ τοῦ στρατοῦ· ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν λίμνην, τὰ περ ἢ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων βασιλεία ἐποίησε κατὰ τε τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ κατὰ τὴν λίμνην, ἐποίεε καὶ ὁ Κύρος ἕτερα τοιαῦτα· τὸν γὰρ ποταμὸν διώρυχι ἐσαγαγὼν ἐς τὴν λίμνην εὐόσαν ἔλος, τὸ ἀρχαῖον ῥέεθρον διαβατὸν εἶναι ἐποίησε ὑπονοστήσαντος τοῦ ποταμοῦ· γενομένου δὲ τούτου τοιούτου, οἱ Πέρσαι οἵπερ ἐτετάχατο ἐπ' αὐτῷ τούτῳ κατὰ τὸ ῥέεθρον τοῦ Εὐφράτew ποταμοῦ, ὑπονενοστηκότος ἀνδρὶ ὡς ἐς μέσον μὴρὸν μάλιστα κη, κατὰ τοῦτο ἐσῆσαν ἐς τὴν Βαβυλῶνα<sup>643</sup>. εἰ μὲν νυν προεπύθοντο ἢ ἔμαθον οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι τὸ ἐκ

Samara on the east bank of the Tigris, from whence its remains may be traced to below Koote; and, although all further traces are lost in the marshes of Susiana, it appears that it originally extended to the Kerah. It received the Diyeleh in its course, and it is a fact notorious in the neighbourhood, that the existing channel of that river, from the Naharawan to the

Tigris, is of comparatively recent formation." (*Penny Cyclopædia*, vol. iii. p. 367.) See notes 621 and 636.

<sup>642</sup> διαλαβών. See note 402.

<sup>643</sup> κατὰ τοῦτο ἐσῆσαν ἐς τὴν Βαβυλῶνα. That the *coup-de-main* of Cyrus could have been executed in the way described is impossible to conceive. The pool into which he is said to have turned

τοῦ Κύρου ποιούμενον, οὐδ' ἂν περιιδόντες τοὺς Πέρσας ἐσελθεῖν ἐς τὴν πόλιν διέφθειραν κάκιστα· κατακλητίσαντες γὰρ ἂν πάσας τὰς ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν πυλίδας ἐχούσας, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ τὰς αἰμασίαις ἀναβάντες τὰς παρὰ τὰ χεῖλεα τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐληλαμένας, ἔλαβον ἂν σφεας ὡς ἐν κύρτῃ<sup>644</sup>. νῦν δὲ ἐξ ἀπροσδοκίτου σφί παρέστησαν οἱ Πέρσαι. ὑπὸ δὲ μεγάθεος τῆς πόλιος, ὡς λέγεται ὑπὸ τῶν ταύτῃ οἰκημένων, τῶν περὶ τὰ ἔσχατα τῆς πόλιος ἐαλωκότων, τοὺς τὸ μέσον οἰκέοντας τῶν Βαβυλωνίων οὐ μανθάνειν ἐαλωκότας<sup>645</sup>. ἀλλὰ (τυχεῖν γὰρ σφί ἐοῦσαν ὀρτὴν) χορεύειν τε τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον καὶ ἐν εὐπαθείῃσι εἶναι, ἐς δὲ δὴ καὶ τὸ κάρτα ἐπίθοντο.

192

Immense  
resources  
of Baby-  
lonia.

Καὶ Βαβυλὼν μὲν οὕτω τότε πρῶτον ἀραίρητο. τὴν δὲ δύναμιν τῶν Βαβυλωνίων πολλοῖσι μὲν καὶ ἄλλοισι δηλώσω ὅση τίς ἐστι, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ τῷδε· βασιλεῖ τῷ μεγάλῳ ἐς τροφήν αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τῆς στρατιῆς διαραίρηται, πᾶρεξ τοῦ φόρου, γῆ πᾶσα ὅσης ἄρχει· δυνάδεκα ὧν μηνῶν ἐόντων ἐς τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν, τοὺς τέσσερας μῆνας τρέφει μὲν ἡ Βαβυλωνίη χώρα, τοὺς δὲ ὀκτὼ τῶν μηνῶν ἡ λοιπὴ

the river was far above the city, and was already empty. As it was the summer time, its bottom would (if the theory in the note 630 be well founded) be little, if at all, below the level of the neighbouring river. The water therefore would have had to run up hill in order to get into it from the centre of Babylon. But, if the level of the pool be supposed such as to admit of the operation as described by Herodotus, it could not have been a swamp at the time, as he states it to have been,—nor could the operation of Nitocris ever have taken place.

The whole of the proceeding is very intelligible however, if the works were such as imagined in the note above referred to, and the siege was laid not to the whole town but to the palace-fortress,—no longer standing, apparently, in the time of Herodotus, but which DIONORUS (ii. 8 and 11), probably from Ctesias, and STRABO (xvi. p. 335), describe as built on the bank of the river, with well-watered ornamental gardens. These could not have been kept up in the dry season without damming up the water, as suggested in the above note. The destruction of this dam would readily and rapidly effect the lowering of the water, and a scaling party being directed upon the wall at the *farthest* part from the dam, where of course the water would

first be sufficiently low, would meet but little opposition. The scientific Babylonians probably looked upon the Persians as the generals of 1745 might on the Highland invaders of England, and, when Cyrus appeared to withdraw his army, thought the risk was over. From the suggestion of Herodotus, *εἴτε ἄλλος οἱ ἀπορέοντι βπεθήκετο*, one may conjecture that a Babylonian deserter, or some other person, might have pointed out to him the mode of striking a fatal blow.

<sup>644</sup> *κύρτῃ*. The MS S has the reading *κυρτήν*, from an incorporation of the marginal reading *κύρτῃ* with the textual *κύρτῃ*, or the converse.

<sup>645</sup> *οὐ μανθάνειν ἐαλωκότας*. ARISTOTLE, speaking of the magnitude of the city, says, *ἥ γέ φασιν ἐαλωκυίας τριήτην ἡμέραν οὐκ αἰσθέσθαι τι μέρος τῆς πόλεως*. (*Politic.* iii. p. 1276.) The statement given by Herodotus seems to result from a blending of this fact together with the other well-known one, that a festival was going on in the palace. It may be observed in reference to the explanation given in note 643, that a passage of the Old Testament (JEREMIAH li. 31), which in our version appears opposed to it, is not at all so in Dathe's translation. In the LXX it does not exist.

πάσα Ἀσίῃ οὕτω τριτημορίῃ ἢ Ἀσσυρίῃ χώρῃ τῇ δυνάμει τῆς ἄλλης Ἀσίας καὶ ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς χώρας ταύτης, τὴν οἱ Πέρσαι σατραπήτην καλέουσι, ἔστι ἀπασέων τῶν ἀρχέων πολλὸν τι κρατίστη ὅκου Τριπανταίχμῃ<sup>646</sup> τῷ Ἀρταβάξου ἐκ βασιλείως ἔχοντι τὸν νομὸν τοῦτον<sup>647</sup> ἀργυρίου μὲν προσήει ἐκάστης ἡμέρης ἀρτάβῃ μεστή· (ἡ δὲ ἀρτάβη, μέτρον ἐὼν Περσικὸν<sup>648</sup>, χωρεῖ μεδίμνου Ἀττικῆς πλείον χοίνιξι τρισὶ Ἀττικῆσι) ἵπποι δὲ οἱ αὐτοῦ ἦσαν ἰδίῃ, παρέξ τῶν πολεμιστέων<sup>649</sup>, οἱ μὲν ἀναβαίνοντες τὰς θηλάς ὀκτακόσιοι, αἱ δὲ βαινόμεναι ἑξακισχίλια καὶ μύρια· ἀνέβαινε γὰρ ἕκαστος τῶν ἐρσένων τούτων εἰκοσι ἵππους· κυνῶν δὲ Ἰνδικῶν τοσοῦτο δὴ τι πλῆθος ἐτρέφετο, ὥστε τέσσερες τῶν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ κῶμαι μεγάλαι, τῶν ἄλλων εἶναι ἀτελεές, τοῖσι κυσὶ προσεταχάτο σιτία παρέχειν. τοιαῦτα μὲν τῷ ἄρχοντι τῆς Βαβυλῶνος ὑπῆρχε εἶναι. Ἡ δὲ γῆ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων ὑεταί<sup>650</sup> μὲν ὀλίγη, καὶ 193

<sup>646</sup> Τριπανταίχμῃ. The MSS vary between this form, Τριπαναίχμης and Τριπαίχμης. But all have the form in the text in vii. 82. At the same time it will be observed that the name of the father is in that place *Artabanus*.

<sup>647</sup> τὸν νομὸν τοῦτον. The term *nomos* is more especially applied to the territorial divisions of *Egypt*, as appears from many passages in book ii. See note 474.

<sup>648</sup> ἡ δὲ ἀρτάβη, μέτρον ἐὼν Περσικόν. The *artabe* was the name of an Egyptian as well as a Persian measure, and is said to have a Coptic root. (See the commentators on *HERODOTUS* *sub* v.) This would lead one to suppose that the name is either Egyptian or Babylonian. But the dimensions given in the text are different from those of the Egyptian *artabe*. This, according to *BOECKH* (*Metrolologische Untersuchungen*, pp. 242, 3) was equal to seventy-two Roman *sextarii*, and identical with the Hebrew *Bath* or *Ephah*, and the Attic *Metretes*. But there was also a more modern Egyptian *artabe*, which stood to the other in the relation 20 : 27. The measure in the text is much more than the greater of these, as it = 72 + 24 + 3.2 (= 102) *sextarii*, and it bears no relation to any known system of measurement. Perhaps the true explanation is, that the unit of measurement in which the tribute was paid entered into the metrological system of the Persian mountaineers, somewhat as the *artabe* entered into the more scientific scale of the Egyp-

tians and the Chaldeans, and was therefore called by that name. On the eastern coast of England, when the fishing boats come in, the herrings are sold by "the hundred,"—which however means 140 in practice. A foreigner, who witnessed this transaction, might naturally speak of "a hundred" as a Lowestoft word of number meaning seven score. It is by just the converse process that the common people ordinarily speak of a 4lb. loaf as a *quartern*.

<sup>649</sup> πολεμιστέων. This is the reading of S, V, δ, and d. Other MSS have *πολεμιστηρίων*, which Gaisford adopts. The well-known passage in *THEOPHASTUS* (xv. 51),

τοὶ πολεμισταὶ  
ἵπποι τῷ βασιλεῖ,

favours the reading in the text. Similarly *Bacchylus* is called *πολεμιστῆς* ἀγαθός by *STRABO*; and *DIONYSIUS* (ii. 41) speaks of *πολεμιστὰς* Ἴπποι in India.

<sup>650</sup> ὑεταί μὲν ὀλίγη. The writer quoted in note 639, says that at Baghdad it is very rare for rain to fall between the beginning of May and the middle of September. A considerable amount of water, he says, falls in the autumn, but the whole number of days on which it rains is probably not more than twenty-five in the year. *LAYARD* (*Nineveh*, p. 7) describes the luxuriant vegetation of the plains after the spring rains, which appear to fall in January (p. 63).

Irrigation of the plain of Babylon unlike that of Egypt.

The soil excellent for cereals, but producing nothing else.

τὸ ἐκτρέφον τὴν ῥίζαν τοῦ σίτου ἐστὶ τοῦτο· ἀρδόμενον μέντοι ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀδρύνεται τε τὸ λήιον, καὶ παραγίνεται ὁ σίτος, οὐ κατὰπερ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀναβαίνοντος<sup>651</sup> ἐς τὰς ἀρούρας, ἀλλὰ χερσὶ τε καὶ κηλωνήτοισι<sup>652</sup> ἀρδόμενος· ἡ γὰρ Βαβυλωνίη χώρα πᾶσα, κατὰπερ ἡ Αἰγυπτία, κατατέμνηται ἐς διώρυχας· καὶ ἡ μεγίστη τῶν διωρύχων ἐστὶ νηυσυπέρητος, πρὸς ἥλιον τετραμμένη τὸν χειμερινόν<sup>653</sup>. ἐσέχει δὲ ἐς ἄλλον ποταμὸν ἐκ τοῦ Εὐφράτew, ἐς τὸν Τύγριν, παρ' οὗ Νίνος πόλις οἰκετο<sup>654</sup>. ἔστι δὲ χωρῶν αὕτη ἀπασέων μακρῷ ἀρίστη τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν Δήμητρος καρπὸν ἐκφέρειν τὰ γὰρ δὴ ἄλλα δένδρεα οὐδὲ πειράται ἀρχὴν φέρειν<sup>655</sup>, οὔτε συκῆν οὔτε ἄμπελον οὔτε ἐλαίην· τὸν δὲ τῆς Δήμητρος καρπὸν ὧδε ἀγαθὴ ἐκφέρειν ἐστὶ, ὥστε ἐπὶ δικήσια μὲν τὸ παράπαν ἀποδοιοῖ, ἐπεὰν δὲ ἄριστα αὕτῃ ἐωυτῆς ἐνεύκη, ἐπὶ τριηκόσια ἐκφέρει· τὰ δὲ φύλλα αὐτόθι τῶν τε πυρῶν καὶ τῶν κριθῶν τὸ πλάτος γίνεταί τεσσέρων εὐπετέως δακτύλων· ἐκ δὲ κέγχρου καὶ σησάμου ὅσον τι δένδρον μέγαθος γίνεταί, ἐξεπιστάμενος, μνήμην οὐ ποιήσομαι· εὖ εἰδὼς ὅτι τοῖσι μὴ ἀπυγμένοισι ἐς τὴν Βαβυλωνίην χώραν καὶ τὰ εἰρημένα καρπῶν ἐχόμενα ἐς

<sup>651</sup> οὐ, κατὰπερ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, αὐτοῦ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀναβαίνοντος. In the present state of the country, the canals and sluices not being kept up, inundations are very common after the melting of the Armenian snows. But the arrangements mentioned by Herodotus in the text both saved the surplus water brought down for summer irrigation, and prevented the overflow in April and May. The reference to Egypt as a standard of comparison is to be remarked. (See note 474.)

<sup>652</sup> κηλωνήτοισι. The sinking of the level of the water in the dry season would render machinery requisite for raising it from the ditches to the land.

<sup>653</sup> πρὸς ἥλιον τετραμμένη τὸν χειμερινόν, i. e. turned towards the point of the horizon where the sun rises at the winter solstice.

<sup>654</sup> οἰκετο. This reading is preserved in a single MS. Three others have *οἰκῆτο*, one *οἰάκετο*, and three *οἰκάκετο*. These variations are curious, as all arising primarily out of marginal alternative readings, *οἰ(α)κῆτο*. The last, which apparently proceeded from alternative readings connected by the letter *κ* (= *καί*), perhaps became modified by the copyist imagining

the word to be compounded from *οἶκος* and *οἰκεῖν*.

<sup>655</sup> οὐδὲ πειράται ἀρχὴν φέρειν, "there is not even a pretence at its producing them." By τὰ ἄλλα δ. the writer would doubtless mean only those familiar to the Greeks, the *date palm* abounding throughout the whole region to such an extent that STRABO (xvi. c. 1, p. 343) says, that, with the exception of barley, the Babylonians get *every thing* from the palm, καὶ γὰρ ἄρτος καὶ οἶνος καὶ ὕψος καὶ μέλι καὶ ἄλφита, τὰ τε πλεκτὰ παντοία ἐκ τοῦτου τοῖς δὲ πυρήσιν ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων οἱ χαλκεῖς χρῶνται· βρεχόμενοι δὲ τοῖς σιτισομένοις εἰς τροφὴν εἰσι βουσί καὶ προβάτοισι. It was the only wood too which they used in building. (Id. *ib.* p. 336.) See too the song described in note 640. Also the observation relative to the olive and vine must be taken as confined to the plains watered by the rivers, that is, to the vicinity of the commercial track: for the vine and olive are cultivated largely in the hills, and not only appear on the Niniveh sculptures, but in the speech of Rabshakeh describing the attractions of the country (2 *Kings* xviii. 32).

ἀπιστίην πολλήν ἀπῖκται. χρέονται δὲ οὐδὲν ἐλαίῳ, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν σησάμων ποιεῦντες. εἰσὶ δὲ σφί φοίνικες πεφυκότες ἀνὰ πᾶν τὸ πεδῖον, οἱ πλεῦνες αὐτῶν καρποφόροι, ἐκ τῶν καὶ σιτία καὶ οἶνον καὶ μέλι ποιεῦνται· τοὺς συκέων τρόπον θεραπεύουσι, τὰ τε ἄλλα, καὶ φοινίκων τοὺς ἔρσενας Ἑλλήνες καλέουσι, τούτων τὸν καρπὸν περιδέουσι τῇσι βαλανηφόροις τῶν φοινίκων, ἵνα πεπαίῃη τέ σφί ὁ ψῆν τὴν βάλανον ἐσδύνων καὶ μὴ ἀπορρέῃ ὁ καρπὸς ὁ τοῦ φοίνικος· ψῆνας γὰρ δὴ φορέουσι<sup>655</sup> ἐν τῷ καρπῷ οἱ ἔρσενες, κατὰπερ δὴ οἱ ἑλλυνοί.

Τὸ δὲ ἀπάντων θῶνμα μέγιστόν μοι ἐστὶ τῶν ταύτῃ, μετὰ γε 194 αὐτὴν τὴν πόλιν, ἔρχομαι φράσω. τὰ πλοῖα αὐτοῖσι ἐστὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν ποταμὸν πορευόμενα ἐς τὴν Βαβυλῶνα, ἔοντα κυκλοτερέα, πάντα σκύτινα· ἐπεὰν γὰρ ἐν τοῖσι Ἀρμενίοις τοῖσι κατ' ὑπερθεῖ Ἀσσυρίων οἰκημένοις νομέας ἰτέης<sup>657</sup> ταμόμενοι ποιήσωνται, περιτείνουσι τούτοις διφθέρας στεγαστρίδας ἔξωθεν ἐδάφεος τρόπον<sup>658</sup>, οὔτε πρύμνην ἀποκρίνοντες οὔτε πρῶρην συνάγοντες, ἀλλ' ἀσπίδος τρόπον κυκλοτερέα ποιήσαντες· καὶ καλάμης πλήσαντες πᾶν τὸ πλοῖον τοῦτο, ἀπῖασι κατὰ τὸν ποταμὸν φέρεσθαι φορτίων πλήσαντες· μάλιστα δὲ βίκους φοινικίους<sup>659</sup> καταγάουσι οἶνον πλέους· ἰθύνεται δὲ ὑπὸ τε δύο πλήκτρων, καὶ δύο ἀνδρῶν ὀρθῶν ἐστεώτων καὶ ὁ μὲν ἔσω ἔλκει τὸ πλήκτρον ὁ δὲ ἔξω ὠθέει<sup>660</sup>.

Round boats in which merchandize comes down the river from Armenia.

<sup>655</sup> ψῆνας γὰρ δὴ φορέουσι. These insects would be the means of conveying the pollen from the male flowers of the palm to the pistils in the female flower, and thus fertilizing the seed. SIEBTHORP says that artificial caprification is adopted in the Morea with the fig-trees at the present day. "Without it, the figs would fall off, and would not ripen well." (*Walpole's Turkey*, i. p. 61.)

<sup>657</sup> νομέας ἰτέης, "ribs of willow wood." The expression *νομέας* is probably a technical one in the art of ship-building. It is used again, ii. 96, in the same sense, but in no other writer. A similar peculiarity of usage occurs in the word *πλήκτρον* just below, which is nowhere else employed to designate an oar.

<sup>658</sup> ἐδάφεος τρόπον, "in the manner of a bottom."

<sup>659</sup> βίκους φοινικίους. There seems no necessity either to alter the latter of these words into *φοινικίον*, or to suppose

that the expression *βίκους φοινικίους* should be rendered "casks of palm-wood." β. φ. probably meant "palm-jars;" and the words *οἶνον πλέους* are added to indicate that it was not the empty vessels which constituted the freight (as in the case mentioned ii. 6), but that they came to bring the wine in them. That the palm-wine was well known in Egypt, as well as at Babylon, appears from the use made of it in embalming (ii. 86), and from the story of the presents sent by Cambyses to the Æthiopians (iii. 20-22), which is undoubtedly of Egyptian origin.

<sup>660</sup> καὶ ὁ μὲν ἔσω ἔλκει τὸ πλήκτρον ὁ δὲ ἔξω ὠθέει. The action described is that commonly seen in boats on the Swiss lakes, where the foremost boatman pulls his oar, with his face turned sternwards, while his companion stands up and pushes with his, looking bowwards in order to be able to steer the better. In the Euphrates' boats, both men stood, the sole

ποιέεται δὲ καὶ κάρτα μεγάλα ταῦτα τὰ πλοῖα καὶ ἐλάσσω, τὰ δὲ μέγιστα αὐτῶν καὶ πεντακισχιλίων ταλάντων<sup>661</sup> γόμον ἔχει· ἐν ἐκάστῳ δὲ πλοῖῳ ὄνος ζωὸς ἔνεστι, ἐν δὲ τοῖσι μέεσσι πλεῖνες ἐπεὰν ὦν ἀπικῶνται πλέοντες ἐς τὴν Βαβυλῶνα, καὶ διαθέωνται τὸν φόρτον, νομέας μὲν τοῦ πλοίου καὶ τὴν καλὰμην πᾶσαν ἀπ' ὧν ἐκήρυξαν<sup>662</sup>, τὰς δὲ διφθέρας ἐπισάξαντες ἐπὶ τοὺς ὄνους, ἀπελαύνουσι ἐς τοὺς Ἀρμενίους· ἀνὰ τὸν ποταμὸν γὰρ δὴ οὐκ οἶά τέ ἐστι πλέειν<sup>663</sup> οὐδενὶ τρόπῳ, ὑπὸ τάχεος τοῦ ποταμοῦ· διὰ γὰρ ταῦτα καὶ οὐκ ἐκ ξύλων ποιεῦνται τὰ πλοῖα, ἀλλ' ἐκ διφθερέων· ἐπεὰν δὲ τοὺς ὄνους ἐλαύνοντες ἀπικῶνται ὀπίσω ἐς τοὺς Ἀρμενίους, ἄλλα τρόπῳ τῷ αὐτῷ ποιεῦνται πλοῖα. τὰ μὲν δὴ πλοῖα αὐτοῖσί ἐστι τοιαῦτα. Ἐσθῆτι δὲ τοιγῆδε χρέωνται, κιθῶνι ποδηνεκεί λινέῳ· καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἄλλον εἰρίνεον κιθῶνα ἐπενδύνει, καὶ χλανίδιον λευκὸν περιβαλλόμενος<sup>664</sup>, ὑποδήματα ἔχων ἐπιχώρια, παραπλήσια τῇσι Βοιωτῇσι ἐμβάσι<sup>665</sup>. κομῶντες δὲ τὰς κεφαλὰς μίτρησι ἀναδέονται, μεμυρισμένοι πᾶν τὸ σῶμα· σφρηγίδα δὲ ἕκαστος ἔχει, καὶ σκῆπτρον χειροποίητον· ἐπ' ἐκάστῳ δὲ σκῆπτρῳ ἔπεστι πεποιημένον ἢ μῆλον ἢ ῥόδον ἢ κρίνον ἢ αἰετὸς ἢ ἄλλο τι· ἄνευ γὰρ ἐπισήμου<sup>666</sup> οὐ σφί νόμος ἐστὶ ἔχειν σκῆπτρον· αὕτη μὲν δὴ σφί ἄρτισις περὶ τὸ σῶμα ἐστὶ.

195

Dress of the Babylonians, linen next the skin, and woollen over it.

moving power of the vessel being the force of the stream, and the hands being only required for guidance.

<sup>661</sup> ταλάντων. Doubtless Babylonian talents (see note on iii. 89), which would give about 250 tons.

<sup>662</sup> ἀπεκήρυξαν, "their habit is to sell by auction." This is the frequentative use of the aorist.

<sup>663</sup> ἀνὰ τὸν ποταμὸν γὰρ δὴ οὐκ οἶά τέ ἐστι πλέειν. SHIEL (*Geogr. Journal*, viii. p. 89) says that at the present time boats do not go up and down the Tigris above Mosul, but that *kelecks*, or floats of inflated sheepskins, descend from Diarbekir to Mosul, where the skins are sold.

<sup>664</sup> χλανίδιον λευκὸν περιβαλλόμενος, "a white shawl, wrapping it about him," i. e. for a girdle, which serves the Orientals as a purse. The linen dress was doubtless worn next to the skin from motives of cleanliness. Compare the Egyptian garb (ii. 81).

<sup>665</sup> παραπλήσια τῇσι Βοιωτῇσι ἐμβάσι. LAYARD (*Nineveh*, ii. p. 324) gives a representation of these slippers, which are

very peculiar. They cover the heel, but leave the fore-part of the foot quite exposed, and the toes only protected by a sole laced over the instep, without any return over the points. This exactly answers to the description of the Theban women's shoe (DICAMARCHUS, quoted by Bauer ad loc.); and it may be remarked that the whole Assyrian dress has an effeminate character, which is explained by DIODORUS (ii. 6) as arising from the circumstance of its having been adopted first by the Medes and afterwards by the Persians from the costume of Semiramis.

<sup>666</sup> ἔνευ ἐπισήμου. Probably these devices were sacred emblems; and perhaps the deity under whose especial protection each individual was determined the particular symbol adopted. The eagle seems rather a Persian than a Babylonian symbol, which the dove perhaps was (see note 366). The lily was probably the lotus. The apple and the rose may have been parts of the lily called *Neiumbium speciosum* (see note on ii. 92), a plant



Νόμοι δὲ αὐτοῖσι ὧδε κατεστέαται· ὁ μὲν σοφώτατος ὕδεν, κατὰ 196  
 γνώμην τὴν ἡμετέραν, τῷ καὶ Ἰλλυριῶν Ἐνετοὺς πυνθάνομαι  
 χρῆσθαι κατὰ κώμας ἐκάστας ἅπαξ τοῦ ἔτεος ἐκάστου ἐποιέετο  
 τὰδε· ὡς ἂν αἱ παρθένοι γινώσκοντο γάμων ὥραιαι, ταύτας δὲ  
 συναγάγοιεν πάσας<sup>667</sup>, ἐς ἃν χωρίον ἐσάγεσκον ἀλῆας· περίξ δὲ  
 αὐτὰς ἴστατο ὁμιλος ἀνδρῶν· ἀνιστὰς δὲ κατὰ μίαν ἐκάστην  
 κήρυξ πωλέεσκε, πρῶτα μὲν τὴν εὐειδεστάτην ἐκ πασῶν, μετὰ  
 δὲ, ὅπως αὕτη εὐρούσα πολλὸν χρυσίον πρηθείη, ἄλλην ἀνεκήρυσσε  
 ἢ μετ' ἐκείνην ἔσκε εὐειδεστάτη· ἐπωλέοντο δὲ ἐπὶ συνοικίσει  
 ὅσοι μὲν δὴ ἔσκον εὐδαίμονες τῶν Βαβυλωνίων ἐπίγαμοι, ὑπερ-  
 βάλλοντες ἀλλήλους ἐξωνέοντο τὰς καλλιστευούσας· ὅσοι δὲ τοῦ  
 δήμου ἔσκον ἐπίγαμοι, οὗτοι δὲ εἶδος μὲν οὐδὲν ἐδέοντο χρηστοῦ,  
 οἱ δ' ἂν χρήματά τε καὶ αἰσχίνας παρθένοισι ἐλάμβανον· ὡς γὰρ  
 διεξέλθοι ὁ κήρυξ πωλέων τὰς εὐειδεστάτας τῶν παρθένων, ἀνίστη  
 ἂν τὴν ἀμορφεστάτην ἢ εἴ τις αὐτῶν ἐμπηρος ᾖ, καὶ ταύτην  
 ἀνεκήρυσσε, ὅστις θέλοι ἐλάχιστον χρυσίον λαβὼν συνοικίειν  
 αὐτῇ· ἐς δὲ τῷ τὸ ἐλάχιστον ἱπισταμένῳ προσεκέετο· τὸ δὲ ἂν  
 χρυσίον ἐγίνετο ἀπὸ τῶν εὐειδῶν παρθένων καὶ οὕτω αἱ εὐμορφοὶ  
 τὰς ἀμόρφους καὶ ἐμπήρους ἐξεδίδουσιν· ἐκδοῦναι δὲ τὴν ἐωυτοῦ  
 θυγατέρα ὅτε βούλοιο ἕκαστος οὐκ ἐξῆν, οὐδὲ ἄνευ ἐγγυητῶ  
 ἀπαγαγέσθαι τὴν παρθένον πριάμενον, ἀλλ' ἐγγυητὰς χρὴν κατα-  
 στήσαντα ἢ μὴν συνοικίσειν αὐτῇ οὕτω ἀπάγεσθαι<sup>668</sup>. εἰ δὲ μὴ  
 συμφεροίαιτο, ἀποφέρειν τὸ χρυσίον ἐκέετο νόμος. ἐξῆν δὲ καὶ ἐξ  
 ἄλλης ἐλθόντα κώμης τὸν βουλόμενον ὦνέεσθαι. ὁ μὲν νυν  
 κάλλιστος νόμος<sup>669</sup> οὗτός σφι ᾗν οὐ μέντοι νῦν γε διετέλεσε ἔων.  
 ἄλλο δὲ τι ἐξευρήκασιν νεωστὶ γενέσθαι, ἵνα μὴ ἀδικοῖεν αὐτὰς

Custom of raising, by the sale of marriageable women of beauty, a dowry for all.

which throughout the whole of the East, from Egypt to China, has been adopted as a symbol of the reproductive principle.

<sup>667</sup> τὰς τὰς ὅπως συναγάγοιεν πάσας. These words are nearly identical in sense with the clause which follows them, συναγαγεῖν πάσας being scarcely distinguishable from ἐς ἃν χωρίον ἐσάγειν ἀλῆας, unless on the supposition of the first collection being from the surrounding country into a village, and the second the assemblage of the girls thus selected at the auction-mart. But, as the author states that the sale took place in every

village, the first step in this proceeding seems precluded. It seems not impossible that here the text has again been rendered turbid by the mixture of different MSS.

<sup>668</sup> ἀπάγεσθαι. The MSS vary between this form, ἀπάγεσθαι, ἀπάγεσθαι and ἂν ἀπάγεσθαι. Gaisford adopts the last. For the use of οὕτω, see note 22, above.

<sup>669</sup> ὁ μὲν νυν κάλλιστος νόμος. From hence to the end of the paragraph appears to be a kind of note, perhaps added by the author himself.

197

Custom  
with re-  
gard to the  
sick.

μήδ' ἐς ἐτέρην πόλιν ἄγωνται· ἐπεὶ τε γὰρ ἀλόντες ἐκακώθησαν καὶ οἰκοφθορήθησαν, πᾶς τις τοῦ δήμου βίου σπανίζων καταπορνεύει τὰ θήλεα τέκνα. Δεύτερος δὲ σοφίῃ ὅδε ἄλλος σφι νόμος κατεστήκεε· τοὺς κάμνοντας ἐς τὴν ἀγορὴν ἐκφορέουσι<sup>670</sup>. οὐ γὰρ δὴ χρέωνται ἡττοῦσι· προσιόντες ὦν πρὸς τὸν κάμνοντα, συμβουλεύουσι περὶ τῆς νούσου, εἴ τις καὶ αὐτὸς τοιοῦτον ἔπαθε ὁκοῖον ἔχει ὁ κάμων ἢ ἄλλον εἶδε παθόντα· ταῦτα προσιόντες συμβουλεύουσι, καὶ παραινεύουσι ἅσσα αὐτὸς ποιήσας ἐξέφυγε ὁμοίην νοῦσον ἢ ἄλλον εἶδε ἐκφυγόντα· σὺν γὰρ παρεξελθεῖν τὸν κάμνοντα οὐ σφι ἔξεστι, πρὶν ἂν ἐπείρηται ἥτινα νοῦσον ἔχει. Ταφαὶ δὲ σφι ἐν μέλιτι. θρήνοι δὲ παραπλήσιοι τοῖσι ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ<sup>671</sup>. ὁσάκις δ' ἂν μυχθῇ γυναικὶ τῇ ἑωυτοῦ ἀνὴρ Βαβυλωνίος, περὶ θυμὸν κατὰ γινόμενον ἔχει· ἐτέρωθι δὲ ἡ γυνὴ τῶντ' οὗτο ποιεῖν ὀρθροῦ δὲ γενομένου λούνται καὶ ἀμφότεροι· ἄγγεος γὰρ οὐδενὸς ἀφύονται πρὶν ἂν λούσωνται. ταῦτα δὲ ταῦτα καὶ Ἀράβιοι ποιεῖσι.

199

Custom  
arising out  
of the My-  
litta-wor-  
ship.

Ὁ δὲ δὴ αἰσχιστος<sup>672</sup> τῶν νόμων ἔστι τοῖσι Βαβυλωνίοις ὅδε· δεῖ πᾶσαν γυναικα ἐπιχωρὴν ἰζομένην ἐς ἱρὸν Ἀφροδίτης, ἅπαξ ἐν τῇ ζῳῇ μυχθῆναι ἀνδρὶ ξείνῳ. πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ οὐκ ἀξιεύμεναι ἀναμίσγεσθαι τῇσι ἄλλῃσι οἷα πλούτῳ ὑπερφρονέουσai, ἐπὶ ζευγέων ἐν καμάρῃσι<sup>673</sup> ἐλάσασαι πρὸς τὸ ἱρὸν ἐστᾶσι· θεραπῆν δὲ

<sup>670</sup> τοὺς κάμνοντας εἰς τὴν ἀγορὴν ἐκφορέουσι. STRABO (iii. c. 3, p. 249) says of the Spanish mountaineers: τοὺς ἀρρώστους, ὥσπερ οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι τὸ παλαιὸν, προτιθέασιν εἰς τὰς ὁδοὺς τοῖς πεπειραμένοις τοῦ πάθους ὑποθήκης χάριν. It is possible that he may by a slip of memory have this passage in his mind. But the words τὸ παλαιὸν are remarkable, and perhaps a tradition may have remained of the early practice of Egyptian physicians, the first rude approximation to the collection of medical observations. If so, here will be another point of accordance between Babylon and Egypt.

<sup>671</sup> παραπλήσιοι τοῖσι ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ. See note 651.

<sup>672</sup> ὁ δὲ δὴ αἰσχιστος. This paragraph does not exist in the manuscripts S, V, δ, d, and it seems very questionable whether it does not rest on a different authority from the rest of the Babylonian customs, the account of which appears naturally concluded. It is also difficult to reconcile the practice related in it with that of selling the young maidens, except we

suppose that it applies to the wealthy town population, and the other only to the common people who lived κατὰ κώμας (§ 196). It is impossible to believe that it is a practice which, under the compulsion of necessity, succeeded to the other.

<sup>673</sup> ἐν καμάρῃσι. The word καμάρη is etymologically equivalent to the Latin camera and the Teutonic kammer, and seems to mean a semi-cylindrical covering, like the tilted head of a wagon (see note on iv. 69, ἀμαξάν). In ISAIAH (xl. 22), the LXX have ὁ στήσας ἐς καμάραν τὸν οὐρανὸν, and it seems likely that the word is equivalent to σκηνή which XENOPHON (Cyrus. vi. ult.) uses to express the closing head of a Persian ἀριμάμα. Under these circumstances it may be supposed that the καμάραι were not merely the accessory of the chariots in which these females drove, but that the presence of them gave an especial character to the proceeding, they representing as it were the shrines of Aphrodite. Hence it is easy to understand how the name of

σφι ὀπισθεν ἔπεται πολλή. αἱ δὲ πλευνες ποιεῖσι ὧδε ἐν τεμένει Ἀφροδίτης κατέαται στέφανον περὶ τῇσι κεφαλῇσι ἔχουσαι θώμυγος, πολλαὶ γυναικες· αἱ μὲν γὰρ προσέρχονται, αἱ δὲ ἀπέρχονται· σχοινοτενέες δὲ διέξοδοι πάντα<sup>674</sup> τρόπον ὁδῶν ἔχουσι διὰ τῶν γυναικῶν, δι' ὧν οἱ ξεῖνοι διεξιόντες ἐκλέγονται. ἔνθα ἐπεὰν ἴζηται γυνή, οὐ πρότερον ἀπαλλάσσεται ἐς τὰ οἴκλα ἢ τίς οἱ ξείνων ἀργύριον ἐμβαλὼν ἐς τὰ γούνατα μυχθῇ ἔξω τοῦ ἱροῦ· ἐμβαλόντα δὲ δεῖ εἰπεῖν τοςόνδε· “ἐπικαλέω τοι τὴν θεὸν Μύλιττα” Μύλιττα δὲ καλέουσι τὴν Ἀφροδίτην<sup>675</sup> Ἀσσύριοι· τὸ δὲ ἀργύριον μέγαθός ἐστι ὅσον ὧν οὐ γὰρ μὴ ἀπόσσηται· οὐ γὰρ οἱ θέμις ἐστὶ γίνεσθαι γὰρ ἱρὸν τοῦτο τὸ ἀργύριον τῷ δὲ πρώτῳ ἐμβαλόντι ἔπεται, οὐδὲ ἀποδοκιμῇ οὐδένα· ἐπεὰν δὲ μυχθῇ, ἀποσιωσαμένη τῇ θεῷ ἀπαλλάσσεται ἐς τὰ οἴκλα, καὶ τῶπὸ τούτου οὐκ οὕτω μέγα τί οἱ δώσεις ὥς μιν λάμψαι<sup>676</sup>. ὅσαι μὲν νυν εἰδὲός τε ἐπαμμέναι εἰσὶ καὶ μεγάθεος, ταχὺ ἀπαλλάσσονται· ὅσαι δὲ ἄμορφοι αὐτέων εἰσὶ, χρόνον πολλὸν προσμένουσι οὐ δυνάμεναι τὸν νόμον ἐκπλήσαι

“Succoth Benoth” (*tabernacula Veneris*) should have been given to similar orgies (2 Kings xvii. 30) established in Samaria by the Babylonians. The Carthaginians too had a colony Latinized by the name *Sicca*, which VALERIUS MAXIMUS describes as “fanum Veneris, in quod se matronæ conferebant, atque inde procidentibus ad quæstum, dotes corporis injuriâ contrahabant, honesta nimirum tam inhonesto vinculo conjugia juncturæ” (ii. c. 6). It may be conjectured that the root of the name *Sicyon* is the same as that of the Carthaginian *Sicca*, and the Samaritan *Succoth*, and that the origin of that city (of whose Aphrodite-worship there can be no doubt) is due to a very ancient commercial intercourse with the East.

<sup>674</sup> πάντα. Gaisford, with the MSS, has πάντα.

<sup>675</sup> Μύλιττα δὲ καλέουσι τὴν Ἀφροδίτην. This he has said before, § 131, in a passage which, like the present, is deficient in S, V, δ, and d. The third passage in which Herodotus mentions an oriental name of Aphrodite Urania (iii. 8) is found in these MSS.

<sup>676</sup> οὐκ οὕτω μέγα τί οἱ δώσεις ὥς μιν λάμψαι. This proves decisively that the custom in question was not the result of

individual licentiousness. It arose apparently from the principle that the deity, whatever the department of human existence under his controul, always required to be propitiated with the *best* thing the votary had to bestow. Hence the Phœnician Moloch demanded the *first-born* child, and the Assyrian Mylitta the virginity of the woman about to become a wife. The dedication of the *zone* to Here is nothing else than the symbolical representation, under the influences of civilization, of the sacrifice which was made in its coarsest form by the barbarous Orientals. In their view, the *θεῶν φθόνος* could be propitiated only by the *most precious* possession, and no commutation was permitted. Thus, when the Carthaginians suffered important reverses in their war with Agathocles, they imagined Moloch had taken part against them, because, instead of sacrificing their own children to him, they had been in the habit of purchasing substitutes. Accordingly, by way of expiation, they burnt two hundred infants of the most illustrious families (Diod. Sic. xx. 14). The same feeling influenced the King of Moab to offer the heir of his kingdom (2 Kings iii. 27). Compare MICAH vi. 7.

καὶ γὰρ τρίτεα καὶ τετραέτεα μετεξέτεραι χρόνου μένουσι. ἐνιαχῇ δὲ καὶ τῆς Κύπρου ἐστὶ παραπλήσιος τούτῳ νόμος.

200

Three tribes  
are ichthy-  
ophagous.

Νόμοι μὲν δὴ τοῖσι Βαβυλωνίοισι οὗτοι κατεστέασιν. εἰσὶ δὲ αὐτῶν πατριαὶ τρεῖς, αἱ οὐδὲν ἄλλο σιτέονται εἰ μὴ ἰχθὺς μόνον τοὺς ἐπεὶ τε ἂν θηρεύσαντες αἰήνῳσι πρὸς ἥλιον, ποιεύσι τάδε ἐσβάλλονσι ἐς ὄλμον, καὶ λεήναντες ὑπέροισι σώσι διὰ συνδόνας καὶ ὅς μὲν ἂν βούληται αὐτῶν ἅτε μάξαν μαζάμενος ἔχει, ὁ δὲ ἄρτου τρόπον ὀπτήσας.

201

After the  
Babyloni-  
ans, Cyrus  
attacks the  
Massagetae.

Ὡς δὲ τῷ Κύρῳ καὶ τούτῳ τὸ ἔθνος κατέρχαστο, ἐπεθύμησε Μασσαγέτας ὑπ' ἐωντῷ ποιήσασθαι. τὸ δὲ ἔθνος τούτου καὶ μέγα λέγεται εἶναι καὶ ἄλκιμον, οἰκημένον δὲ πρὸς ἡῷ τε καὶ ἡλίου ἀνατολὰς πέραν τοῦ Ἀράξου ποταμοῦ<sup>77</sup>, ἀντίον δὲ Ἰσσηδόνων ἀνδρῶν. εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ τινες καὶ Σκυθικὸν λέγουσι τούτῳ τὸ ἔθνος εἶναι.

202

The Araxes  
contains  
islands as

Ὁ δὲ Ἀράξης λέγεται καὶ μέζων καὶ ἐλάσσων εἶναι τοῦ Ἰστροῦ<sup>78</sup>. νήσους δ' ἐν αὐτῷ λέσβη μεγάθεα παραπλησίας συχνὰς φασὶ εἶναι, ἐν δὲ αὐτῇσι ἀνθρώπους, οἱ σιτέονται μὲν ῥίζας τὸ θέρος

<sup>77</sup> πέραν τοῦ Ἀράξου ποταμοῦ. There has been great difficulty in assigning the geographical position of the Araxes, even according to the notions of Herodotus; and indeed it is impossible to doubt that he has combined accounts which belong to two different rivers, and that the solution of the puzzle is only to be found by endeavouring to refer the statements to their several sources. I believe the fact to be that the Araxes of Cyrus is the *Jihon*, and that the narrative followed by Herodotus made that prince invade the Massagetae by crossing that river, thereby placing them in Bokhara. This cycle of traditions would exist at Phasis, which was the termination of the route connecting Greece with the East, *vid* the Colchians, Saspireas, and Caspian Sea. See note 363.

On the other hand, the Araxes over which the Massagetae drove the Scythians, who in their turn expelled the Cimmerians from the Scythia of Herodotus (iv. 11), seems undoubtedly to be the Wolga or Ural, or rather a hypothetical river made up by confounding the two. This would bring the Massagetae into the site of the Kirghis Tartars, and here they

would be Ἰσσηδόνων ἀντίον. See note on iv. 25, ὅτι Ἰσσηδόνων οἰκούμενον. It is an important fact with reference to this question, that CALLISTHENES, the pupil of Aristotle (who by his recommendation attended Alexander in his expedition), adopted Herodotus's account of the Araxes which is contained in this passage, making the river to be the boundary between Bactria and Scythia, and to have forty mouths. (*Strabo*, xi. c. 14, p. 464.)

Both these two positions, however, assigned to the Massagetae, would make them different portions of one and the same barbarous race, which overspread the whole of the basin of the Caspian Sea, leading a nomad life, and considered by some to be Scythians. Having less intercourse with the Greeks, their manners would be more barbarous even than those of the other Scythians. See § 216, and note on iv. 26, ἀναμίζαντες πάντα τὰ κρέα.

<sup>78</sup> καὶ μέζων καὶ ἐλάσσων εἶναι τοῦ Ἰστροῦ. They who took the Wolga for it would describe it as larger than the Ister, while those who understood by it the Jihon would call it smaller.

ὀρύσσοντες παντοίας, καρπούς δὲ ἀπὸ δεινδρέων ἐξευρημένους σφι <sup>large as</sup>  
 ἐς φορβὴν κατατίθεσθαι <sup>Lesbos.</sup> ὥραίους, καὶ τούτους σιτέεσθαι τὴν <sup>Habits of</sup>  
 χειμερινήν ἄλλα δὲ σφι ἐξευρήσθαι δένδρεα καρπούς τοιούσδε <sup>the natives.</sup>  
 τινὰς φέροντα, τοὺς, ἐπεὶ τε ἂν ἐς τὸντὸ συνέλθωσι κατὰ εἰλας  
 καὶ πῦρ ἀνακαύσονται, κύκλῳ περιζόμενους ἐπιβάλλειν ἐπὶ τὸ  
 πῦρ <sup>679</sup>, ὁσφραινομένους δὲ καταγιζόμενον τοῦ καρποῦ τοῦ ἐπιβαλ-  
 λομένου μεθύσκεσθαι τῇ ὁσμῇ, κατὰπερ Ἑλληνας τῷ οἴκῳ· πλεῖνος  
 δὲ ἐπιβαλλομένου τοῦ καρποῦ μᾶλλον μεθύσκεσθαι, ἐς δὲ ὅς ὄρχησιν  
 τε ἀνίστασθαι καὶ ἐς αἰοιδὴν ἀπικνέεσθαι· τούτων μὲν αὕτη λέγεται  
 διαίτα εἶναι. ὁ δὲ Ἀράξης ποταμὸς ῥέει μὲν ἐκ Ματινηῶν <sup>681</sup>, ὅθεν <sup>The Araxes</sup>  
 περ ὁ Γύνδης τὸν ἐς τὰς διώρυχας τὰς ἐξήκοντά τε καὶ τριηκοσίας <sup>flows from</sup>  
 διέλαβε ὁ Κύρος <sup>682</sup>, στόμασι δὲ ἐξερεύγεται τεσσαράκοντα, τῶν τὰ <sup>the Ma-</sup>  
 πάντα πλὴν ἐνὸς ἐς ἑλέα τε καὶ τευάγεα ἐκδιδού· ἐν τοῖσι ἀνθρώποις <sup>tieni.</sup>  
 κατοικεῖσθαι λέγουσι ἰχθύς ὠμούς σιτεομένους, ἐσθῆτι δὲ νομί- <sup>Only one</sup>  
 ζοντας χρᾶσθαι φωκέων δέρμασι· τὸ δὲ ἐν τῶν στομάτων τοῦ <sup>mouth out</sup>  
 Ἀράξω ῥέει διὰ καθαροῦ <sup>683</sup> ἐς τὴν Κασπὴν θάλασσαν. <sup>of forty</sup>  
<sup>enters the</sup>  
<sup>Caspian.</sup>

<sup>679</sup> κατατίθεσθαι. The change of construction here from the indicative, expressing an observed fact, to the infinitive, denoting a matter of hearsay, is to be remarked. The word φασί is of course to be supplied from the last sentence.

<sup>680</sup> ἐπιβάλλειν ἐπὶ τὸ πῦρ. Herodotus relates a similar use of hemp-seed among the Scythians (iv. 75).

<sup>681</sup> ἐκ Ματινηῶν, ὅθεν περ ὁ Γύνδης. The site which Herodotus assigns to the Matieni is difficult, if not impossible, to fix. In i. 72, he places them on the right bank of the Halys, opposite to the Phrygians on the left, after the river has quitted the country of the Cilicians, and (if the passage be not corrupt) before it bends to the north. But, if the explanation given in note 243 be well founded, the difficulty is so far removed that we may see what he *thought*, and assign the Matieni to the region drained by the upper Tigris, the Zab, and the Diyeh, from the opposite side of the watershed of which, in its north-west part, he seems to have thought a river flowed, which he took for the Halys. This explanation will likewise serve for another passage, v. 49, where the Matieni are placed between the Armenians and the Cissians. But, besides this, he appears to mass the

Caspian Sea and the Sea of Aral into one, and to conceive of the range which forms the southern boundary of Balk as a continuation of Caucasus, which again he regards as a chain running nearly north and south. Now if the Araxes of the text be the Amon or Jihon, i. e. the Oxus of the Seleucid times, the statements in the text may be reconciled with one another, and perhaps with the strange notice in iv. § 40, by remarking that the author not only brings the range in question very far to the east of its true site, but twists its direction to nearly north and south. Hence he would regard the streams flowing into Balk from it, which really run north and north-west, as running east and north-east. For a similar massing together of distinct mountain ranges, see note on ii. 8.

<sup>682</sup> διέλαβε ὁ Κύρος. See above, § 189.

<sup>683</sup> τὸ δὲ ἐν τῶν στομάτων . . . ῥέει διὰ καθαροῦ. The Jihon now falls into the Sea of Aral, and it is a disputed point whether formerly the bed took a different course, and fell into the Caspian, or whether a navigable communication with that sea was effected by a canal. But there seems no doubt that one or the other was the case from the time of the Seleucides to comparatively modern times.

## 203

The Caspian an inland sea, its dimensions.

Caucasus the most extensive and highest of mountain ranges.

Manufactures and habits of its inhabitants.

## 204

The Massagetae occupy the greatest part of the central plain of Asia.

Ἡ δὲ Κασπία θάλασσα ἔστι ἐπ' ἑωυτῆς, οὐ συμμίσγουσα τῇ ἐτέρῃ θαλάσῃ<sup>681</sup>. τὴν μὲν γὰρ Ἕλληνας ναυτίλλονται πᾶσαν, καὶ ἡ ἕξω στηλέων θάλασσα ἡ Ἀτλαντὶς καλεομένη, καὶ ἡ Ἐρυθρῇ, μία τυγχάνει εὐόσα· ἡ δὲ Κασπία ἔστι ἐτέρῃ ἐπ' ἑωυτῆς, εὐόσα μῆκος μὲν πλόου εἰρεσίῃ χρεωμένῳ πεντεκαίδεκα ἡμερῶν,<sup>a</sup> εὖρος δὲ τῇ εὐρυτάτῃ ἔστι αὕτῃ ἑωυτῆς ὅκτῳ ἡμερῶν. καὶ τὰ μὲν πρὸς τὴν ἐσπέρην φέροντα τῆς θαλάσσης ταύτης ὁ Καύκασος παρατείνει, ἔων οὐρέων καὶ πληθθεὶ μέγιστον<sup>a</sup> καὶ μεγάλῃ ὑψηλότατον. ἔθνεα δὲ ἀνθρώπων πολλὰ καὶ παντοῖα<sup>b</sup> ἐν ἑωυτῷ ἔχει ὁ Καύκασος, τὰ πολλὰ πάντα ἀπ' ὕλης ἀγρίης ζῶοντα<sup>c</sup> ἐν τοῖσι καὶ δένδρεα φύλλα τοιῆσδε ἰδέης παρεχόμενα εἶναι λέγεται, τὰ τρίβουτάς τε καὶ παραμίσγοντας ὕδωρ, ζῶα<sup>682</sup> ἑωυτοῖσι ἐς τὴν ἐσθήτηα ἐγγράφειν τὰ δὲ ζῶα οὐκ ἐκπλύνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ συγκαταγνῆσκειν τῷ ἄλλῳ εἰρίῳ κατάπερ ἐνυφανθέντα ἀρχήν. μίξιν δὲ τούτων τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἶναι ἐμφανέα, κατάπερ τοῖσι προβάτοισι.

Τὰ μὲν δὴ πρὸς ἐσπέρην τῆς θαλάσσης ταύτης, τῆς Κασπίης καλεομένης, ὁ Καύκασος ἀπέργει, τὰ δὲ πρὸς ἡῷ τε καὶ ἥλιον ἀνατέλλοντα πεδίου ἐκδέκεται πλήθος ἄπειρον ἐς ἄποψιν τοῦ ὦν δὴ πεδίου τοῦ μεγάλου οὐκ ἐλαχίστην μοῖρην μετέχουσι<sup>683</sup> οἱ

See HÜLLMANN, *Handelsgeschichte der Griechen*, p. 249.

<sup>681</sup> οὐ συμμίσγουσα τῇ ἐτέρῃ θαλάσῃ. Inexact as Herodotus's notions may be with regard to the Caspian, he does not fall into the error which was adopted by the scientific geographer ERATOSTHENESE, and accepted without question by STRABO (vii. c. 3, p. 70, and xi. c. 1, p. 397) that it was in fact a gulf from the Northern Ocean.

<sup>a</sup> πλῆθει μέγιστον. See note on iv. 123.

<sup>b</sup> πολλὰ καὶ παντοῖα. Perhaps including the mountaineers about the sources of the Jaxartes and Oxus. See note 685.

<sup>c</sup> τὰ πολλὰ πάντα ἀπ' ἑλῆς ἀγρίης ζῶοντα. The words τὰ πολλὰ καὶ πάντα are not to be taken together. Translate, "the whole of them subsisting mainly from the produce of uncultivated plants." See the note on ii. 35.

<sup>682</sup> ζῶα, "figures." See note 238. The articles of dress which are here described are (I cannot doubt) *printed* goods, which are considered by Herodotus to

have been figured by the hand, though dyeing in uniform colours was a familiar process in his time. The marvel to him is how patterns thus laid on by the hand (as he supposes) can stand. And he attributes it not to the real cause, but to the peculiar quality of the dyes grown in the Caucasus. Considering the indefinite extent which Herodotus assigns to the Caucasus, one may conjecture that the articles in question came even from India by the way of the Caspian, and that they were, in fact, *printed* muslins. STRABO attributes the manufacture to those of the Massagetae who are mountaineers; and, from the site which he assigns to these, we should look for them no nearer the west than the flanks of the mountains in which the Sihon (Jaxartes) and the Jihon (Oxus) take their rise (xi. c. 8, p. 433).

<sup>683</sup> οὐκ ἐλαχίστην μοῖρην μετέχουσι. The word μετέχουσι implies a *joint possession*, and is equivalent to μετὰ ἄλλων ἔχουσι. It is therefore put in an appropriate regimen, governing an accusative, and not a genitive case. Translate, "Of

Μασσαγέται, ἐπ' οὗς ὁ Κῦρος ἔσχε προθυμίην στρατεύσασθαι πολλά τε γάρ μιν καὶ μεγάλα τὰ ἐπαίροντα καὶ ἐποτρύνοντα ἦν πρῶτον μὲν ἡ γένεσις, τὸ δοκέειν πλέον τι εἶναι ἀνθρώπου, δεύτερα δὲ ἡ εὐτυχία ἡ κατὰ τοὺς πολέμους γενομένη· ὅκη γὰρ ἰθῦσει στρατεύεσθαι.<sup>617</sup> Κῦρος, ἀμήχανον ἦν ἐκεῖνο τὸ ἔθνος διαφυγέειν.

Ἦν δὲ, τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀποθανόντος, γυνὴ τῶν Μασσαγετῶν βασι- 205  
 λεια· Τόμυρις οἱ ἦν οὔνομα. ταύτην πέμπων ὁ Κῦρος ἐμνάτο τῷ Cyrus pro-  
 λόγῳ, θέλων γυναικα ἦν ἔχειν ἡ δὲ Τόμυρις συνιῆσα οὐκ αὐτὴν poses mar-  
 μιν μνόμενον, ἀλλὰ τὴν Μασσαγετῶν βασιληίην, ἀκρίπατο τὴν rriage to  
 πρόσδοον. Κῦρος δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο, ὥς οἱ δόλω οὐ προεχώρει, Tomyris  
 ἐλάσας ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀράξῃ ἐποικέτο ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανέος ἐπὶ τοὺς Μασ- cross the  
 σαγέτας στρατηίην, γεφύρας τε ζευγνύνει ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ διά- Araxes in  
 βασιν τῷ στρατῷ, καὶ πύργους ἐπὶ πλοίων<sup>618</sup> τῶν διαπορθημένων force.  
 τὸν ποταμὸν οἰκοδομώμενος. Ἔχοντι δὲ οἱ τοῦτον τὸν πόνον, 206  
 πέμψασα ἡ Τόμυρις κήρυκα ἔλεγε τάδε· “ὦ βασιλεῦ Μήδων, Tomyris  
 παῦσαι σπεύδων τὰ σπεύδεις· οὐ γὰρ ἂν εἰδείης εἴ τοι ἐς καιρὸν challenges  
 ἔσται ταῦτα τελεύμενα· παυσάμενος δὲ, βασιλεύει τῶν σεωντοῦ καὶ him to a  
 ἡμέας ἀνέχου ὁρέων ἄρχοντας τῶν περ ἄρχομεν. οὐκὼν ἐθελήσεις pitched  
 ὑποθήκησι τῆσιδε χρέεσθαι, ἀλλὰ πάντα μᾶλλον ἢ δι' ἡσυχίης battle.  
 εἶναι<sup>619</sup>; σὺ δὲ εἰ μεγάλως προθυμέαι<sup>620</sup> Μασσαγετῶν πειρηθῆναι,  
 φέρε, μόχθον μὲν τὸν ἔχεις ζευγνύς τὸν ποταμὸν ἄφες, σὺ δὲ, ἡμέων  
 ἀναχωρησάντων ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τριῶν ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν, διάβαινε ἐς  
 τὴν ἡμετέρην· εἰ δ' ἡμέας βούλει ἐσδέξασθαι μᾶλλον ἐς τὴν  
 ὑμετέρην, σὺ τὰντο τοῦτο ποιεε.” ταῦτα δὲ ἀκούσας ὁ Κῦρος He calls a  
 συνεκάλεσε Περσέων τοὺς πρῶτους, συναγείρας δὲ τούτους ἐς μέσσην council.  
 σφί προετίθει τὸ πρήγμα, συμβουλευόμενος ὁκότερα ποιέει· τῶν

this great plain, now, the Massagetae occupy the greatest share in commonage.” The word μεταλαβεῖν is used in an exactly analogous manner vi. 23, where see the note.

<sup>617</sup> στρατεύεσθαι. The manuscript S has στρατεύειν, a form which all the MSS have in i. 77; whereas, in vi. 7, the codices are equally divided, and S has the middle form; so entirely uncertain is the use.

<sup>618</sup> πύργους ἐπὶ πλοίων. The real operation probably was the building a fortification to protect the head of a pontoon-bridge. But the Greeks, entirely unaccustomed to strategics on the oriental

scale, appear to have conceived the towers as built in the ships. The use of pontoon-bridges must have been familiar to the Mesopotamians.

<sup>619</sup> οὐκὼν ἐθελήσεις . . . εἶναι; “Will you not choose to act on this suggestion, but any thing rather than be still? then,” &c. This seems a better mode of constructing this passage, by a common Greek idiom, than to put a comma after εἶναι, and add it to the list of the cases illustrated in note on v. 50. The same may be said of iv. 118, οὐκὼν ποιήσετε ταῦτα.

<sup>620</sup> προθυμέαι. See note 604.

207

Croesus advises that he should invade the enemy,

δὲ κατὰ τὸντο αἰ γνώμαι συνεξέπιπτον κελευόντων ἐσδέκεσθαι Τόμυριν τε καὶ τὸν στρατὸν αὐτῆς ἐς τὴν χώραν. Παρῶν δὲ καὶ μεμφόμενος τὴν γνώμην ταύτην Κροῖσος ὁ Λυδός, ἀπεδείκνυτο ἐναντίην τῇ προκειμένῃ γνώμῃ λέγων τάδε “ὦ βασιλεῦ, εἶπον μὲν καὶ πρότερόν τοι ὅτι<sup>691</sup> ἐπεὶ με Ζεὺς ἔδωκε τοι, τὸ ἂν ὁρῶ σφάλμα ἐὼν οἴκῳ τῷ σῷ κατὰ δύναμιν ἀποτρέψειν τὰ δέ μοι παθήματα ἐόντα ἀχάρिता μαθήματα γέγονε. εἰ μὲν ἀθάνατος δοκέεις εἶναι καὶ στρατιῆς τοιαύτης ἄρχειν, οὐδὲν ἂν εἴη πρήγμα γνώμας ἐμέ σοι ἀποφαίνεσθαι· εἰ δὲ ἔγνωκας ὅτι ἄνθρωπος καὶ σὺ εἰς καὶ ἑτέρων τοιῶνδε ἄρχεις, ἐκείνο πρῶτον μάθε, ὥς κύκλος τῶν ἀνθρωπῶν ἐστὶ πρηγμάτων, περιφερόμενος δὲ οὐκ ἔῃ αἰεὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς εὐτυχεῖν. ἤδη ὦν ἐγὼ γνώμην ἔχω περὶ τοῦ προκειμένου πρήγματος τὰ ἔμπανιν ἢ οὗτοι· εἰ γὰρ ἐθελήσομεν ἐσδέξασθαι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐς τὴν χώραν, ὅδε τοι ἐν αὐτῷ κίνδυνος ἔνι· ἐσσωθεὶς μὲν προσπολλύεις πᾶσαν τὴν ἀρχήν· δῆλα γὰρ δὴ ὅτι νικῶντες Μασσαγῆται οὐ τὸ ὀπίσω φεύγονται ἀλλ’ ἐπ’ ἀρχὰς τὰς σὰς ἐλθῶσι· νικῶν δὲ οὐ νικᾷς τοσοῦτον, ὅσον εἰ διαβὰς ἐς τὴν ἐκείνων νικῶν Μασσαγῆτας ἔποιο φεύγουσι· τοῦτο<sup>692</sup> γὰρ ἀντιθήσω ἐκείνῳ, ὅτι νικήσας τοὺς ἀντιουμένους ἐλᾷς ἰθὺς τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς Τομύριος· χωρὶς τε τοῦ ἀπηγγεμένου, αἰσχρὸν καὶ οὐκ ἀνασχετὸν Κύρῳ γε τὸν Καμβύσῳ<sup>693</sup> γυναικὶ εἴξαντα ὑποχωρῆσαι τῆς χώρας. νῦν ὦν μοι

<sup>691</sup> *ἔτι*. This word sometimes is used to introduce the *very words* which have been employed on any occasion alluded to; in which case, as here, it is not taken into account in the construction. In this instance, Croesus may be conceived to refer to a saying which he was constantly in the habit of employing, and which Cyrus would recognize. It is therefore not correct to regard the word *ἔτι* as simply pleonastic. In the next few sentences the same character prevails. The remarks are some of those often-repeated “wise saws” of which Croesus is made by Herodotus the especial channel.

<sup>692</sup> *τοῦτο*. Gaisford, with the MSS, *τὸντο*.

<sup>693</sup> *Κύρῳ γε τὸν Καμβύσῳ*. The speaker is here taking a different tone from that which characterized the traditions which related the birth and infancy of Cyrus. Here the being the son of *Cambyzes* is made a matter of pride to

Cyrus; whereas in those all his nobility is derived from his mother. (See § 107, πολλὰ ἔνευθε ἔγων αὐτὸν μέσου ἀνδρὸς Μήδου, and § 91, μητρὸς ἀμείνωνος πατρὸς δὲ ὑποδεεστέρου.) A similar change may be seen in the enumeration by Xerxes of his ancestors, among whom he places Cambyzes (vii. 11). Now this change may well have been effected after the Achaemenids had reigned for some time over the whole Medo-Persian empire; but scarcely before. Herodotus therefore here appears to commit an anachronism, and so also in speaking of the *ἐγὰρ Περσικὰ* in the next sentence; for the habits of the Persians could hardly have changed so much as to make their luxury proverbial, while Cyrus was going on with his conquests. (See the story of Artembares and Cyrus below, ix. 122.) These considerations will add weight to the remarks in note 703, and prevent us from attaching implicit credit to the account of Herodotus as to the



δοκέει, διαβάντας προελθεῖν ὅσον ἂν ἐκείνοι διεξίωσι, ἐνθεύτεν δὲ τάδε ποιεῖντας πειρᾶσθαι ἐκείνων περιγενέσθαι ὥς γὰρ ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, Μασσαγέται εἰσὶ ἀγαθῶν τε Περσικῶν ἄπειροι καὶ but attempt to entrap them by a stratagem. καλῶν μεγάλων ἀπαθές· τοῦτοις ὦν τοῖσι ἀνδράσι, τῶν προβάτων ἀφειδέως πολλὰ κατακόφαντας καὶ σκεύασαντας, προθεῖναι ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῷ ἡμετέρῳ δαῖτα· πρὸς δὲ, καὶ κρητήρας ἀφειδέως οἶνου ἀκρήτου καὶ σιτία παντοῖα· ποιήσαντας δὲ ταῦτα, ὑπολειπομένους τῆς στρατιῆς τὸ φλαυρότατον τοὺς λοιποὺς αὐτὶς ἐξαναχωρεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμόν· ἦν γὰρ ἐγὼ γνώμης μὴ ἀμάρτω, κείνοι ἰδόμενοι ἀγαθὰ πολλὰ τρέφονται τε πρὸς αὐτὰ, καὶ ἡμῖν τὸ ἐνθεύτεν λείπεται ἀπόδεξις ἔργων μεγάλων.”

Γινώμαι μὲν αὐται συνέστασαν<sup>694</sup>. Κύρος δὲ μετεῖς τὴν προτέρην 208  
 γνώμην τὴν Κροίσου δὲ ἐλόμενος, προηγόρευε Τομύρι ἐξαναχωρέ- Cyrus acts on his advice, and passes the Araxes.  
 ει, ὥς αὐτοῦ διαβησομένου ἐπ’ ἐκείνην. ἡ μὲν δὴ ἐξαναχώρεε, κατὰ ὑπέσχετο πρῶτα· Κύρος δὲ Κροῖσον ἐς τὰς χεῖρας ἐσθείς τῷ ἑωυτοῦ παιδὶ Καμβύσῃ, τῷ περ τὴν βασιλητὴν ἐδίδου<sup>695</sup>, καὶ πολλὰ ἐντειλάμενός οἱ τιμᾶν τε αὐτὸν καὶ εὖ ποιεῖν ἦν ἡ διά-  
 βασίς ἡ ἐπὶ Μασσαγέτας μὴ ὀρθωθῇ, ταῦτα ἐντειλάμενος καὶ ἀποστείλας τούτους ἐς Πέρσας, αὐτὸς διέβαινε τὸν ποταμόν καὶ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ. Ἐπεὶ τε δὲ ἐπεραιώθη τὸν Ἀράξα, νυκτὸς 209  
 ἐπελθούσης, εἶδε ὄψιν εὐδὼν ἐν τῶν Μασσαγετῶν τῇ χώρῃ In consequence of an evil dream, he sends home Hystaspes, the father of Darius.  
 τοιήνδε· ἐδόκεε ὁ Κύρος ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ ὁρᾶν τῶν Ὑστάσπεος παῖ-  
 δων<sup>696</sup> τὸν πρεσβύτατον ἔχοντα ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων πτέρυγας, καὶ τούτων τῇ μὲν τὴν Ἀσίην τῇ δὲ τὴν Εὐρώπην ἐπισκιάζειν<sup>697</sup>.  
 Ὑστάσπει δὲ τῷ Ἀρσάμεος ἐόντι ἀνδρὶ Ἀχαιμενίδῃ ἦν τῶν παίδων Δαρείος πρεσβύτατος, ἐὼν τότε ἡλικίην ἐς εἰκοσὶ κου μάλιστα ἔτεα· καὶ οὗτος καταλέλειπτο ἐν Πέρσῃσι· οὐ γὰρ εἶχε κω ἡλικίην στρατεύεσθαι. ἐπεὶ ὦν δὴ ἐξεγέρθη ὁ Κύρος, ἐδίδου λόγον ἑωυτῷ περὶ τῆς ὄψιος· ὥς δὲ οἱ ἐδόκεε μεγάλη εἶναι ἡ ὄψις, καλέσας Ὑστάσπεα καὶ ἀπολαβὼν μόνον εἶπε· “Ὑστάσπεες, παῖς σὸς ἐπιβουλεύων ἐμοί τε καὶ τῇ ἐμῇ ἀρχῇ ἐάλωκε· ὥς δὲ

part taken by Cyrus against the Massagetae: since the story cannot, in its details, come from contemporaneous authorities. Compare note 640, above.

<sup>694</sup> συνέστασαν. For the force of this word see the note on vii. 142, συνεστηκυῖα μάλιστα.

<sup>695</sup> τῷ περ τὴν βασιλητὴν ἐδίδου. See note on vii. 2, κατὰ τὸν Περσῶν νόμον.

<sup>696</sup> τῶν Ὑστάσπεος παίδων. It is not impossible that Hystaspes was his cousin-german. See note on vii. 11.

<sup>697</sup> τῇ μὲν τὴν Ἀσίην . . . ἐπισκιάζειν. See above, note 20.

ταῦτα ἀτρεκέως οἶδα, ἐγὼ σημανέω· ἐμεῦ θεοὶ κηδέαται<sup>697</sup>, καὶ μοι πάντα προδεικνύουσι τὰ ἐπιφερόμενα· ἤδη ὦν ἐν τῇ παροιχομένῃ νυκτὶ εὐδων, εἶδον τῶν σῶν παίδων τὸν πρεσβύτατον ἔχοντα ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων πτέρυγας· καὶ τουτέων τῇ μὲν τὴν Ἀσίην, τῇ δὲ τὴν Εὐρώπην ἐπισκιάζειν οὐκ ἔστι μηχανὴ ἀπὸ τῆς ὄψιος ταύτης οὐδεμία, τὸ μὴ κείνον ἐπιβουλεύειν ἐμοί<sup>698</sup>. σὺ τοίνυν τὴν ταχίστην πορεύεο ὀπίσω ἐς Πέρσας, καὶ πολεε ὅκως ἐπεὰν ἐγὼ τάδε καταστρεψάμενος ἔλθω ἐκεῖ, ὥς<sup>699</sup> μοι καταστήσης τὸν παῖδα ἐς ἔλεγχον.” Κῦρος μὲν δοκέων Δαρεῖόν οἱ ἐπιβουλεύειν, ἔλεγε τάδε· τῷ δὲ ὁ δαίμων προέφαινε, ὡς αὐτὸς μὲν τελευτήσῃ αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ μέλλοι ὁ δὲ βασιλεὴς αὐτοῦ περιχωρεῖ ἐς Δαρεῖον. ἀμείβεται<sup>700</sup> δὴ ὦν ὁ Ῥοδάσπης τοῖσδε “ὦ βασιλεῦ, μὴ εἴῃ ἀνὴρ Πέρσης γεγονὼς ὅστις τοι ἐπιβουλεύσει, εἰ δ' ἔστι, ἀπόλοιτο ὡς τάχιστα· δὲ ἀντὶ μὲν δούλων ἐποίησας ἐλευθέρους Πέρσας εἶναι, ἀντὶ δὲ ἄρχεσθαι<sup>701</sup> ὑπ' ἄλλων ἄρχειν ἀπάντων. εἰ δὲ τίς τοι ὄψις ἀπαγγέλλει παῖδα τὸν ἐμὸν νεώτερα βουλεύειν περὶ σέο, ἐγὼ τοι παραδίδωμι χρῆσθαι αὐτῷ τούτῳ ὃ τι σὺ βούλει.” Ῥοδάσπης μὲν τοῖτοισι ἀμειψάμενος, καὶ διαβὰς τὸν Ἀράξεα, ἦε ἐς Πέρσας, φυλάζων Κύρῳ τὸν παῖδα Δαρεῖον.

211

He then carries out the plan of Croesus, and destroys a third part of the enemy's force, capturing Spar-garises, the son of the queen,

Κῦρος δὲ προελθὼν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀράξεω ἡμέρης ὁδὸν, ἐπολεε τὰς Κροίσου ὑποθήκας. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, Κύρου τε καὶ Περσέων τοῦ καθαροῦ στρατοῦ<sup>702</sup> ἀπελίσσαντος ὀπίσω ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀράξεα λειφθέντος δὲ τοῦ ἀχρητοῦ, ἐπελθούσα τῶν Μασσαγετέων τριτημορίς τοῦ στρατοῦ τοὺς τε λειφθέντας τῆς Κύρου στρατιῆς ἐφόνευσεν ἀλεξομένους, καὶ τὴν προκειμένην ἰδόντες δαῖτα ὡς ἐχειρώσαντο τοὺς ἐναντίους κλιθέντες δαίνυντο, πληρωθέντες δὲ φορβῆς καὶ οἴνου

<sup>697</sup> κηδέαται. Gaisford has κήδονται. See note on ii. 67, ἀπαγάται.

<sup>698</sup> οὐκ ἔστι μηχανὴ ἀπὸ τῆς ὄψιος ταύτης οὐδεμία, τὸ μὴ κείνον ἐπιβουλεύειν ἐμοί. This idiom is a very remarkable one. Literally, “there is no way out of this vision for him not to be plotting treason against me.” It expresses a logical necessity in terms of physical necessity. See note 129, above.

<sup>699</sup> ὥς. The interposition of so short a sentence after ὅκως seems scarcely a sufficient justification of the use of this word, which is manifestly superfluous. Perhaps Herodotus wrote ὡς τάχιστα.

<sup>700</sup> ἀμείβεται δὴ ὦν. Gaisford reads ἀμείβεται οἱ δὴ ὦν, on the authority of the manuscripts M, K, S, F, and a, but the word ἀμειβεσθαι is not found elsewhere with a dative of the person, and R and V have the reading in the text, which is adopted by Schweighäuser.

<sup>701</sup> ἄρχεσθαι. The article τοῦ might have been expected before this word. But its absence is defended by vi. 32, ἀντὶ εἶναι ἐνορχίας, and vii. 170, ἀντὶ δὲ εἶναι νησιώτας.

<sup>702</sup> τοῦ καθαροῦ στρατοῦ. See iv. 135, σὺν τῷ καθαροῦ τοῦ στρατοῦ.

εὔδον· οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἐπελθόντες πολλοὺς μὲν σφῶν ἐφόνευσαν<sup>703</sup>, πολλῶ δ' ἔτι πλεῦνας ἐξώγρησαν καὶ ἄλλους καὶ τὸν τῆς βασιλείης Τομύριος παῖδα στρατηγέοντα Μασσαγετέων, τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Σπαργαπίσης. Ἡ δὲ, πυθομένη τά τε περὶ τὴν στρατιὴν γεγονότα καὶ 212 τὰ περὶ τὸν παῖδα, πέμπουσα κήρυκα παρὰ Κύρον ἔλεγε τάδε· “ἄπληστε αἵματος Κύρε, μηδὲν ἐπαρθῆς τῷ γεγονότι τῷδε πρήγματι, εἰ ἀμπελίνῳ καρπῷ, τῷπερ αὐτοὶ ἐμπιπλάμενοι μαίνεσθε οὕτω<sup>704</sup> ὥστε κατώντος τοῦ οἴνου ἐς τὸ σῶμα ἐπαναπλῶειν ὑμῖν ἔπεα κακὰ, τοιοῦτ' φαρμάκῳ δολώσας ἐκράτησας παιδὸς τοῦ ἐμοῦ, ἀλλ' οὐ μάχῃ κατὰ τὸ καρτερόν. νῦν ὦν μευ εὖ παραινέουσας ὑπόλαβε τὸν λόγον ἀποδούς μοι τὸν παῖδα ἄπιθι ἐκ τῆσδε τῆς χώρας ἀξήμιος, Μασσαγετέων τριτημορίδι τοῦ στρατοῦ κατυβρίσας· εἰ δὲ μὴ ταῦτα σὺ ποιήσεις, ἥλιον ἐπόμνυμί τοι τὸν Μασσαγετέων δεσπότην ἢ μὴν σὲ ἐγὼ καὶ ἄπληστον ἔοντα αἵματος κορέσω.”

<sup>703</sup> οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἐπελθόντες πολλοὺς μὲν σφῶν ἐφόνευσαν. In all the accounts given of the contest between the Persians and the Massagetae, the feature of their intoxication and consequent destruction seems to have been preserved. This may be accounted for by the circumstance that it was handed down in a religious festival connected with the worship of Anaitis, and termed τὰ Σάκαια, which STRABO (xi. cap. 8, p. 432) describes as βακχεῖα τις τῶν μεθ' ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτωρ διεσκευασμένων Ἀκνθιστῶν, πίνοντων ἅμα καὶ πληκτιζομένων πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἅμα τε καὶ τὰς συμπονοῦσας γυναῖκας. He gives two different accounts of the origin of this festival, which existed down to his time at Zela in Pontus,—a place which was constituted a town by Pompey after the Mithridatic war, having been previously an establishment of hierodules of the goddess. One of them is, that the Sacæ (which he makes identical, or nearly so, with the Massagetae, and inhabiting the eastern part of Independent Tartary), having overrun the best part of Armenia, and got as far as Cappadocia and Pontus, were there suddenly attacked while feasting on their spoils by “the Persian generals at that time stationed in those parts,” and utterly annihilated. Another account is, he says, that Cyrus, having been defeated in an expedition against the Sacæ, resorted to the expedient in the text. If it be remembered that the Anaitis-worship

prevailed all over the East, and that the Persians, or those who in the idea of Herodotus represented the Persians, called all Scythians, and consequently the Massagetae, *Sacians* (vii. 64), it seems far from improbable that the two stories of Strabo, the one in the text, and the one of which Cyaxares is the hero (i. 106), are all so many different local accounts of the origin of one and the same religious festival, substantially identical, but varying in all the circumstances of time, place, and *dramatis personæ*. See note 693, above.

<sup>704</sup> μαίνεσθε οὕτω. The reproach of intemperance comes strangely from the mouth of a Massagetae; for the habitual drunkenness of these nomad tribes has always been notorious (see vi. 84). But the liquor which they use for the purpose of intoxication is *koumiss*—fermented mare's milk; so that perhaps, in the original form of the tale, Tomyris's scorn referred rather to the *beverage*, wine, than to its effects, just as ÆSCHYLUS (*Suppliants*, 963) makes the Argive king, by way of an insult, tell the Egyptian herald that he will find his countrymen to be men οὐ πίνοντας ἐκ κριθῶν μέθυ. In passing through a Hellenic channel, however, this peculiar feature might easily be lost sight of, and the reproach take the common form of a charge of intemperance.

213

who kills  
himself.

Κῦρος μὲν νυν τῶν ἐπέων οὐδένα τούτων ἀνεκχιθέντων ἐποίεετο λόγον. ὁ δὲ τῆς βασιλείης Τομίριος παῖς Σπαργαπίσης, ὥς μιν ὃ τε οἶνος ἀνῆκε καὶ ἔμαθε ἵνα ἦν κακοῦ, δεσθεὶς Κύρου ἐκ τῶν δεσμῶν λυθῆναι ἔτυχε ὥς δὲ ἐλύθη τε τάχιστα καὶ τῶν χειρῶν ἐκράτησε, διεργάζεται ἐωυτὸν καὶ δὴ οὗτος μὲν τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ

214

In a second  
battle, To-  
myris de-  
feats the  
Persian  
army, and  
kills Cyrus.

τελευτᾷ. Τόμυρις δὲ, ὥς οἱ ὁ Κῦρος οὐκ ἐσήκουσε, συλλέξασα πᾶσαν τὴν ἐωυτῆς δύναμιν συνέβαλε Κύρῳ. ταύτην τὴν μάχην, ὅσαι δὴ βαρβάρων ἀνδρῶν μάχαι ἐγένοντο, κρίνω ἰσχυροτάτην γενέσθαι καὶ δὴ καὶ πυθάνομαι οὕτω τοῦτο γενόμενον πρῶτα μὲν γὰρ λέγεται αὐτοὺς διαστάντας ἐς ἀλλήλους τοξέειν μετὰ δὲ, ὥς σφι τὰ βέλεια ἐξετετόξευτο, συμπεσόντας τῆσι αἰχμῆσί τε καὶ τοῖσι ἐγχειριδίοισι συνέχεσθαι χρόνον τε δὴ ἐπὶ πολλὸν συνεστάναι μαχομένους καὶ οὐδετέρους ἐθέλειν φεύγειν, τέλος δὲ, οἱ Μασσαγέται περιγεγέατο ἥ τε δὴ πολλῇ τῆς Περσικῆς στρατιῆς αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ<sup>75</sup> διεφθάρη, καὶ δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς Κῦρος τελευτᾷ βασιλεύσας τὰ πάντα ἐνὸς δέοντα τριήκοντα ἔτεα· ἄσκον δὲ πλῆσασα αἵματος ἀνθρωπίνου Τόμυρις ἐδίξητο ἐν τοῖσι τεθνεώσι τῶν Περσέων τὸν Κύρου νέκυν ὥς δὲ εὔρε, ἐναπήπτε αὐτοῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐς τὸν ἄσκον, λυμαιομένη δὲ τῷ νεκρῷ ἐπέλεγε τάδε· “Σὺ μὲν ἐμὲ ζώουσάν τε καὶ νικώσάν σε μάχῃ ἀπώλεσας παῖδα τὸν ἐμὸν ἐλὼν δόλῳ, σὲ δ' ἐγὼ, κατὰπερ ἠπέλιψα, αἵματος κορέσω.” τὰ μὲν δὴ κατὰ τὴν Κύρου τελευτὴν τοῦ βίου, πολλῶν λόγων λεγομένων<sup>76</sup>, ὅδε μοι ὁ πιθανώτατος εἴρηται.

<sup>75</sup> αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ. See note on iii. 25.

<sup>76</sup> πολλῶν λόγων λεγομένων. CTESIAS made Cyrus die in consequence of a wound received in action with the Derbices, under a king Amorceus. They are assisted by Indians with elephants, who frighten the horses of Cyrus's cavalry. He is rescued from impending defeat by Amorges, who comes up with an army of Sacæ, but dies on the third day after receiving his wound (ap. Photium, p. 37). ARISTOBULUS (ap. Arrian. vi. 29) professed to have visited the tomb of Cyrus at Pasargadæ, which had been plundered during the absence of Alexander in India, and to have replaced some fragments of the body in a golden sarcophagus, which the robbers had opened and vainly attempted to break up. A college of Magi were, as he says, appointed by Cambyzes to watch this tomb, and allowed a sheep per day for maintenance,

and a horse every month to offer to Cyrus: and their office was hereditary. DIODORUS, however (following some other author than his general authority, Ctesias), incidentally mentions that Cyrus was killed in action by a queen of the Massagete, and his body crucified: and ONESICRITUS, pilot of Alexander's fleet (ap. Strabon. x. c. 3, p. 321), describes the so-called tomb in a very different way from Aristobulus,—making it ten stories high instead of two, and stating that the inscription on it was a Greek hexameter verse in Persian characters; in which case it could hardly have been more than a cenotaph, erected not earlier than the time of Darius. XENOPHON, in the Cyropædia, makes Cyrus die in his bed of old age: but this work can only be regarded as a kind of novel,—of authority for manners but not for facts,—although in this particular instance

Μασσαγέται δὲ ἐσθιῆτά τε ὁμοίην τῇ Σκυθικῇ<sup>707</sup> φορέουσι καὶ 215  
 δίαταν ἔχουσι. ἵπποται δὲ εἰσι καὶ ἀνιπποι, (ἀμφοτέρων γὰρ Garb and  
 μετέχουσι<sup>708</sup>.) καὶ τοξόται τε καὶ αἰχμοφόροι, σαγάρις νομίζοντες habits of the  
 ἔχειν<sup>709</sup>. χρυσῷ δὲ καὶ χαλκῷ τὰ πάντα χρέωνται· ὅσα μὲν γὰρ Massagetæ  
 ἐς αἰχμὰς καὶ ἄρδεις καὶ σαγάρις, χαλκῷ τὰ πάντα χρέωνται· ὅσα  
 δὲ περὶ κεφαλὴν καὶ ζωστήρας καὶ μασχαλιστήρας, χρυσῷ κοσμέ-  
 ονται· ὡς δ' αὖτως τῶν ἵππων τὰ μὲν περὶ τὰ στέρνα χαλκέους  
 θώρηκας περιβάλλουσι· τὰ δὲ περὶ τοὺς χαλινούς καὶ στόμια καὶ  
 φάλαρα χρυσῷ. σιδήρῳ δὲ οὐδ' ἀργύρῳ χρέωνται οὐδέν· οὐδὲ γὰρ  
 οὐδέ σφί ἐστι ἐν τῇ χώρῃ· ὁ δὲ χρυσὸς καὶ ὁ χαλκὸς ἄπλετος<sup>710</sup>.  
 Νόμοισι δὲ χρέωνται τοιοῖσδε· γυναῖκα μὲν γαμέει ἕκαστος ταύτησι 216  
 δὲ ἐπίκουνα χρέωνται· ὃ γὰρ Σκύθας φασὶ "Ἕλληνες ποιεῖν, οὐ are often  
 Σκύθαι εἰσὶ οἱ ποιεόντες ἀλλὰ Μασσαγέται<sup>711</sup>. τῆς γὰρ ἐπιθυ- attributed  
 μήσει γυναικὸς Μασσαγέτης ἀνὴρ, τὸν φαρετρεῶνα ἀποκρεμάσας to the Scy-  
 πρὸ τῆς ἀμάξης μίσγεται ἀδεῶς. οὖρος δὲ ἡλικίης σφι προκέεται thians.  
 ἄλλος μὲν οὐδεῖς· ἐπεὰν δὲ γέρον γένηται κάρτα<sup>712</sup>, οἱ προσήκοντές  
 οἱ πάντες συνελθόντες θύουσί μιν καὶ ἄλλα πρόβατα ἅμα αὐτῷ·  
 ἐψήσαντες δὲ τὰ κρέα κατεωχέονται. ταῦτα μὲν τὰ ὀλβιώτατά σφι  
 νενόμισται· τὸν δὲ νοῦσφ τελευτήσαντα οὐ κατασιτέονται, ἀλλὰ  
 γῇ κρύπτουσι συμφορὴν ποιούμενοι ὅτι οὐκ ἔκετο ἐς τὸ τυθῆναι.  
 σπείρουσι δὲ οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ κτηνέων ζῶουσι καὶ ἰχθύων. οἱ δὲ  
 ἀφθονοὶ σφι ἐκ τοῦ Ἀράξω ποταμοῦ παραγίνονται· γαλακτοπόται They are  
 δὲ εἰσὶ θεῶν δὲ μούνον ἥλιον σέβονται, τῷ θύουσι ἵππους<sup>713</sup>. sun-wor-  
 shippers.

he is confirmed by DINON (cp. Ciceron. *De Divinat.* i. 23), who makes Cyrus come to the empire at the age of forty, and die at that of seventy.

<sup>707</sup> ὁμοίην τῇ Σκυθικῇ. See note 677 above, and that on iv. 26, ἀναμίζωντες πάντα τὰ κρέα.

<sup>708</sup> ἀμφοτέρων γὰρ μετέχουσι, "For of both are there tribes occupying parts [of the great waste]." Understand *tribes*. Some of the race which inhabited the flanks of the mountains (see STRABO, quoted in note 685) would be *ἱπποται*, while the nomads of the westernmost part of the plains would doubtless be *ἱπποτάι*. For the use of the word *μετέχουσι*, see note 686.

<sup>709</sup> σαγάρις νομίζοντες ἔχειν. See note on vii. 64.

<sup>710</sup> ὁ δὲ χρυσὸς καὶ ὁ χαλκὸς ἄπλετος. The gold might be obtained from the

sand of the streams in the Altai Mountains, from whence it would be carried by traffic far and wide. The Ural range is much nearer to the plains which Herodotus had in his mind; but it is only recently that those mountains have been known to yield gold. With regard to the brass, it has been found that the arms discovered on opening any of the ancient barrows in Northern Asia have been invariably of that metal (RITTEN, *Erdkunde*, ii. p. 796).

<sup>711</sup> οὐ Σκύθαι εἰσὶ οἱ ποιεόντες ἀλλὰ Μασσαγέται. See note 677.

<sup>712</sup> ἐπεὰν δὲ γέρον γένηται κάρτα. A similar practice is attributed to the Issedones, the neighbours of the Massagete, iv. 26, where see the note, and to another people, iii. 99.

<sup>713</sup> τῷ θύουσι ἵππους. That the sacrifice of horses was commonly practised by

νόμος δὲ οὗτος τῆς θυσίης τῶν θεῶν τῷ ταχίστῳ πάντων τῶν  
θνητῶν τὸ τάχιστον δατέονται.

the Persians seems to follow from the statement of ARISTOBULUS given in the note 706, above. Possibly the "sacred horses" mentioned in § 189 may have been intended for this purpose (see vii. 114), although it seems more likely that they were a relief for drawing the chariot of the sun. But all nomad tribes feed

upon the flesh of the animals which they employ for the purposes of locomotion; and the sacrifice was probably a never-failing preliminary of a flesh-meal. Hence apparently the origin of the Persians eating the *camel* and the *ass* (§ 133). The custom doubtless grew up in the times when they were nomads.

## EXCURSUS ON I. 32.

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IN the ancient kalendars there were two distinct points which required attention; the one, the adjustment of the civil month to the motions of the moon; the other, that of the civil year to the motions of the sun. Of these two there can be no doubt that the former was in early times regarded as by far the more important. It was the lunar month by which the religious festivals were regulated; and the inconvenience occasioned by the discrepancy between the conventional new moon and the natural one would make itself felt more strongly from the circumstance, that the neglect, however involuntary, of public religious rites in any particular was conceived to draw down the wrath of Heaven upon the land. Aristophanes puts this superstition in his jesting way in the "Clouds" (vv. 558—68) making the Moon send a message to the spectators by the Chorus, complaining of the irritation of the gods at finding nothing provided for them on days when, according to *her* reckoning (on which alone they could depend), they had a right to expect a feast; and, on the other hand, at having their times of fasting or mourning for Memnon or Sarpedon, or some other hero, indecently disturbed by the riotous festivities of mortals. Not only religious festivals, however, but commercial proceedings also, were regulated by the lunar month,—or rather by the civil month founded upon it. Money was lent at interest by the month, and accounts settled at the end of it. Agricultural operations meanwhile, and navigation (which depend upon the seasons of the year), were determined not by any reference to the civil kalendar, but by the rising or setting of certain constellations; or by the appearance

or the cries of birds, such as the swallow, the cuckoo, the crane, or the kite. Allusions to this habit abound in Aristophanes, showing decisively that the rude methods of determining the season of the year which Hesiod gives prevailed generally in the time of the Peloponnesian war, although just before its commencement the foundation of a better system had been already laid.

The determination of a civil lunar month which shall agree at first pretty closely with the natural lunations is not at all a difficult matter. If twelve months be taken alternately of 30 and 29 days, twelve of them will amount to 354 days; and this was the Athenian civil year for some time after Solon. Twelve lunations amount to 354 days, 8 hours, 48 minutes, and 34 seconds; so that it would be nearly three years before the difference of a day would arise between the natural and the conventional new moon. But this difference would continually increase, the system having no principle of correction within itself; and in the course of little more than forty years the *νομηνία κατὰ σελήνην* (as Thucydides calls the *natural* new moon, ii. 28) would fall upon the fifteenth day of the civil lunar month.

The discordance between a civil year consisting of 354 days and the solar year, consisting of  $365\frac{1}{4}$ , would very early force itself into attention; and a system called the *octaeteris*, or cycle of eight years, was invented for the purpose of correcting it. This object was effected by intercalating a month of 30 days, a second Posideon, three times in the course of the eight years,—generally in such a way as to make the third, the fifth, and the eighth consist of thirteen months. This would give  $8 \times 354 + 90 (= 2922)$  days for the cycle, which is the exact amount of eight years of  $365\frac{1}{4}$  days each, and consequently the *civil* lunar year would every eight years be brought into agreement with the solar year.

But this advantage would be purchased at the expense of one which, according to ancient habits of thinking, was even more important,—the approximation of the civil to the natural lunar month. The *octaeteris* of 2922 days is not equivalent to 99 lunations, which amount to nearly  $2923\frac{1}{2}$  days: and consequently a kalendar regulated on such a principle would neither correct, nor to any important extent retard, the continually increasing difference between the civil and the natural lunar month. The obvious course would be to interpolate three days in the course of 16 years,—and this, it is said, was



attempted,—but, as such a proceeding would at once derange the adjustment between the civil lunar year and the solar year, it seems very questionable whether it was ever adopted.

A plan for uniting the advantage both of a solar and lunar adjustment was *proposed* by Meton in the archonship of Apseudes, a year before the commencement of the Peloponnesian war. So much as this follows from the notice of Diodorus (xii. 36), but there seems no authority to assume, as some have done, that this famous cycle of nineteen years, the *Enneadecaeteris*, which has continued in use for some purposes to the present day, was formally adopted by public authority at once. In the year 432 B.C., the summer solstice fell on the 13th day of the Attic month Scirophorion (the 27th of June), and, the new-moon synchronizing with it, there was an error of 13 days between the natural and the conventional commencement of the month Hecatombæon, the first of the Attic year. This point of time Meton proposed to make the epoch of his cycle. Instead of the previous methods of intercalation, he suggested as the basis of his scheme a series of 235 months of 30 days each, the result of intercalating a second Poseidon seven times, *viz.* in the third, fifth, eighth, eleventh, thirteenth, sixteenth, and nineteenth years of the *Enneadecaeteris*. This would give 7050 days, *i. e.* 110 days too much; as the number of days in nineteen years, according to his computation, amounted to 6940, reckoning the solar year at 365 days, 6 hours, 18 minutes, and 57 seconds. Now, according to the old method of striking out one day from every alternate month, 117 or 118 days would have had to be struck out, which would make the cycle 7 or 8 days too short. Meton therefore struck out every 63rd day throughout the period, which days were called *ἡμέραι ἐξαυτίσμοι*, and the months which by their extrusion were shortened were denominated *κοῖλαι*, to distinguish them from the others, which were designated *πλήρεις* as containing their full complement of 30 days. The following table, which is taken from the Appendix to Clinton's "*Fasti Hellenici*," vol. ii. p. 338, will exhibit to the eye the Metonic scheme, and it is not unlikely that what was really done by Meton in the archonship of Apseudes was to set up some such table engraved on stone or brass, in a frequented part of the city or the vicinity, for public criticism.

## YEARS OF THE CYCLE.

MONTHS.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
Hecatombæon		18		24		30		3		9		27		15		21			18
Metagitnion			6		12		18		24				3		9		27		15
Boëdromion	3	21		27				6		12		30		18		24			3
Pyanepsion			9		15		3		21		27			6		12		30	18
Mæmacterion	6	24		30				9		15		21		27					6
Posideon (α)			12		18		6		24		30		3		9		15		21
Posideon (β) intercalated seven times	*	*		*		*	*	12	*	*		*		*	*	*	3	*	*
Gamelion	9	27	15		21						18		6		24		12		30
Anthesterion				3		9		27		15						18		6	24
Elaphebolion	12	30	18		24					3		21		9		27		15	
Munychion				6		12		30		18						3		21	9
Thargelion	15		21		27					6		24		12		30		18	
Scirophorion		3		9		15		21							6		24	12	30

The utility of this table is very great. It contains within itself a correction of the difference between the conventional and the natural new moon, which at no time in the whole nineteen years can exceed twenty-six hours, and at the expiration of the cycle is only about seven hours and a half. But, although it thus commends itself to understanding critics, the apparent irregularity of the length of the months (no one of which in the course of the nineteen years was always of the same magnitude) no doubt gave dissatisfaction to those citizens who were accustomed to the old "rule of thumb," which made the months alternately *πλήρεις* and *κοίλαι*. And although the inequality of the civil and lunar months was, as has been said, limited by it, yet within this limit it increased much more rapidly than under the old system. Thus, in the very first year of the cycle, at the beginning of the month Boëdromion, the civil new moon would be nearly a day (*i. e.* 22h. 32m.) behind the natural new moon, reckoning a lunation at 29d. 12h. and 44m.; it is really

nearly three seconds longer. At the beginning of Mæmacterion, the difference would be only diminished by 1h. 28m., but this correction would continue steadily till the beginning of Elaphebolion in the second year, when the inequality would have diminished to 9h. 20m. But, Munychion and Thargelion being full months in that year, the inequality would be increased again by the beginning of Scirophorion to 19h. 8m. Then the diminution would again recommence, and at the beginning of Mæmacterion in the fourth year, the inequality would be reduced to 7h. 54m. Again, it would receive a sudden addition from the circumstance of Posideon and Gamelion in that year being full months, and at the beginning of Anthesterion would amount to 17h. 42m., from which point the reduction would recommence afresh.

If the two first months, and also the two last of the Enneadecaeteris be abstracted, the remainder is made up of eleven cyclical periods of twenty-one months each, in every one of which the first twenty are alternately *κοῖλαι* and *πλήρεις*, while the twenty-first is always *πλήρης*. The operation, therefore, of Meton's corrective system may be easily conceived by observing that the inequality of 22h. 32m., existing at the beginning of Boëdromion in the first year, is corrected by a bimestral amount of 1h. 28m. during the first twenty months of these smaller cycles, while every twenty-first month the aggregate correction of the twenty months is suddenly diminished by 11h. 16m., or more than seven-tenths of its amount. Nevertheless the balance tends to diminish the inequality, and in the seventh of the smaller cycles the civil month, instead of being *behind* the natural month, slightly precedes it, so that, at the commencement of Metagitnion in the thirteenth year, the conventional new moon would be 1h. 16m. *before* the natural one, in spite of the retardation. The mechanism which had hitherto served to correct the inequality would now begin to increase it at a more rapid rate. The civil new moon of Elaphebolion in the fourteenth year would be 1h. 28m. + 14h. 40m. (= 16h. 8m.) before its proper time, that of Poseideon in the sixteenth would be 19h. 32m. too early, that of Metagitnion in the eighteenth would be 22h. 56m., and that of Munychion in the last year of the cycle would come 26h. 20m. too soon. Here, however, a change would again take place. Thargelion in the nineteenth year was made by Meton a full month, the whole number of 110

days having been already excluded, and therefore the third day in it was not taken as a *ἡμέρα ἐξαπέρυμος*. By this means a rapid retardation took place, so that the civil new moon of Scirophorion, the last month in the *Enneadecaeteris*, came only 3h. 48m. too soon, and that of Hecatombæon at the beginning of the second cycle of nineteen years only 7h. 28m. too late.

# ἩΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ

## ἹΣΤΟΡΙΩΝ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΗ.

### ΕΥΤΕΡΠΗ.

**ΤΕΛΕΥΤΗΣΑΝΤΟΣ** δὲ Κύρου παρέλαβε τὴν βασιλητὴν **Καμ- 1**  
 βύσης, Κύρου ἐὼν παῖς καὶ Κασσανδάνης τῆς Φαρνάσπεω θυγα- Cambyses  
succeeds  
Cyrus his  
father.  
His mother  
Cassandane  
daughter of  
Pharnaspea.  
 τρός τῆς προαποθανούσης, Κύρος αὐτὸς τε μέγα πένθος ἐποιήσατο  
 καὶ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι προεῖπε πᾶσι, τῶν ἥρχε, πένθος ποιέεσθαι·  
 ταύτης δὲ τῆς γυναικὸς ἐὼν παῖς καὶ Κύρου Καμβύσης, Ἴωνας μὲν  
 καὶ Αἰολέας ὡς δούλους πατρῷους<sup>1</sup> ἔοντας ἐνόμιζε, ἐπὶ δὲ Αἴγυ-  
 πτον<sup>2</sup> ἐποίεετο στρατηλασίην, ἄλλους τε παραλαβὼν τῶν ἥρχε καὶ  
 δὴ καὶ Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἐπεκράτεε<sup>3</sup>.

Οἱ δὲ Αἰγύπτιοι, πρὶν μὲν ἢ Ψαμμίτιχον<sup>4</sup> σφέων βασιλεῦσαι, **2**  
 ἐνόμιζον ἑαυτοὺς πρῶτους γενέσθαι πάντων ἀνθρώπων· ἐπειδὴ δὲ Anecdote of  
Psammiti-  
chus's pro-  
ceeding to  
discover  
what was  
the oldest  
nation.  
 Ψαμμίτιχος βασιλεύσας ἠθέλησε εἰδέναι οὔτινες γενοίατο πρῶτοι,  
 ἀπὸ τούτου νομίζουσι Φρύγας προτέρους γενέσθαι ἑαυτῶν, τῶν  
 δὲ ἄλλων ἑαυτούς· Ψαμμίτιχος γάρ<sup>5</sup> ὡς οὐκ ἐδύνατο πυνθανόμενος  
 πόρον οὐδένα τούτου ἀνευρεῖν, οἱ γενοίατο πρῶτοι ἀνθρώπων, ἐπι-  
 τεχνᾷται τοιόνδε· παῖδια δύο νεογνὰ ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἐπιτυχόντων

<sup>1</sup> δούλους πατρῷους. See note 476 on i. 141.

<sup>2</sup> ἐπὶ δὲ Αἴγυπτον. The thread of the narrative is resumed in the beginning of Book III., the whole of this one being taken up with a description of Egypt, and a history of the dynasties down to the invasion of Cambyses.

<sup>3</sup> καὶ δὴ καὶ Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἐπεκράτεε.

These were Ionians and Æolians, as appears from iii. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Ψαμμίτιχον. The MSS vary between the forms Ψαμμήτιχος, Ψαμμήτιχος, and that in the text. S and V have Ψαμμήτιχος.

<sup>5</sup> γάρ. Gaisford, with the majority of the MSS, has δέ. But these words are continually interchanged by transcribers.

διδοῖ ποιμένι τρέφειν ἐς τὰ ποιμνία<sup>6</sup> τροφήν τινα τοιήνδε, ἐντειλάμενος μηδένα ἀντίον αὐτῶν μηδεμίαν φωνὴν ἰέναι ἐν στέγῃ δὲ ἐρήμῃ ἐπ' ἐωυτῶν κέεσθαι αὐτὰ, καὶ τὴν ὥρην ἐπαγινέειν σφί αἰγας, πλῆσαντα δὲ τοῦ γάλακτος τᾶλλα διαπρήσσεσθαι ταῦτα δ' ἐπολεέ τε καὶ ἐνετέλλετο ὁ Ψαμμίτιχος, θέλων ἀκοῦσαι τῶν παιδίων, ἀπαλλαχθέντων τῶν ἀσήμεων κυζημάτων<sup>7</sup>, ἥντινα φωνὴν ῥήξουσιν πρώτην τάπερ ὦν καὶ ἐγένετο· ὥς γὰρ διέτης χρόνος<sup>8</sup> ἐγεγόνυε ταῦτα τῷ ποιμένι πρήσσοντι, ἀνοίγοντι τὴν θύρην καὶ ἐσιόντι τὰ παιδιά ἀμφοτέρα προσπίπτοντα βεκὸς<sup>9</sup> ἐφώνεον, ὀρέγοντα τὰς χεῖρας· τὰ μὲν δὴ πρῶτα ἀκούσας ἤσυχος ἦν ὁ ποιμήν, ὥς δὲ πολλὰκι φοιτέοντι καὶ ἐπιμελομένῃ πολλὸν ἦν τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος, οὕτω δὴ σημήνας τῷ δεσπότη ἤγαγε τὰ παιδιά κελεύσαντος ἐς ὄψιν τὴν ἐκείνου· ἀκούσας δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ψαμμίτιχος, ἐπυνθάνετο οἵτινες ἀνθρώπων βεκὸς τί καλέουσι· πυνθανόμενος δὲ εὗρισκε Φρύγας καλέοντας τὸν ἄρτον· οὕτω συνεχώρησαν Αἰγύπτιοι, καὶ τοιοῦτῳ σταθμησάμενοι πρήγματι, τοὺς Φρύγας πρεσβυτέρους εἶναι ἐωυτῶν. Ὡδε μὲν γενέσθαι τῶν ἱρέων τοῦ Ἡφαίστου ἐν Μέμφι ἤκουον. Ἕλληνες δὲ λέγουσι ἄλλα τε μάταια πολλὰ, καὶ ὥς γυναικῶν τὰς γλώσσας ὁ Ψαμμίτιχος ἑκταμῶν τὴν διαίταν οὕτως ἐποίησατο τῶν παιδων παρὰ ταύτῃσι τῇσι γυναιξί. κατὰ μὲν δὴ τὴν τροφήν τῶν παιδων τοσαῦτα ἔλεγον· ἤκουσα δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἐν Μέμφι ἐλθὼν ἐς λόγους τοῖσι ἱερεῦσι τοῦ Ἡφαίστου. καὶ

## 3

The author heard many stories from the priests of Memphis, Thebes, and Heliopolis, both of divine and human matters.

<sup>6</sup> διδοῖ ποιμένι τρέφειν ἐς τὰ ποιμνία, "gives them to a shepherd to take to his flocks and bring up."

<sup>7</sup> ἀπαλλαχθέντων τῶν ἀσήμεων κυζημάτων, "after the unmeaning whimperings [of infancy] had past away." The exact meaning of κυζημάτα appears best from the beautiful expression of THEOCRITUS:—

οὐδέ τι φωνῶσαι δυνάμην, οὐδ' ὅσσον ἐν ἔργῳ  
κνυῖνται φωνεῖντα φίλαν ποτὶ ματέρα  
τέκνα. (ii. 108.)

<sup>8</sup> διέτης χρόνος. SUIDAS (sub v. Βεκ-κεσέληνος) appears to have read τριέτης χρόνος. And POLLUX (v. 88) seems to have had a MS varying in some respects from any existing one; for he says, with reference to this passage: ὥς Ἡρόδοτος ἐσφαλται ἐπὶ τῶν βρεφῶν τῶν Φρυγίων λόγῳ, βληχᾶσθαι τὰς αἰγας οἰόμενος.

<sup>9</sup> βεκός. It seems likely that this is a dialectal variety of φακός (see note on vii. 73, ἐκαλέοντο Βρίγες), which is no doubt etymologically connected with φάγω, and, possibly, meant originally *food*, although in subsequent times it was confined to that species of aliment most accessible to the common people. HIPPOCRATES used the word in a trochaic tetrameter (preserved by Strabo, viii. c. 3, p. 150), Κυπρίων βεκός φαγοῦσι κάμαθουσίων πυρόν, from which it would seem to have been a provincial term in some part of Cyprus. The Semitic root *dk* is said to have the meaning of *food*, and the form βεκός probably was brought to Cyprus from Phœnicia, and there remained. Some of the MSS have βεκός, a form which appears in the word βεκκεσέληνος used by ARISTOPHANES (*Nub.* 398).

δὴ καὶ ἐς Θήβας<sup>10</sup> τε καὶ ἐς Ἡλιούπολιν αὐτῶν τούτων εἵνεκεν ἐτραπόμην, ἐθέλων εἰδέναι εἰ συμβήσονται τοῖσι λόγοισι τοῖσι ἐν Μέμφι· οἱ γὰρ Ἡλιουπολῖται λέγονται Αἰγυπτίῳ εἶναι λογιώτατοι<sup>11</sup>. τὰ μὲν νυν θεῖα τῶν ἀπηρημάτων οἷα ἤκουον οὐκ εἰμὶ πρόθυμος ἐξηγέσθαι, ἔξω ἢ τὰ οὐνόματα αὐτῶν μῦθον, νομίζων πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἴσον περὶ αὐτῶν ἐπίστασθαι· τὰ δ' ἂν ἐπιμνησθῶ αὐτῶν, ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου ἐξαναγκαζόμενος ἐπιμνησθήσομαι. "Οσα δὲ ἀνθρωπῆϊα πρήγματα ὧδε ἔλεγον ὁμολογέοντες σφίσι· 4  
 πρῶτους Αἰγυπτίους ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων ἐξευρέειν τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν, δυνάδεκα μέρεα δασαμένους τῶν ὥρων<sup>12</sup> ἐς αὐτὸν ταῦτα δὲ ἐξευρέειν ἐκ τῶν ἀστρων ἔλεγον<sup>13</sup>. ἄγουσι δὲ τοσφδε σοφώτερον

The Egyptians the first discoverers of the solar annual cycle.

<sup>10</sup> καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Θήβας. It would seem a fair inference from these words (which exist in all the MSS), that Herodotus made a special expedition to Thebes, and there remained. The way in which he quotes the Theban priests, too, in i. 182, is quite in accordance with such a notion. But see note on § 16, below. Is it possible that he only went as far as Coptus on the river (see note on § 17), or to the place which served the same purpose that Coptus did in the time of the Ptolemies, and made a mere excursion to one temple at Thebes?

<sup>11</sup> λογιώτατοι, "the richest in legendary lore." See note 5 on i. 1. Several of the MSS, however, have *λογιμάτατοι*, which may be defended, although the reading of the rest appears preferable.

<sup>12</sup> τῶν ὥρων. The use of this word is not to be overlooked. The duodenary division, which the Egyptians made, was not a division of *seasons*, but of *space* proportional (or nearly so) to a division of time. It was a division of the zodiac into twelve parts, rudely defined to the eye by certain combinations of constellations, through which the path of the sun lay. But Herodotus was obviously not an astronomer. "The year" was to him the succession of certain *seasons*, and he uses the term which was familiar to himself. The confusion of thought which gives rise to the expression is also observable in § 26, below, εἰ δὲ ἡ σῶσις ἡλλακτο τῶν ὥρων, κ.τ.λ., where "the seasons" are localized as meteorological phenomena, without any reference to the motion of the sun, which, indeed, is regarded as influenced *by them*. See also iii. 11, ἀποκλινομένης μεσαμβρίας, and the note there.

<sup>13</sup> ταῦτα δὲ ἐξευρέειν ἐκ τῶν ἀστρων ἔλεγον. The mode in which the length of the year is fixed, is by observing the number of days which elapse between two consecutive *first* risings, or *last* settings of any conspicuous star; phenomena which, in a country where the sky is habitually clear and the horizon uninterrupted, and where the habits of the people keep them much in the open air, are quite as striking as the changes of the moon in our own latitude. In Egypt, the star which first attracted observation for this purpose was, probably, *Sirius*, which the Egyptians called *Thoth* (or *Soth* = *Sōthis*), a name which they also gave to the first month of their year. If the sun happens to be in a part of the heavens a little to the west of this star, it cannot fail to strike the eye of a spectator who watches the *setting* of the former, as it will come out on the *western* horizon apparently alone (like a spark of fire struck out from the larger body), in the midst of the growing darkness, and this the more conspicuously as the twilight is briefer. The next day he will again look for it and see it, but it will follow the setting sun more closely, and the last time he observes it it will be scarcely perceptible, from its proximity to the greater luminary. This is the technical *δosis* of the early Hellenic astronomy, to which ÆSCHYLUS gives the appropriate epithet of *δόσκριτος* (*Prom.* 438). After this disappearance of *Sirius* as an *evening star*, it would be invisible for the space of about thirty days, after which time the sun would have past from the west to the east of it, for a sufficient space to allow it to be just visible on the *eastern* horizon before all the stars disap-

Their calendar superior to that of the Hellenes.

They first gave names to the twelve gods, and established altars, images, and temples.

Men the first king of Egypt, in whose time all the

Ἑλλήνων, ἐμοὶ δοκέειν, ὅσῳ Ἕλληνας μὲν διὰ τρίτου ἔτεος ἐμβόλιμον ἐπεμβάλλουσι<sup>14</sup> τῶν ὥρέων εἵνεκεν, Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ τριηκοντημέρους ἄγοντες τοὺς δωδέκα μῆνας<sup>15</sup>, ἐπάγουσι ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος πέντε ἡμέρας πάρεξ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ καὶ σφί ὁ κύκλος τῶν ὥρέων ἐς τὸντὸ περιεὼν παραγίνεται. *δωδέκα τε θεῶν ἐπωνυμίας ἔλεγον πρώτους Αἰγυπτίους νομίσαι*<sup>16</sup>, καὶ Ἕλληνας παρὰ σφέων ἀναλαβεῖν βωμούς τε καὶ ἀγάλματα καὶ νηοὺς θεοῖσι ἀπονείμειν σφέας πρώτους, καὶ ζῶα ἐν λίθοις ἐγγλύφαι<sup>17</sup>. καὶ τούτων μὲν νῦν τὰ πλέω ἔργῳ ἐδήλουν οὕτω γενόμενα· βασιλεύσαι δὲ πρώτων Αἰγύπτου ἀνθρώπων ἔλεγον Μῆνα· ἐπὶ τούτου, πλὴν τοῦ Θηβαϊκοῦ νομοῦ πᾶσαν Αἴγυπτον εἶναι ἔλος· καὶ αὐτῆς εἶναι οὐδὲν ὑπερέχον τῶν νῦν ἐνερχε λίμνης τῆς Μοίριος ἐόντων<sup>18</sup>. ἐς τὴν ἀνάπλους

peared under the influence of the dawning day. Such a rising, as a *morning star*, was the ἀνατολή of the primitive astronomy; and it is plain that either the ἀνατολή (sometimes called ἐπιτολή, because of its being a rising observed *after* an observed setting) or the δύσις formed an equally good fixed point for an epoch. During the interval between two consecutive phenomena (of either class) the sun would have passed through the whole circle of the heavens;—in other words, a year would have been completed.

<sup>14</sup> διὰ τρίτου ἔτεος ἐμβόλιμον ἐπεμβάλλουσι. This is not a perfectly exact description of the method of intercalation practised at Athens before the introduction of the Metonic cycle; but it probably refers to the so-called *octaeteris*. (See *Excursus* on i. 32.) But note 12 shows that the astronomical knowledge of the writer was very vague.

<sup>15</sup> τοὺς δωδέκα μῆνας. The Egyptian months, according to PROLEMY (*ap. Ideler, Handbuch der Chronologie*, i. p. 97) occurred in the following order:—1. Thoth; 2. Phaophi; 3. Athyr; 4. Choiak; 5. Tybi; 6. Mechir; 7. Phamenoth; 8. Pharmuthi; 9. Pachon; 10. Payni; 11. Epiphi; 12. Mesori. Then come the five intercalated days. The beginning of the year fell on the 26th of February in the year 747 B.C., or the year 3967 of the Julian period. That epoch is the commencement of the era of Nabonassar. (IDLER, l. c.)

<sup>16</sup> *δωδέκα τε θεῶν ἐπωνυμίας ἔλεγον πρώτους Αἰγυπτίους νομίσαι*. The allusion, probably, is to the twelve gods to

whom an altar was erected in the *agora* at Athens by a grandson of Pisistratus, while filling the office of archon, before the expulsion of his family (THUCYD. vi. 54). A reference is made to it again below (vi. 82). It is not easy to say what determined the number of deities here united, but the duodenary division was early familiar to the Ionic race. See what the author says in i. 146. It may be remarked that the altar of "the twelve gods" being in the *agora*, seems to indicate that the commercial relations of the state were specially under the guardianship of these corporate deities. Hence, perhaps, ARISTOPHANES makes Euelpides swear by "the twelve gods" when struck by the strange appearance of the *Ereps*, whom he regards as a foreigner (*Aves*, 95). See also note on vi. 108. Hence, too, they would be familiar to travelling merchants, to whom the remark in the text would naturally be made.

<sup>17</sup> ζῶα ἐν λίθοις ἐγγλύφαι. See note 238 on i. 70.

<sup>18</sup> τῶν νῦν ἐνερχε λίμνης τῆς Μοίριος ἐόντων, "of the places which are now further down the river than the lake Moeris." The statement of the Egyptians to Herodotus is deserving of attention, as an example of the way in which, in early times, physical theories are put forward as historical facts. The surface soil of lower Egypt is alluvial, but the period of time which must have elapsed for the deposit being made may be gathered from the amount of that which has taken place in the last 1700 years. This is, according to WILKINSON (*Journal of the Geog. Soc.* ix. p. 432), about nine feet



ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἐπὶ τὰ ἡμερέων ἐστὶ ἀνὰ τὸν ποταμόν. Καὶ εὖ μοι <sup>5</sup>  
 ἐδόκεον λέγειν περὶ τῆς χώρας· δῆλα γὰρ δὴ καὶ μὴ προακούσαντι <sup>country except the</sup>  
 ἰδόντι δέ, ὅστις γε σύνεσις ἔχει, ὅτι Αἴγυπτος, ἐς τὴν Ἑλληνες <sup>Thebaic nome was</sup>  
 ναυτίλλονται, ἔστι Αἰγυπτίοισι ἐπικτήτός τε γῆ καὶ δῶρον τοῦ <sup>a swamp.</sup>  
 ποταμοῦ<sup>19</sup>. καὶ τὰ κατύπερθε ἔτι τῆς λίμνης ταύτης μέχρι τριῶν <sup>Its present</sup>  
 ἡμερέων πλόου, τῆς πέρι ἐκεῖνοι οὐδὲν ἔτι [τοιόνδε<sup>20</sup>] ἔλεγον ἔστι <sup>appearance</sup>  
 δ' ἕτερον τοιούτων. <sup>confirms</sup>  
<sup>this.</sup>

Αἰγύπτου γὰρ φύσις τῆς χώρας ἐστὶ τοιήδε· πρῶτα μὲν προσ-  
 πλέων, ἔτι καὶ ἡμέρης δρόμον ἀπέχων ἀπὸ γῆς, κατεῖς καταπειρη-  
 τηρίην πηλὸν τε ἀνοίσεις καὶ ἐν ἑνδεκα<sup>21</sup> ὀργυῖῃσι ἔσεαι. τοῦτο μὲν  
 ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο δηλοῖ πρόχυσιν τῆς γῆς εἶδυσαν. Αὐτῆς δὲ τῆς <sup>6</sup>  
 Αἰγύπτου ἐστὶ μήκος τὸ παρὰ θάλασσαν ἐξήκοντ' ἀσχοῖνοι, κατὰ <sup>Dimensions</sup>  
 ἡμέας διαιρέομεν εἶναι Αἰγυπτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ Πλωθνήτῳ κόλπου<sup>22</sup> <sup>of Egypt:</sup>  
 μέχρι Σερβωνίδος λίμνης, παρ' ἣν τὸ Κάσιον ὄρος τείνει<sup>23</sup>. ταύτης <sup>3600 stades</sup>  
 ὧν ἅπο οἱ ἐξήκοντα ἀσχοῖνοί εἰσι· ὅσοι μὲν γὰρ γεωπεῖναι εἰσι <sup>in the sea-</sup>  
 ἀνθρώπων, ὀργυῖῃσι μεμετρήκασιν τὴν χώραν· ὅσοι δὲ ἦσσαν γεω- <sup>board.</sup>  
 πεῖναι, σταδίοισι· οἱ δὲ πολλὰν ἔχουσι, παρασάγγῃσι· οἱ δὲ ἄφθο-  
 νον λίην, ἀσχοῖνοισι. δύναται δὲ ὁ μὲν παρασάγγῃς τριήκοντα  
 στάδια, ὁ δὲ ἀσχοῖνος ἑκάστος, μέτρον ἔδον Αἰγύπτῳ, ἐξήκοντα  
 στάδια<sup>24</sup>. οὕτω ἂν εἴησαν Αἰγύπτου στάδιοι ἑξακόσιοι καὶ τρισ-

just below the first cataract, lat. 24° 5'; about seven feet at Thebes, lat. 26° 43'; about five feet ten inches at Cairo, lat. 30°. At Rosetta, and the mouths of the Nile (lat. 31° 30'), the diminutions in the perpendicular thickness of the deposit is lessened in a much greater decreasing ratio than in the straitened valley of Central and Upper Egypt, owing to the much greater extent, east and west, over which the inundation spreads, and there the elevation of the land in the same period of 1700 years has been comparatively imperceptible. In point of fact, limestone rock lies throughout at no great distance below the surface, and it is an elevated portion of this formation which constitutes the Isle of Pharos.

<sup>19</sup> δῶρον τοῦ ποταμοῦ. This is the actual phrase which *Hecataeus* used in speaking of Egypt. (*ARRIAN, Exped. Alex.* v. 6.)

<sup>20</sup> τοιόνδε. This word is omitted by the manuscripts 8, V, b, and d, and certainly seems to be a gloss.

<sup>21</sup> ἐν ἑνδεκα. Some MSS have ἐν δέκα.

<sup>22</sup> ἀπὸ τοῦ Πλωθνήτῳ κόλπου. This is the bay of which the eastern extremity ran up to the immediate neighbourhood of what was afterwards Alexandria. It was so called from a town *Plinthine*, where, probably, before Alexandria was built, the wine which was produced in abundance on the banks of the lake *Marra*, or *Mareotis*, used to be shipped. The coast was full of small ports as far as *Paratonium*, which was to the west of Alexandria, a run of 1300 *stades*. Among them was a village called *Apis*, from which caravans reached the oasis of Ammon in five days (*STRABO*, xvii. p. 435). Compare *SOYLAX*, cited in note 65, below. It is obvious that the description in the text proceeds from a commercial navigator.

<sup>23</sup> παρ' ἣν τὸ Κάσιον ὄρος τείνει. The Casian promontory is especially mentioned from its importance as a landmark to the mariner. On it and the Serbonian Marsh, see notes on iii. 5.

<sup>24</sup> ἐξήκοντα στάδια. This cannot be

7  
From the  
coast to  
Heliopolis  
the road is  
nearly the  
same length

χίλιοι, τὸ παρὰ θάλασσαν. Ἐνθεύτεν μὲν καὶ μέχρι Ἡλιονπό-  
λιος<sup>25</sup> ἐς τὴν μεσόγαιαν ἔστι εὐρέα Αἴγυπτος, ἐοῦσα πᾶσα ὑπὲρ  
τε καὶ ἄνυδρος<sup>a</sup>, καὶ ἰλὺς. ἔστι δὲ ὁδὸς<sup>26</sup> ἐς τὴν Ἡλιούπολιν ἀπὸ  
θαλάσσης ἄνω ἰόντι παραπλησίη τὸ μῆκος τῇ ἐξ Ἀθηνέων ὁδῷ, τῇ

considered as an accurate measure. STRABO says, that in boating up the river to Memphis, he had very different dimensions of the *σχολίος* given him in different places. ARTEMIDORUS made it vary as much as from 30 to 120 stades (*ap. Strabon. xvii. cap. i. p. 443*). It is observable that the word is not applied by Herodotus or Strabo to pure land-measurement, but only to those cases in which the extent of land is determined by the run of a vessel, or the course of a tow-boat (see note on iii. 5). This may in some degree account for the different magnitude of the *schœnus*, which, like the *stunde* in modern Switzerland, or, in some cases, the *mile* of the Roman Itineraries, might have had respect to the time of performing the space as much as to the space performed. Hence, in Egypt, the rapidity of the river and the condition of the towing-path, would, probably, have modified its magnitude. JEROME (*Comm. in Joel, iii. 18*), whom Kenrick quotes, seems to show that these considerations might even have been the principal ones. "In Nilo flumine, sive in rivis ejus, solent naves funibus trahere, certa habentes spatia quæ appellant 'funiculos,' ut labori defessorum recentia trahentium colla succedant." STRABO says that the variety in the length of the *schœnus* was οὕτως ἐξ ἀρχῆς παραδεδομένον καὶ φυλαττόμενον μέχρι τοῦ νῦν (xi. c. 11, p. 442). For a similar inequality in the *parasang*, see note on vi. 42.

<sup>25</sup> μέχρι Ἡλιονπόλιος. Heliopolis, the *On* of the Scriptures, was situate on the eastern side of the Pelusiac branch of the Nile. A fountain of fresh water which springs up there, goes by the name of *Ain Schams* (the fountain of the sun). The ruins, which bear the modern name of *Matarieh*, occupy a rectangular space of about three miles in circuit. Heliopolis is in the Antonine Itinerary placed at twelve Roman miles from Babylon, from which to Memphis was twelve more. The ruins are in direct distance about eight and a half geographical miles from *Fostat*, the presumed site of Babylon, the difference being probably owing to the windings of the road. (RENNELL, *Geog. of Herodotus*, p. 495.)

<sup>a</sup> ἄνυδρος, "without spring-water." This is the reading of all the MSS, and there is not the least occasion to change it into *εὐδρος* or *ἐνυδρος*. See note 626 on i. 185. The fountain of the sun at Heliopolis would, probably, be the first instance of spring-water which the traveller would come to.

<sup>26</sup> ἔστι δὲ ὁδός. These words apparently apply to a journey by the road, not by the river. It will be seen that the distance, by the tow-boat, from the sea to Heliopolis, is estimated at 1220 instead of 1550 stades (§ 9). The additional length of the land journey might arise from the necessity of following the causeways which connected the *inland* townships with one another. These were formed upon the banks of the network of canals, by which the country was intersected, and the latter would be drawn without any reference to the facility of land communication. If it be supposed that the author is writing here as an *ἑμπορος*, not as a geographer, the road of which he speaks would be one by which the several towns might all be reached in the time of the inundation, a season at which it will appear that he probably visited Egypt (*Excursus* on ii. 149). A road taking in a considerable number of towns would necessarily be very winding, and hence the difference of 280 stades might not unreasonably be supposed to arise. RENNELL says that the *direct* distance from Athens to Pisa by the map is 105 geographical miles; and that from Heliopolis to the opposite point of the Delta only 86. It is plain, therefore, that, under any circumstances, Herodotus greatly exaggerates the distances. But if we compare the distance of Athens from Pisa (1485 stades) with that of Heliopolis from the coast (1220 stades, as estimated in § 9), the exaggeration will be seen to be nearly proportional, being in the one case 14:19, in the other 14:14 stades to the geographical mile measured on the map. The numbers, therefore, given in this passage, must arise from some other cause than simple exaggeration, and no other reason seems so obvious as the one suggested above.

ἀπὸ τῶν δυνώδεκα θεῶν τοῦ βωμοῦ φερούσῃ ἕς τε Πίσαν καὶ ἐπὶ <sup>as from Athens to Pisa.</sup>  
τὸν νηὸν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου<sup>27</sup>. σμικρόν τι τὸ διάφορον εὔροι  
τις ἂν λογιζόμενος τῶν ὁδῶν τουτέων τὸ μὴ ἴσας μήκος εἶναι, οὐ  
πλέον πεντεκαίδεκα σταδίων ἢ μὲν γὰρ ἕς Πίσαν ἕξ Ἀθηνῶν  
καταδεῖ πεντεκαίδεκα σταδίων, ὡς μὴ εἶναι πεντακοσίων καὶ  
χιλίων ἢ δὲ ἕς Ἡλιούπολιν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης πληροῖ ἕς τὸν ἀριθμὸν  
τούτων. Ἀπὸ δὲ Ἡλιούπολις ἄνω ἴοντι, στεινὴ ἐστὶ Αἴγυπτος. 8  
τῇ μὲν γὰρ, τῆς Ἀραβίης ὄρος παρατέταται, φέρον ἀπ' ἄρκτου <sup>The plain of Egypt contracts above He-  
liopolis.</sup>  
πρὸς μεσαμβρίας τε καὶ νότου, αἰεὶ ἄνω τείνον ἕς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν  
καλεομένην θάλασσαν ἐν τῷ αἰ λιθοτομίαι ἔνεισι<sup>28</sup> αἰ ἕς τὰς  
πυραμίδας κατατμηθεῖσαι τὰς ἐν Μέμφι. ταύτῃ μὲν λήγον ἀνα-  
κάμπτει ἕς τὰ εἴρηται τὸ ὄρος τῇ δὲ αὐτὸ ἐνωτοῦ ἐστὶ μακρό-  
τατον<sup>29</sup>, ὡς ἐγὼ ἐπυνθανόμην, δύο μηνῶν αὐτὸ εἶναι τῆς ὁδοῦ ἀπὸ  
ἡοῦς πρὸς ἑσπέρην τὰ δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ λιβανωτοφόρα αὐτοῦ τὰ  
τέρματα εἶναι<sup>30</sup>. τοῦτο μὲν νυν τὸ ὄρος τοιοῦτο ἐστὶ. τὸ δὲ πρὸς  
Διβύης τῆς Αἰγύπτου<sup>31</sup>, ὄρος ἄλλο πέτρων τείνει ἐν τῷ αἰ πυρα-  
μίδες ἔνεισι, ψάμμω κατειλυμένοι, τεταμένοι τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον  
τὸν καὶ τοῦ Ἀραβίου τὰ πρὸς μεσαμβρίην φέροντα. τὸ δὲ ὦν δὴ  
ἀπὸ Ἡλιούπολις οὐκέτι πολλὸν χωρίον, ὡς εἶναι Αἰγύπτου<sup>32</sup>.

<sup>27</sup> ἐπὶ τὸν νηὸν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου. It need not be supposed that in fixing upon two sanctuaries as the termination of a route, the writer was actuated by any especially religious motive. The great cyclical religious festivals of the ancients were the occasion of merchants assembling from all parts. STRABO excellently remarks: ἡ πανήγυρις ἐμπορικὸν τι πρῶγμά ἐστι. Hence it was that, after the destruction of Corinth by the Romans, Delos more than recovered the importance which it possessed in the early times, as it became the centre of the traffic between Europe and Asia (x. c. 5, p. 388). The caravans to Mecca, and the fairs of the middle ages, which were all connected with religious festivals, serve to illustrate the nature of the proceeding. It also appears an assumption to infer from this passage that the altar of the twelve gods was, like the *Meta Sudans* at Rome, "a centre from which the roads of Attica were measured." See above, note 16.

<sup>28</sup> ἐν τῷ αἰ λιθοτομίαι ἔνεισι. It will be observed that Herodotus masses to-

gether in one the mountains which form the eastern boundary of the valley of the Nile, and those which constitute the eastern coast of the Red Sea. For a similar compression of ranges, and, consequently upon it, a geographical obliteration of large tracts of country, see notes 243 and 681 on Book I.

<sup>29</sup> τῇ δὲ αὐτὸ ἐνωτοῦ ἐστὶ μακρότατον. See below, § 149, τῇ βασιτάτῃ αὐτῇ ἐνω-  
τήs. iv. 85, τῇ εὐρύτατος αὐτὸς ἐνωτοῦ.  
iv. 198, ἐπεὶ αὐτῇ ἐνωτῆs ἄριστα ἐνέλκῃ.

<sup>30</sup> λιβανωτοφόρα αὐτοῦ τὰ τέρματα εἶναι. See the note on iii. 107.

<sup>31</sup> τὸ πρὸς Διβύης τῆς Αἰγύπτου. "On the Libyan side of Egypt." See note on § 99.

<sup>32</sup> ὡς εἶναι Αἰγύπτου, "considering that it is a part of Egypt." The narrowness of the Nile valley struck a person who had come up the river and formed his notion of Egypt from the extensive flats of the Delta. For the construction compare § 135, ὡς εἶναι Ῥοδάκω. iv. 81, ὡς Σκύ-  
θας εἶναι. SOPHOCLES, *Oed. Col.* 385:

ἦδη γὰρ ἔσχευε λαπιδ' ὡς ἐμοῦ θεοὺς  
ᾤραν τιν' εἶξεν, ὅστε σωθῆναι ποτε;

ἀλλ' ὅσον τε ἡμερέων τεσσέρων ἀναπλόου στευνή ἐστι, Αἴγυπτος ἐούσα· τῶν δὲ οὐρέων τῶν εἰρημένων τὸ μεταξὺ πεδιάς μὲν γῆ· στάδιοι δὲ μάλιστα ἐδόκεόν μοι εἶναι<sup>25</sup>, τῇ στευνότατόν ἐστι, διηκοσίων οὐ πλείους ἐκ τοῦ Ἀραβίου οὐρεος ἐς τὸ Λιβυκὸν καλεῦμενον· τὸ δὲ ἐνθεύτεν αὐτὶς εὐρέα Αἴγυπτός ἐστι. Πέφυκε μὲν νυν ἡ χώρα αὕτη οὕτω. ἀπὸ δὲ Ἡλιουπόλιος ἐς Θήβας, ἐστὶ ἀνάπλους ἐννέα ἡμερέων· στάδιοι δὲ τῆς ὁδοῦ, ἐξήκοντα καὶ ὀκτακόσιοι καὶ τετρακισχίλιοι, σχοίωνων ἐνὸς καὶ ὀγδώκοντα ἐόντων<sup>26</sup>. οὗτοι συντιθέμενοι οἱ στάδιοι Αἰγύπτου τὸ μὲν παρὰ θάλασσαν ἤδη μοι καὶ πρότερον δεδήλωται ὅτι ἑξακοσίων τέ ἐστι σταδίων καὶ τρισχιλίων· ὅσον δέ τι ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἐς μεσόγαιαν<sup>27</sup> μέχρι Θηβέων ἐστὶ, σημανέω· στάδιοι γάρ εἰσι εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν καὶ ἑξακισχίλιοι· τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ Θηβέων ἐς Ἐλεφαντίνην<sup>28</sup> καλεομένην πόλιν, στάδιοι χίλιοι καὶ ὀκτακόσιοι εἰσι.

9

From Heliopolis to Thebes nine days by the tow-boat.

10

Appearance of the valley of the Nile reminds Herodotus of the plain of Ilium and that of Ephesus.

Ταύτης ὦν τῆς χώρας τῆς εἰρημένης ἡ πολλή, κατάπερ οἱ ἱρέες ἔλεγον, ἐδόκεε δὲ καὶ αὐτῷ μοι εἶναι ἐπικτήτος Αἰγυπτίοισι. τῶν γὰρ οὐρέων τῶν εἰρημένων τῶν ὑπὲρ Μέμφιν πόλιν κειμένων τὸ μεταξὺ ἐφαίνετό μοι εἶναι κατεκόλπος θαλάσσης, ὥσπερ τὰ τε<sup>29</sup> περὶ Ἴλιον καὶ Τευθρανίην καὶ Ἐφεσόν τε καὶ Μαϊανδρου πεδίον, ὥς γε εἶναι<sup>30</sup>· σμικρὰ ταῦτα μεγάλοισι συμβαλλέειν τῶν γὰρ ταῦτα

where *ὥς ἐμοῦ* is "of such a wretch as me."

*Antig. 61:*

ἀλλ' ἐννοαῖν χρὴ τοῦτο μὲν, γυναιχ' ὅτι ἔφμεν ὥς πρὸς ἄνδρας οὐ μαχομένα.

<sup>25</sup> *ἐδόκεόν μοι εἶναι*. The writer apparently speaks of the estimate he formed by the eye as his boat ascended the river. The expression *ἀνάπλους ἐννέα ἡμερέων*, which presently follows, would give 540 stades as the day's voyage. From the sea to Heliopolis being 6120—4860 (= 1260) stades would take only about two days and a third. This harmonizes very well with what is known of the ancient navigation of the Nile. (See note on § 17.) Herodotus here is bringing his auditors up the *Sebennytic* branch, the straight line of the river's course. Hence two-thirds of a day might well be saved in comparison of the voyage up the *Canoitic* branch, under similar circumstances, viz. with a full river and Etesian winds.

For an attempt to explain the difference of the numbers in this section and § 7, above, see note 26.

<sup>26</sup> *σχοίωνων ἐνὸς καὶ ὀγδώκοντα ἐόντων*. The *datum* is the number of *schani*, which the author reduces to stades. See note 24, above.

<sup>27</sup> *ἐς μεσόγαιαν*. Several MSS have *μεσόγαια*. For an explanation of the numbers *εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν καὶ ἑξακισχίλιοι*, see above, note 26.

<sup>28</sup> *ἀπὸ Θηβέων ἐς Ἐλεφαντίνην*. The difference of latitude is something under 2°, whereas from Thebes to Heliopolis it is more than 4°. It is a remarkable circumstance that, wherever Elephantine is mentioned by Herodotus, there is nothing to indicate any suspicion that it is an island; but on the contrary it appears in one passage to be considered on the main. See note on § 28, below. And yet the writer professes to have visited Elephantine himself (§ 29).

<sup>29</sup> *ὥσπερ τὰ τε*. So *d*, *S*, and *Aldus*. Gaisford, with the majority of the MSS, has *ὥσπερ γε τὰ*.

<sup>30</sup> *ὥς γε εἶναι*. The MSS vary between *ὥστε εἶναι*, which Gaisford adopts, and *ὥς εἶναι*.

τὰ χωρία προσχωσάντων ποταμῶν, ἐν τῶν στομάτων τοῦ Νείλου Other rivers  
have formed  
deposits.  
 ἐόντος πενταστόμου<sup>10</sup>, οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν πλήθεος πέρι ἄξιος συμ-  
 βληθῆναι ἐστι. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι ποταμοὶ<sup>11</sup> οὐ κατὰ τὸν Νεῖλον  
 ἐόντες μεγάβεια, οἳ τινες ἔργα ἀποδεξάμενοι μεγάλα εἰσὶ τῶν ἐγὼ  
 φράσαι ἔχω οὐνόματα, καὶ ἄλλων καὶ οὐκ ἥκιστα Ἀχελώου Among  
them the  
Achelous.  
 ῥέων δι' Ἀκαρνανίης καὶ ἐξιεὶς ἐς θάλασσαν τῶν Ἐχινάδων νήσων  
 τὰς ἡμίσεας ἤδη ἤπειρον πεποίηκε<sup>12</sup>. Ἔστι δὲ τῆς Ἀραβίης 11  
The Arabian  
gulf de-  
scribed.  
 χώρας, Αἰγύπτου δὲ οὐ πρόσω, κόλπος θαλάσσης ἐσέχων ἐκ τῆς  
 Ἐρυθρῆς καλεομένης θαλάσσης, μακρὸς οὕτω δὴ τι καὶ στενὸς ὥς  
 ἔρχομαι φράσω· μῆκος μὲν πλόου, ἀρξαμένῳ ἐκ μυχοῦ διεκ-  
 πλῶσαι ἐς τὴν εὐρέην θάλασσαν, ἡμέραι ἀναισιμούνται τεσσαερά-  
 κοντα εἰρεσίῃ χρεωμένῳ· εὐρος δὲ, τῇ εὐρύτατός ἐστι ὁ κόλπος<sup>13</sup>,  
 ἥμισυ ἡμέρης πλόου· ῥηχίη δ' ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ ἀμπωτὶς ἀνὰ πᾶσαν  
 ἡμέρην γίγεται. ἕτερον τοιοῦτον κόλπον καὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον δοκέω  
 γενέσθαι καὶ τὸν μὲν ἐκ τῆς βορρῆς θαλάσσης κόλπον ἐσέχοντα  
 ἐπὶ Αἰθιοπίας· τὸν δὲ [Ἀράβιον, τὸν ἔρχομαι λέξων<sup>14</sup>] ἐκ τῆς

<sup>10</sup> πενταστόμου. This is Gaisford's reading. The MSS are pretty equally divided between it and ἑκταστόμου. The two terms would be appropriate according as the two artificial outlets were or were not considered as mouths. See below, § 17. That they were popularly regarded in that light seems to follow from the description of the river in ISAIAH (xi. 15).

<sup>11</sup> εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι ποταμοί. I have considerable doubt whether from these words down to the end of § 12 are not an addition subsequent to the time of Herodotus. See notes 42 and 43, below.

<sup>12</sup> τὰς ἡμίσεας ἤδη ἤπειρον πεποίηκε. THUCYDIDES (ii. 102) speaks of these islands as if the whole of them were likely to become soon united to the main. But this expectation was not fulfilled even in the time of PAUSANIAS (viii. 24. 11), who tries to account for the circumstance. The true reason probably is that the nucleus of the islands is limestone rock cropping up, and that they themselves were formed not by alluvial so much as diluvial deposits. The Achelous, when swelled by rains, (μέγα καὶ πολὺ καὶ θαλερόν, THUCYD. l. c.) brought down boulders, which were stopped by the quincunx-placed islets, and hence formed islands such as ΣΤΡΑΒΟ (x. c. 2, p. 342) describes as πᾶσαι λυπραί καὶ τραχεῖαι, uninhabited (THUCYD. l. c.), but an excellent lurking-place for pirates. But

a river of this description would always clear channels for itself, however much these would alter from time to time.

<sup>13</sup> τῇ εὐρύτατός ἐστι ὁ κόλπος. The "gulf" here is apparently, as respects its dimensions, generalized from the appearance of one of the two upper branches of the Red Sea, and there is nothing from the text to show which the author had in his mind. I incline to the belief that it was the Easternmost one, *Bahr el Akabah*. The merchandize coming up the Red Sea passed up this and was transported by land to Petra. From thence there was a caravan route to *Rhinocolura* on the borders of Egypt. The transit by the other branch to Suez seems never to have succeeded. In the time of the Ptolemies, when the Eastern traffic passed through Egypt, the navigation of the Red Sea was not continued above Mouse Roads (see note 59), ΣΤΡΑΒΟ, xvi. p. 406. It will be remarked that the direction of the *Bahr el Akabah*, and that of the Nile for about two degrees of latitude above Memphis, are nearly opposite to each other, which is very far from the case with those of the Nile and the Gulf of Suez.

<sup>14</sup> [Ἀράβιον, τὸν ἔρχομαι λέξων]. Gaisford, following Schweighäuser, includes these words between brackets. They are found in all the MSS.

This would probably be filled up in 20,000 years by such a river as the Nile.

## 12

Evidence of the formation of Egypt drawn from the shells on the mountains and the efflorescence of salt from the limestone.

νοτὴς φέροντα ἐπὶ Συρίῃς· σχεδὸν μὲν ἀλλήλοισι συντετραίνοντας τοὺς μυχοὺς<sup>42</sup>, ὁλίγον δέ τι παραλλάσσοντας τῆς χώρας· εἰ ὦν δὴ ἐθελήσει ἐκτρέφαι τὸ ῥέεθρον ὁ Νεῖλος ἐς τοῦτον τὸν Ἀράβιον κόλπον, τί μιν κωλύει ῥέοντος τούτου ἐκχωσθῆναι ἐντὸς γε δισμυρίων ἐτέων; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ ἔλπομαι γε καὶ μυρίων ἐντὸς χωσθῆναι ἂν κοῦ γε δὴ ἐν τῷ προαναισιμωμένῳ χρόνῳ πρότερον ἢ ἐμὲ γενέσθαι οὐκ ἂν χωσθεῖη κόλπος καὶ πολλῶ μέζων ἔτι τούτου, ὑπὸ τοσούτου τε ποταμοῦ καὶ οὕτως ἐργατικοῦ; Τὰ περὶ Αἴγυπτον ὦν καὶ τοῖσι λέγουσι αὐτὰ πειθόμεναι, καὶ αὐτὸς οὕτω κάρτα δοκέω εἶναι, ἰδὼν τε τὴν Αἴγυπτον προκειμένην τῆς ἐχομένης γῆς, κογχυλίᾳ τε φαινόμενα ἐπὶ τοῖσι οὖρεσι<sup>43</sup>, καὶ ἄλμην ἐπανθέουσιν ὥστε καὶ τὰς πυραμίδας δηλέεσθαι, καὶ ψάμμου μόνον Αἰγύπτου ὁρος τοῦτο τὸ ὑπὲρ Μέμφιος ἔχον· πρὸς δὲ τῇ χώρῃ οὔτε τῇ Ἀραβίῃ προσοῦρῳ ἐούσῃ τὴν Αἴγυπτον προσεικέλην, οὔτε τῇ Λιβύῃ, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τῇ Συρίῃ, (τῆς γὰρ Ἀραβίης τὰ παρὰ θάλασσαν Σύριοι νέμονται<sup>44</sup>), ἀλλὰ μελάγγαιόν τε καὶ κατεργηγμένην<sup>45</sup>, ὥστε ἐούσαν ἰλύν τε καὶ πρόχυσιν ἐξ Αἰθιοπίας

<sup>42</sup> σχεδὸν ἀλλήλοισι συντετραίνοντας τοὺς μυχοὺς. The κόλπος is regarded as standing in the same relation to the μυχοὶ that a gimlet does to the hole which it produces. Translate "very nearly running the head of their beds into each other, passing however by a small interval of land." The metaphor appears to be taken from the operation of mining and countermining. (See the passages quoted by LIDDELL and SCOTT in their Lexicon, v. *συντετραίνω*.) But this operation was certainly not familiar to Herodotus. (See note on iv. 200.) And the notice of the Arabian gulf in iv. 39 could hardly have been so vague if this passage had been standing when it was written.

<sup>43</sup> κογχυλίᾳ τε φαινόμενα ἐπὶ τοῖσι οὖρεσι. This observation is not of a piece with his former argument. These mountains are there supposed to be the *shore* of a former sea, not to have lain at the bottom of it (§ 10). The argument *here* is of the kind followed by STRABO (i. c. 3), where his object is to prove the numerous instances of the change of sea and land. These speculations appear to have been first entered upon to any great extent by STRATON, the successor of Theophrastus in his school, and no doubt the phenomena brought to light in the expedition of Alexander gave an impulse to them. (ERATOSTHENES *op. Strabon.* i. p. 78.)

<sup>44</sup> τῆς γὰρ Ἀραβίης τὰ παρὰ θάλασσαν Σύριοι νέμονται. This phrase has generally been taken to refer to inhabitants of the sea-coast between Ienysus and the Serbonian lake, owing to what I believe to be a corruption in the text of a passage in the third book. (See note on iii. 5, *ἐς θάλασσαν*.) But the whole of that region was desert and contained no towns at all. The Syrians spoken of here are unquestionably the Syro-phoenicians and Syro-philistines, i. e. the inhabitants of the coast west of the water-sheds formed by Libanus, and the range running south from Carmel. East of this would be a nomad or seminomad population, especially east of the latter range, — a district through which the caravan road from Petra to Joppa ran.

<sup>45</sup> κατεργηγμένην, "comminuted," i. e. the silt brought down by the river. The black appearance of the alluvium in Egypt must have been the more striking when compared with the soil of the surrounding desert, and the luxuriance of its vegetation must in a similar manner have contrasted with the arid ground. The two points are united by VIRGIL (*Georg.* iv. 291):

"Viridem Ægyptum nigra fecundat arenā  
Usque coloratis annis devexus ab Indis."

The black appearance of the ground no doubt procured Egypt its native name *Chēmi* (black).

κατενηνευγμένην ὑπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὴν δὲ Λιβύην ἰδμεν ἐρυθροτέρην τε γῆν καὶ ὑποψαμμοτέρην, τὴν δὲ Ἀραβίην τε καὶ Συρίην ἀργιλωδεστέραν τε καὶ ὑπόπετρον εἶσαν.

Ἔλεγον δὲ καὶ τότε μοι μέγα τεκμήριον περὶ τῆς χώρας ταύτης 13  
οἱ ἱρέες, ὡς ἐπὶ Μοίριος βασιλέος, ὅπως ἔλθοι ὁ ποταμὸς ἐπὶ ὀκτῶ The small elevation of the water necessary for inundation under Mæris is mentioned by the priests as a proof of the rise of the land.  
πήχεας τὸ ἐλάχιστον, ἄρδεσκε Αἴγυπτον τὴν ἑνερθε Μέμφιος· καὶ Μοίρι· οὐ κω ἦν ἔτα εἰνακόσια τετελευτηκότι ὅτε τῶν ἱρέων ταῦτα ἐγὼ ἤκουον νῦν δὲ, ἦν μὴ ἐπ' ἑκαίδεκα ἢ πεντεκαίδεκα πήχεας ἀναβῇ τὸ ἐλάχιστον ὁ ποταμὸς, οὐκ ὑπερβαίνει ἐς τὴν χώραν. δοκέουσί τε μοι Αἰγυπτίων οἱ ἑνερθε τῆς λίμνης τῆς Μοίριος οἰκέοντες τά τε ἄλλα χωρία καὶ τὸ καλεόμενον Δέλτα, ἦν οὕτω ἡ χώρα αὕτη κατὰ λόγον· ἐπιδιδῶ ἐς ὕψος καὶ τὸ ὁμοῖον ἀποδιδῶ ἐς αὐξήσιν, μὴ κατακλύζοντος αὐτὴν τοῦ Νείλου, πείσεσθαι τὸν πάντα χρόνον τὸν ἐπίλοιπον Αἰγύπτιοι τό κοτὲ αὐτοὶ Ἕλληνας ἔφασαν πείσεσθαι· πυθόμενοι γὰρ ὡς ὕεται πᾶσα ἡ χώρα τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἀλλ' οὐ ποταμοῖσι ἄρδεται κατὰ περ ἡ σφετέρη, ἔφασαν “Ἕλληνας ψευσθέντας κοτὲ ἐλπίδος μεγάλης κακῶς πεινήσειν” τὸ δὲ ἔπος τοῦτο ἐθέλει λέγειν, ὡς “εἰ μὴ ἐβέλθῃσι σφι ὕειν ὁ θεὸς ἀλλ' αὐγμῶ διαχρᾶσθαι, λιμῶ οἱ Ἕλληνες αἰρεθῇσονται οὐ γὰρ

<sup>46</sup> Μοίρι. See note 132 on i. 41.

<sup>47</sup> ἦν μὴ ἐπ' ἑκαίδεκα ἢ πεντεκαίδεκα πήχεας ἀναβῇ τὸ ἐλάχιστον ὁ ποταμὸς. This assertion can only be taken as proceeding from that disposition common to all ages, to magnify “the good old times” at the expense of the present. The priests forgot that the river would raise its bed by the deposits it left quite as much, and in fact a little more than it would the soil at the side, so that the inundation (with an equal body of water) must take place a little earlier every year, and consequently *cæteris paribus* a greater surface of land be overflowed. This has been actually proved to be the case. In the plain of Thebes are two colossi, one of them the celebrated vocal Memnon, —standing at the end of what was once an avenue of statues leading up to a temple. The alluvial soil now extends to about 600 feet beyond this last. But when built, not only the temple, but the whole avenue, and the colossi at the end of it, were beyond the reach of the inundation. WILKINSON found, on excavating, a paved road resting on the soil

of the desert, leading up to the temple. Above this, at the colossi, were 6 feet 10 inches of alluvium, and 300 feet further inland 5 feet 3 inches, the depth gradually diminishing at the rate of about one inch in fifteen feet horizontal distance. The temple is supposed to have been built about 1420 B.C., and it is plain that the alluvium could not then have reached to the colossi. It now extends 1900 feet beyond them. (*Geogr. Journal*, ix. p. 435.)

<sup>48</sup> ἦν οὕτω ἡ χώρα αὕτη κατὰ λόγον κ.τ.λ. I have adopted the reading of Bekker ἐπιδιδῶ and ἀποδιδῶ, though all the MSS have ἐπιδιδῶι and ἀποδιδῶι. Translate: “If this country thus goes on proportionally increasing in elevation, and in the same degree diminishing in crops.” This use of ἐπιδ. and ἀποδ. exactly answers to the German “zugenben” and “abgeben.” ἀξίσις is the increase from the grain sown, which, in the notion of the author, would diminish from the diminished depth of water in the inundations.

δή σφι ἔστι ὕδατος οὐδεμία ἄλλη ἀποστραφή<sup>10</sup>, ὅτι μὴ ἐκ τοῦ Διὸς μῶνον.”

14

Easy cultivation of the lower part of Egypt.

Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐς “Ἕλληνας Αἰγυπτίοισι ὁρθῶς ἔχοντα εἴρηται φέρε δὲ νῦν καὶ αὐτοῖσι Αἰγυπτίοισι<sup>11</sup> ὥς ἔχει φράσω. εἰ σφι θέλοι<sup>12</sup>, ὥς καὶ πρότερον εἶπον, ἡ χώρα ἡ ἑνερθε Μέμφιος (αὕτη γάρ ἐστι ἡ αὐξανομένη) κατὰ λόγον τοῦ παροιχομένου χρόνου ἐς ὕψος αὐξάνεσθαι, ἄλλο τι ἢ οἱ ταύτη οἰκούντες Αἰγυπτίων πεινήσουσι; εἰ μήτε γε ὕσεται σφι ἡ χώρα, μήτε ὁ ποταμὸς οἷός τ’ ἔσται ἐς τὰς ἀρούρας ὑπερβαίνειν. ἡ γὰρ δὴ νῦν γε οὔτοι ἀπονητότατα καρπὸν κομίζονται ἐκ γῆς, τῶν τε ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν Αἰγυπτίων οἱ οὔτε ἀρότρη ἀναρρηγνύντες αὐλακὰς ἔχουσι πόνους, οὔτε σκάλλοντες, οὔτε ἄλλο ἐργαζόμενοι οὐδὲν τῶν ἄλλοι ἀνθρώποι περὶ λήϊον πονέουσι· ἀλλ’ ἐπεὰν σφι ὁ ποταμὸς αὐτόματος ἐπελθὼν ἄρσῃ τὰς ἀρούρας, ἄρσας δὲ ἀπολείπη ὀπίσω, τότε σπείρας ἕκαστος τὴν ἐωντοῦ ἄρουραν ἐσβάλλει ἐς αὐτὴν ὕς· ἐπεὰν δὲ καταπατήσῃ τῇσι ὕσιν τὸ σπέρμα, ἄμητον τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου μένει· ἀποδινήσας δὲ τῇσι ὕσιν τὸν σῖτον<sup>13</sup>, οὕτω κομίζεται.

<sup>10</sup> ὕδατος οὐδεμία ἄλλη ἀποστραφή. This phrase is a very singular one. What we should rather have expected would be κακοῦ ἀποστραφή. But the original meaning of ἀποστραφή, “averting of an evil,” seems to have entirely given way to the secondary one of “a resource by which evil is averted.” Hence ὕδατος ἀποστραφή is “a water supply by which the evil of drought is averted.”

<sup>11</sup> ὁρθῶς . . . Αἰγυπτίοισι. These words are omitted in S and V, doubtless from the eye of the transcriber of their common archetype being deceived by the homoeoteleuton.

<sup>12</sup> εἰ σφι θέλοι. See note 385 on i. 109.

<sup>13</sup> ἀποδινήσας δὲ τῇσι ὕσιν τὸν σῖτον. The word ἀποδινεῖν, “to thresh out,” which is no where else used, is connected with the word δῖνος in the sense of “a threshing-floor” (ἄλωσις). This term was used by TELESILLA, the Argive poetess (ap. Athen. xi. p. 467), and it was therefore probably a local phrase at Argos in the sixth century B.C. But, as relating to the culture of the soil, it would be a phrase belonging to the Achaean perioeci, rather

than the Cadmeo-dorian citizens of the town Argos. Now the Herseae at Samos and Mycenae are a clear indication that a considerable portion of the Samian population was ethnically identical with these perioeci. (See note on vi. 81.) They therefore might very well have brought the word ἀποδινεῖν with them and preserved it; and in Samos Herodotus would learn to use it. The term δῖνος would be appropriate when it applied to the operation of treading out corn by a string of oxen, who are made to go round and round,—the driver generally sitting in the middle and holding the reins which confine them. This according to WILKINSON was not *always* the case with the ancient Egyptians, although there are instances of it; but this is no objection to the application of the Hellenic term to the operation. Wilkinson (*Second Series*, i. p. 92) reads βουσι for ὄσι in this passage. But all the MSS have ὄσι, and, although it is impossible to conceive swine employed for the purpose, it is not unlikely that the reading is genuine, and that Herodotus merely misunderstood his informant. The swine were probably turned upon the land



Εἰ ὦν βουλόμεθα γνώμῃσι τῇσι Ἰώνων χρᾶσθαι τὰ περι 15  
 Αἴγυπτον, οἳ φασὶ τὸ Δέλτα μούνον εἶναι Αἴγυπτον, ἀπὸ Περσέος Definition  
of the limits  
of Egypt  
by the  
Ionians  
 καλομένης σκοπιῆς<sup>53</sup> λέγοντες τὸ παρὰ θάλασσαν εἶναι αὐτῆς  
 μέχρι Ταριχειῶν<sup>54</sup> τῶν Πηλουσιακῶν, τῇ δὴ τεσσεράκοντά εἰσι  
 σχοῖνοι· τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης λεγόντων ἐς μεσόγαιαν τείνειν αὐτὴν  
 μέχρι Κερκασώρου πόλιος, κατ' ἣν σχίζεται ὁ Νεῖλος, ἐς τε Πη-  
 λούσιον ῥέων καὶ ἐς Κάνωβον· τὰ δὲ ἄλλα λεγόντων<sup>55</sup> τῆς Αἰγύ-  
 πτου τὰ μὲν Διβύης τὰ δὲ Ἀραβίης εἶναι ἀποδεικνύομεν ἂν,  
 τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ χρεώμενοι, Αἴγυπτίοισι οὐκ ἐοῦσαν πρότερον  
 χώραν ἤδη γάρ σφι τό γε Δέλτα, ὡς αὐτοὶ λέγουσι Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ  
 ἐμοὶ δοκέει, ἔστι κατάρρυτόν τε καὶ νεωστὶ, ὡς λόγῳ εἰπεῖν,  
 ἀναπεφνήσ· εἰ τοίνυν σφι χώρα γε μηδεμία ὑπῆρχε, τί περιειργά-  
 ζοντο δοκέοντες πρῶτοι ἀνθρώπων γεγονέναι; οὐδὲ ἔδει σφέας ἐς  
 διάπειραν τῶν παιδίων<sup>56</sup> ἵεναι, τίνα γλῶσσαν πρῶτην ἀπήσουσι;  
 ἀλλ' οὔτε Αἰγυπτίους δοκέω ἅμα τῷ Δέλτα τῷ ὑπ' Ἰώνων καλο-  
 μένῳ γενέσθαι, αἰεὶ τε εἶναι ἐξ οὗ ἀνθρώπων γένος ἐγένετο·  
 προΐούσης δὲ τῆς χώρας, πολλοὺς μὲν τοὺς ὑπολειπομένους αὐτῶν  
 γενέσθαι, πολλοὺς δὲ τοὺς ὑποκαταβαίνοντας<sup>57</sup>. τὸ δ' ὦν πάλαι

as the inundation subsided to consume the water-plants which would be left by the river.

It may be remarked that this section can hardly have stood at the same time with some other parts of the book. (See below, § 47.) Here there is no distinction between the *συῶται* and the other agriculturists (which Wilkinson fruitlessly endeavours to establish with a reference to § 47). Each individual ryot is represented as cultivating *his own* plot of land in the way described.

<sup>53</sup> ἀπὸ Περσέος καλομένης σκοπιῆς. STRABO puts the Περσέος σκοπιή together with the Μιλησίων τεῖχος, and places the two apparently just east of the Βολβίτινον στόμα, which he makes next to the Canobic (xvii. p. 439.)

<sup>54</sup> Ταριχειῶν. The MSS here vary between Ταριχειῶν (which S has, and Gaisford adopts), Ταριχίων, and Ταριχειῶν. In § 113 all without any exception have the common form, as the majority have here. This was apparently a factory for salting fish. Wesseling makes the extraordinary mistake of supposing that the place received its name from its being a ne-

ropolis of embalmed animals. The term ταριχεύειν no doubt is the proper one for embalming; but its more common, and perhaps its original, use, is in the preparation of salt provisions, chiefly fish. STRABO (xvi. p. 379) speaks of αἱ καλούμεναι Ταριχεῖαι, where it is quite certain he must mean an establishment for salting fish. There was a similar factory at the Canobic mouth of the Nile (below, § 113). So there was on some small islands off the coast, about 100 miles south of Carthage. (STRABO, xvii. c. 3, p. 492.) JULIUS POLLUX (vi. 48) enumerates ταρίχη Πόντικα, ταρίχη Φρύγια, ταρίχη Αἰγυπτία, ταρίχη Σαρδῶνα, and ταρίχη Γαβείρικα. The *Pontic* is called *Byzantine* by ANTIPHANES and NICOSTRATUS (or Philæterus) the comic poets (*ap. Athenæum*, iii. p. 118).

<sup>55</sup> λεγόντων, referring to the genitive Ἰώνων, above.

<sup>56</sup> τῶν παιδίων. See above, § 2.

<sup>57</sup> τοὺς ὑποκαταβαίνοντας, "those gradually settling lower and lower," i.e. as the deposit was carried further on into the supposed sea.

16

does not square with their geographical divisions.

αι Θῆβαι Αἴγυπτος ἐκαλέετο· τῆς τὸ περίμετρον στάδιοι εἰσι εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν καὶ ἑξακισχίλιοι<sup>58</sup>. Εἰ ὦν ἡμεῖς ὀρθῶς περὶ αὐτῶν γινώσκομεν, Ἴωνες οὐκ εὖ φρονέουσιν περὶ Αἰγύπτου. εἰ δὲ ὀρθή ἐστι ἡ τῶν Ἴωνων γνώμη, Ἑλληνάς τε καὶ αὐτοὺς Ἴωνας ἀποδείκνυμι οὐκ ἐπισταμένους λογίζεσθαι· οἱ φασὶ τρία μόρια εἶναι γῆν πάσαν, Εὐρώπην τε καὶ Ἀσίην καὶ Λιβύην τέταρτον γὰρ δὴ σφεας δεῖ προσλογίζεσθαι, Αἰγύπτου τὸ Δέλτα· εἰ μὴ τι γέ ἐστι τῆς Ἀσίας μήτε τῆς Λιβύης. οὐ γὰρ δὴ ὁ Νεῖλος γέ ἐστι, κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν λόγον, ὁ τὴν Ἀσίην οὐρίζων τῆς Λιβύης· τοῦ Δέλτα δὲ τοῦτου κατὰ τὸ ὄξυ περιρρήγνυται ὁ Νεῖλος, ὥστε ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ Ἀσίας τε καὶ Λιβύης γίνουτ' ἄν.

17

Egypt lies partly in Asia and partly in Libya.

Καὶ τὴν μὲν Ἴωνων γνώμην ἀπίεμεν, ἡμεῖς δὲ ὧδε καὶ περὶ τούτων λέγομεν Αἴγυπτον μὲν πάσαν εἶναι ταύτην τὴν ὑπ' Αἰγυπτίῳ οἰκεομένην, κατὰπερ Κιλικίην τὴν ὑπὸ Κιλικίων, καὶ Ἀσσυρίην τὴν ὑπὸ Ἀσσυρίων. οὐρισμα δὲ Ἀσίῃ καὶ Λιβύῃ οἶδαμεν οὐδὲν ἔον ὀρθῷ λόγῳ, εἰ μὴ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίων οὖρους. εἰ δὲ τῷ ὑπ' Ἑλληνων νενομισμένῳ χρησόμεθα, νομιοῦμεν Αἴγυπτον πάσαν, ἀρξάμενην ἀπὸ Καταδούπων τε καὶ Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλιος<sup>59</sup>, δίχα διαιρέεσθαι καὶ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν ἐπωνυμίων ἔχεσθαι· τὰ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῆς εἶναι τῆς Λιβύης, τὰ δὲ τῆς Ἀσίας· ὁ γὰρ δὴ Νεῖλος ἀρξάμενος ἐκ

<sup>58</sup> στάδιοι εἰσι εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν καὶ ἑξακισχίλιοι. Herodotus's informant perhaps meant by *Thebes* the Theban nome: for, vast as the city doubtless was, he could never have so much exaggerated its dimensions. But it is very strange that the author should not say more upon the subject, the ruins of the temples of *Luxor* and *Karnac* (which would both be included within the circuit of the city of Thebes), being even at the present day more striking than the pyramids themselves; and the more strange, as "the hundred-gated Thebes" was proverbial for magnificence in the days of the *Iliad* (ix. 383). If this passage stood alone, we might suppose that he did not land at *Thebes*, but passed up the river in a boat, and, struck by the enormous extent of building on each bank, interpreted the assertion of his dragoman to apply merely to it. But see note 10, above.

<sup>59</sup> ἀρξάμενην ἀπὸ Καταδούπων τε καὶ Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλιος. Up to this point the course of the river is uninterrupted by rapids, and a commercial communica-

tion could be carried on by the tow-boat. This would be not so great above Thebes; for there seems little doubt that all the thorough trade from the Arabian gulf met the Nile (or rather a canal run from the Nile) a little below Thebes, at *Coptus*, from which in the time of the Ptolemies there was a regular caravan route to *Mouss Roads* (Myos Hormos). Nevertheless, a large camp existing at *Elephantine* both in the time of the Egyptian and Persian dynasties (§ 30) would undoubtedly occasion considerable intercourse with Lower Egypt. The force of the Etesian winds was felt for about forty days, from the latter end of July, as high up the river as that island, and, the waters being out, no doubt advantage was taken of them. They blew so strong that it took only twelve days to get from Alexandria to Coptus. (VINCENT, *Commerce of the Ancients in the Indian Ocean*, vol. ii. pp. 83-5.) By the Sebennytic branch the time was probably rather less. See note on § 8, above.

τῶν Καταδούπων, ῥέει μέσῃν Αἴγυπτον σχίζων ἐς θάλασσαν. μέχρι μὲν νυν Κερκασώρου πόλιος ῥέει εἰς ἑὸν ὁ Νεῖλος· τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς πόλιος, σχίζεται τριφασίας ὁδοῦς· καὶ ἡ μὲν πρὸς ἡῷ τρέπεται, τὸ καλέεται Πηλούσιον στόμα· ἡ δὲ ἐτέρη τῶν ὁδῶν πρὸς ἐσπέρην ἔχει· τοῦτο δὲ Κανωβικὸν στόμα κέκληται· ἡ δὲ δὴ ἰθέα τῶν ὁδῶν τῷ Νεῖλῳ ἐστὶ ἥδε· ἄνωθεν φερόμενος ἐς τὸ ὄξυ τοῦ Δέλτα ἀπικνέεται, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου, σχίζων μέσον τὸ Δέλτα ἐς θάλασσαν ἐξίει<sup>60</sup>, οὔτε ἐλαχίστην μοῖρην τοῦ ὕδατος παρεχόμενος ταύτῃ οὔτε ἥκιστα οὐνομαστήν· τὸ καλέεται Σεβεννυτικὸν στόμα. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἕτερα διφάσια στόματα ἀπὸ τοῦ Σεβεννυτικοῦ ἀποσχισθέντα, φέροντα ἐς θάλασσαν τοῖσι οὐνόματα κέεται τάδε, τῷ μὲν Σαῖτικὸν αὐτῶν, τῷ δὲ Μενδήσιον. τὸ δὲ Βολβίτινον στόμα καὶ τὸ Βουκολικόν<sup>61</sup> οὐκ ἰθαγενέα στόματά ἐστι, ἀλλ' ὀρυκτά<sup>62</sup>.

Μαρτυρεῖ δέ μοι τῇ γνώμῃ, ὅτι τοσαύτῃ ἐστὶ Αἴγυπτος ὅσην 18  
τινὰ ἐγὼ ἀποδείκνυμι τῷ λόγῳ, καὶ τὸ Ἄμμωνος χρηστήριον γενόμενον, τὸ ἐγὼ τῆς ἐμεωυτοῦ γνώμης ὕστερον<sup>63</sup> περὶ Αἴγυπτον ἐπυθόμην· οἱ γὰρ δὴ ἐκ Μαρέης τε πόλιος<sup>64</sup> καὶ Ἀπιοῦ<sup>65</sup> οἰκέοντες

Response  
of Ammon  
to the in-  
habitants  
of Marea  
and Apis

<sup>60</sup> ἐξίει. See note 604 on i. 180.

<sup>61</sup> τὸ Βουκολικόν. This mouth of the Nile is probably the same as that called by the name *Φατικόν* in STRABO (xvii. p. 438) and *Φατικόν*, after Stephens's emendation, in DIODORUS (i. 33. xx. 75). Both the names appear to be Hellenic renderings of an Egyptian word; for it seems clear that the phrase was derived from the inhabitants of the region, a horde of piratical herdsmen, apparently of different race from the agricultural Egyptians (ACHILLES TATIUS, iii. 9). They haunted the most marshy part of the Delta, where the papyrus reeds effectually masked their retreats. A very graphic account of the locality and of the habits of the race is given by HELIODORUS, i. 5, and ACHILLES TATIUS, iv. 12.

<sup>62</sup> ἀλλ' ὀρυκτά. See note 38, above. ARISTOTLE (*Μετεωρολογικά*, i. p. 351, B. lin. 33) says that all the mouths of the Nile, with the exception of the Canobic, are plainly artificial. The genuineness of this book, however, was doubted by the ancients.

<sup>63</sup> τῆς ἐμεωυτοῦ γνώμης ὕστερον. It would seem from this expression, that in visiting Egypt the author did not enter the Nile by the Canobic mouth, otherwise

he could hardly have failed to learn the answer which the Mareotes had received on a point which obviously interested him. The distances given above (§ 9) confirm this view.

<sup>64</sup> ἐκ Μαρέης τε πόλιος. For the site of Marea see note on iii. 12. Its importance as a key to the western entrance of Egypt caused a large body of troops to be habitually maintained there (§ 30), and intercourse with the tribes of the desert (see SCYLAX, in note on iv. 168), and the commercial traders who resorted to the Canobic mouth of the Nile, added to the natural tendency of a soldiery to indulgence, would doubtless much modify the habits of the inhabitants. The banks of the adjoining lake were almost the only part of Egypt where wine was produced; and by STRABO's description it would seem that the whole neighbourhood was full of places of public entertainment, such as might be expected in the vicinity of a camp (xvii. p. 438). What existed in his time, doubtless, under similar circumstances, existed a thousand years before. Hence it is not surprising that revolts should break out in this locality, as seems more than once to have been the case (see notes on ii. 161 and iii. 12. 99), and that

as to what  
was the  
boundary  
of Egypt.

Αἰγύπτου τὰ πρόσουρα Διβύη, αὐτοὶ τε δοκέοντες εἶναι Δίβυες καὶ οὐκ Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ ἀχθόμενοι τῇ περὶ τὰ ἱρὰ θρησκίῃ, βουλόμενοι θηλέων βοῶν μὴ ἔργεσθαι, ἔπεμψαν ἐς "Αμμωνα φάμενοι "οὐδὲν σφίσι τε καὶ Αἰγυπτίοισι κοινὸν εἶναι οἰκέειν τε γὰρ ἔξω τοῦ Δέλτα καὶ οὐκ ὁμολογέειν αὐτοῖσι, βούλεσθαι τῶ πάντων σφίσι ἐξεῖναι γεύεσθαι." ὁ δὲ θεὸς σφας οὐκ ἔα ποιέειν ταῦτα, φὰς "Αἰγυπτίον εἶναι ταύτην τὴν ὁ Νεῖλος ἐπιὼν ἄρδει καὶ Αἰγυπτίους εἶναι τούτους οἱ ἔνερθε Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλιος οἰκούντες ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τούτου πίνουσι." οὕτω σφι ταῦτα ἐχρήσθη. ἐπέρχεται δὲ ὁ Νεῖλος, ἐπεὰν πληθύνῃ, οὐ μόνον τὸ Δέλτα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ Λιβυκοῦ τε λεγομένου χώρου εἶναι καὶ τοῦ Ἀραβίου, ἐνιαχὴ καὶ ἐπὶ δύο ἡμέρεων ἐκατέρωθι ὁδὸν, καὶ πλεῦν ἔτι τούτου, καὶ ἔλασσον.

19

The Nile,  
when it  
rises, over-  
spreads large  
portions  
both of  
Libya and  
Arabia.

Τοῦ ποταμοῦ δὲ φύσις πέρι, οὔτε τι τῶν ἱρέων οὔτε ἄλλου οὐδενὸς παραλαβεῖν ἐδυνάσθη. πρόθυμος δὲ ἔα "τάδε παρ' αὐτῶν πυθέσθαι, ὃ τι κατέρχεται μὲν ὁ Νεῖλος πληθύνων ἀπὸ τροπέων τῶν θερινέων ἀρξάμενος ἐπὶ ἑκατὸν ἡμέρας, πελάσας δ' ἐς τὸν ἀριθμὸν τούτων τῶν ἡμέρων ὑπίστω ἀπέρχεται ἀπολείπων τὸ ῥέεθρον ὥστε βραχὺς τὸν χειμῶνα ἅπαντα διατελεῖ ἐὼν, μέχρι οὐ αὐτὶς τροπέων τῶν θερινέων". τούτων ὧν πέρι οὐδενὸς οὐδὲν οἶός τ' ἐγενόμην παραλαβεῖν παρὰ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων, ἱστορέων αὐτοὺς ἥντινα δύναμιν ἔχει ὁ Νεῖλος τὰ ἔμπαλιν πεφυκέναι τῶν ἄλλων ποταμῶν. ταῦτά τε δὴ τὰ λελεγμένα βουλόμενος εἰδέναι, ἱστόρεον, καὶ ὃ τι αὔρας<sup>66</sup> ἀποπνεούσας μούνος ποταμῶν πάντων

an impatience of the strict sacerdotal régime should endeavour to find a religious sanction for itself.

<sup>65</sup> καὶ Ἄπιος. Herodotus does not mention this place elsewhere. SCYLAX puts it in the immediate vicinity of Parætonium, to which he gives the following distances. From Thonis to Pharos 150 stades; from Pharos to the port of the Chersonese 200 stades; thence *across* the gulph of Plinthis to Leuce Acte a day and night's run; from thence to Laodomeantium half a day, and finally to Parætonium another half. Apis is, he says, the frontier of Egypt (p. 44, ed. Hudson). I do not imagine Herodotus to have any other place in his eye than the Apis of Scylax and Strabo, but I do not suppose him to have seen it, or to have any distinct notion of its size. See note 22, above.

<sup>66</sup> ἄρα. The second person singular *has* is used in i. 187.

<sup>67</sup> μέχρι οὐ αὐτὶς τροπέων τῶν θερινέων. A similar phrase is used below, § 173, *μέχρι οὐ πλουθῶντος ἀγορῆς*. The idiom apparently arises from the use of *μέχρι οὐ* or *μέχρι οὐτοῦ* so habitually with a verb as to cause the two words to be regarded as a single one. Kenrick well illustrates the expression by the common use of *ὅθεν* (which is in fact *ὅ ἐνεκα*) for *ἐνεκα*.

<sup>68</sup> αὔρας. The remark seems suggested by a notion that the pestilential miasma (*βορβορώδης ἰκμάς*) conveyed from the marshy banks of rivers, was identical with the breeze which is its vehicle. The healthiness of Egypt has always been notorious. STRABO expressly accounts for the freedom of Alexandria (although in

οὐ παρέχεται. Ἄλλα Ἑλλήνων μὲν τινες, ἐπίσημοι βουλόμενοι 20  
 γενέσθαι σοφίην, ἔλεξαν περὶ τοῦ ὕδατος τούτου τριφασίας ὁδοῦς·  
 τῶν τὰς μὲν δύο τῶν ὁδῶν οὐδ' ἀξιῶ μνησθῆναι, εἰ μὴ ὅσον σημή-  
 ναι βουλόμενος μοῦνον τῶν ἢ ἑτέρη μὲν λέγει τοὺς ἐτησίας  
 ἀνέμους<sup>a</sup> εἶναι αἰτίους πληθύνειν τὸν ποταμὸν, κωλύοντας ἐς  
 θάλασσαν ἐκρέειν τὸν Νεῖλον. πολλάκις δὲ ἐτησίαί μὲν οὐκ ὦν  
 ἔπνευσαν<sup>b</sup>, ὁ δὲ Νεῖλος τῷτ' ἐργάζεται· πρὸς δὲ, εἰ ἐτησίαί  
 αἰτιοὶ ἦσαν, χρὴν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ποταμοὺς ὅσοι τοῖσι ἐτησίησι  
 ἀντίοι ῥέουσι ὁμοίως πάσχειν καὶ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ τῷ Νεῖλῳ, καὶ  
 μᾶλλον ἔτι τοσοῦτ', ὅσῳ ἐλάσσονες ὄντες ἀσθενέστερα τὰ ρεύ-  
 ματα παρέχοντα· εἰσὶ δὲ πολλοὶ μὲν ἐν τῇ Συρίῃ ποταμοὶ<sup>c</sup>,  
 πολλοὶ δὲ ἐν τῇ Λιβύῃ, οἱ οὐδὲν τοιοῦτο πάσχουσι οἷον τι καὶ ὁ  
 Νεῖλος. Ἡ δ' ἑτέρη ἀνεπιστημονεστέρη μὲν ἐστὶ τῆς λελεγμένης, 21  
 λόγῳ δὲ εἰπεῖν θωμασιωτέρη ἢ λέγει ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὀκεανοῦ ῥέοντα<sup>d</sup>  
 αὐτὸν ταῦτα μηχανᾶσθαι, τὸν δ' Ὀκεανὸν γῆν πέρι πᾶσαν ῥέειν.  
 Ἡ δὲ τρίτῃ τῶν ὁδῶν, πολλὸν ἐπιεικεστάτῃ εὐόσα, μάλιστα 22  
 ἔψφυσται· λέγει γὰρ δι' οὗδ' αὐτὴ οὐδὲν φαμένη τὸν Νεῖλον ῥέειν  
 ἀπὸ τηκομένης χιόνος· ὅς ῥέει μὲν ἐκ Λιβύης<sup>e</sup> διὰ μέσων Αἰθιο-  
 πων ἐκδιδοὶ δὲ ἐς Αἴγυπτον. κῶς ὦν διττὰ ῥέει ἂν ἀπὸ χιόνος, ἀπὸ  
 τῶν θερμωτάτων [τόπων] ῥέων ἐς τὰ ψυχρότερα; τῶν τὰ πολλὰ  
 ἐστὶ<sup>f</sup> ἀνδρὶ γε λογίζεσθαι τοιούτων πέρι οἷω τε ἔοντι, ὥς οὐδὲ

Three Hel-  
lenic theo-  
ries of the  
cause of the  
inundations  
are refuted.

the immediate vicinity of the lake Ma-  
reotis) from fevers, by the fact, that at the  
season of the year when the power of the  
sun would lay the banks bare under ordi-  
nary circumstances, the inundation of  
the Nile counterbalances the evaporation,  
and keeps the lake full (xvii. c. i. p.  
426).

<sup>a</sup> τοὺς ἐτησίας ἀνέμους. See note 59,  
above.

<sup>b</sup> ἐτησίαί μὲν οὐκ ὦν ἔπνευσαν. He  
does not mean that they do not blow at  
all, but that they do not begin to blow  
before the beginning of the rise of the  
river; and that this was observed often to  
occur.

<sup>c</sup> πολλοὶ μὲν ἐν τῇ Συρίῃ ποταμοί.  
Some exception has been taken to this ar-  
gument, from the fact that the course of  
the Syrian rivers is not in the opposite  
direction to the Etesian winds, which  
were nearly north-western in that part of  
the Mediterranean. But, in fact, the  
name Etesian wind came to be applied to

every strong wind continuing long in the  
same quarter, especially if of a periodical  
character. DIONORUS expressly says that  
the winds called ἀργέσται (the "albus  
Iapyx" of Horace) had the term Etesian  
applied to them (i. 39). And these blew  
from a part somewhat south of the  
west.

<sup>d</sup> ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὀκεανοῦ ῥέοντα. The  
writer doubtless alludes to the composers  
of the γῆς περίοδοι, of whom he speaks  
contemptuously below (iv. 36). Among  
them, possibly, Hecateus is to be  
reckoned. See below, § 23, ὁ περὶ τοῦ  
Ὀκ. λέξας.

<sup>e</sup> ἐκ Λιβύης. From this phrase it  
may be gathered that, in the mind of the  
writer, the westernmost branch of the  
Nile, or White River, was regarded as the  
main channel. See also below, § 31,  
ῥέει δὲ ἀπὸ ἐσπέρης τε καὶ ἡλίου δυσμέων.  
There now remains no doubt that this  
view is quite erroneous.

<sup>f</sup> τῶν τὰ πολλὰ ἐστὶ. I have little

- εἰκὸς ἀπὸ χιόνος μιν ῥέειν· πρῶτον μὲν καὶ μέγιστον μαρτύριον οἱ ἄνεμοι παρέχονται πνέοντες ἀπὸ τῶν χωρέων τούτων θερμοί· δεύτερον δέ, ὅτι ἀνομβρος ἡ χώρα καὶ ἀκρύσταλλος διατελεῖ ἐοῦσα· ἐπὶ δὲ χιόνι πεσούσῃ πᾶσα ἀνάγκη ἐστὶ ὕσαι ἐν πέντε ἡμέρησι· ὥστε εἰ ἐχίονιζε, ὕετο ἂν ταῦτα τὰ χωρία· τρίτα δέ, οἱ ἄνθρωποι ὑπὸ τοῦ καύματος μέλανες ἐόντες<sup>74</sup>. ἱκτῖνοι δὲ καὶ χελιδόνες δι' ἔτεος ἐόντες οὐκ ἀπολείπουσι, γέραναι δὲ φεύγουσαι τὸν χειμῶνα τὸν ἐν τῇ Σκυθικῇ χώρῃ γινόμενον φοιτέωσι ἐς χειμασίην ἐς τοὺς τόπους τούτους· εἰ τοῖνυν ἐχίονιζε καὶ ὅσωνων ταύτην τὴν χώραν, δι' ἧς τε ῥέει καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἄρχεται ῥέων ὁ Νεῖλος, ἦν ἂν τούτων
- 23 οὐδὲν, ὥς ἡ ἀνάγκη ἐλέγχει. Ὁ δὲ περὶ τοῦ Ὠκεανοῦ λέξας<sup>75</sup>, ἐς ἀφανὲς τὸν μῦθον ἀνευεῖκας οὐκ ἔχει ἔλεγχον· οὐ γάρ τινα ἔγωγε οἶδα ποταμὸν Ὠκεανὸν ἐόντα· Ὀμηρον δέ, ἡ τινα τῶν πρότερον γενομένων ποιητέων, δοκέω τοῦνομα εὐρόντα ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσενεϊκασθαι.
- 24 Εἰ δὲ δεῖ μεμψάμενον γνώμας τὰς προκειμένας αὐτὸν περὶ τῶν ἀφανέων γνώμην ἀποδέξασθαι, φράσω διότι μοι δοκεῖ πληθύνεσθαι ὁ Νεῖλος τοῦ θέρεος. τὴν χειμερινὴν ὥρην ἀπελαννύμενος ὁ ἥλιος ἐκ τῆς ἀρχαίης διεξόδου ὑπὸ τῶν χειμῶνων, ἔρχεται τῆς Διβύης τὰ ἄνω. ὥς μὲν νυν ἐν ἐλαχίστῳ δηλῶσαι, πᾶν εἴρηται· τῆς γὰρ ἂν ἀγχοτάτῳ ἢ χώρῃ οὗτος ὁ θεὸς, καὶ κατὰ ἡντινα, ταύτην οἶκος διψῇν τε ὑδάτων μάλιστα καὶ τὰ ἐγγχώρια ρεύματα μαραίνεισθαι
- 25 τῶν ποταμῶν. Ὡς δὲ ἐν πλείονι λόγῳ δηλῶσαι, ὧδε ἔχει· διεξιὼν τῆς Διβύης τὰ ἄνω ὁ ἥλιος, τάδε ποιεῖ· ἅτε διὰ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου αἰθρίου τε ἐόντος τοῦ ἡέρος τοῦ κατὰ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία καὶ ἀλε-

The author's own theory.

doubt that in the article here is a relic of the word *τεκμήρια*, by the adoption of which all difficulty will be removed from the passage. The plural *τῶν* is used because the point which Herodotus wants to prove is, "that the course of the Nile is from a very warm region to a colder one." But this position is only to lead to the more particular one, "that the inundation is not due to melting snow;" and accordingly, after his usual manner, he limits the question at issue by the clause, *ὡς οὐδὲ εἰκὸς ἀπὸ χιόνος μιν ῥέειν*. Without some emendation, no sense can be given to the passage.

<sup>a</sup> πῶσα ἀνάγκη ἐστὶ ὕσαι ἐν πέντε

ἡμέρησι. It is strange that this notion should be entertained by a traveller in Scythia, Armenia, or Media. Even Mount Argæus has snow on it during the whole year,—a fact which must have been known to the natives of all the country from which it could be seen, including the high road to Susa.

<sup>74</sup> μέλανες ἐόντες. This must be "coal-black;" something much stronger than would be expressed by the phrase *μελανοχροὺς*, which he applies to the Colchians and Egyptians (§ 104).

<sup>75</sup> ὁ δὲ περὶ τοῦ Ὠκεανοῦ λέξας. See above, note 71.

εινῆς<sup>76</sup> τῆς χώρας εἰούσης, οὐκ ἔοντων ἀνέμων ψυχρῶν, διεξιὼν ποιεῖε οἶόν περ καὶ τὸ θέρος ἔωθε ποιεῖεν ἰὼν τὸ μέσον τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἔλκει γὰρ ἐπ' ἑωυτὸν τὸ ὕδωρ, ἐλκύσας δὲ ἀπωθείε ἐς τὰ ἄνω χωρία, ὑπολαμβάνοντες δὲ οἱ ἄνεμοι καὶ διασκιδνάντες τήκουσι· καὶ εἰσι οἰκότως οἱ ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς χώρας πνέοντες, ὃ τε νότος καὶ ὁ λῆψ, ἀνέμων πολλὸν τῶν πάντων ὑετώτατοι· (δοκεῖ δέ μοι οὐδὲ πᾶν τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ ἐπέτειον ἐκάστοτε ἀποπέμπεσθαι τοῦ Νεῖλου ὁ ἥλιος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπολείπεσθαι περὶ ἑωυτόν) πρηῦνομένου δὲ τοῦ χειμῶνος, ἀπέρχεται ὁ ἥλιος ἐς μέσον τὸν οὐρανὸν ὀπίσω, καὶ τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ἤδη ὁμοίως ἀπὸ πάντων ἔλκει τῶν ποταμῶν τέως δὲ οἱ μὲν ὁμβρίου ὕδατος συμμισγομένου πολλοῦ αὐτοῖσι, ἅτε ὑομένης τε τῆς χώρας καὶ κεχαδρωμένης, ῥέουσι μεγάλοι· τοῦ δὲ θέρος, τῶν τε ὁμβρῶν ἐπιλείποντων αὐτοὺς καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου ἐλκόμενοι, ἀσθενέες εἰσί· ὁ δὲ Νεῖλος ἔων ἄνομβρος, ἐλκόμενος δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου, μῦνος ποταμῶν τούτου τὸν χρόνον οἰκότως αὐτὸς ἑωυτοῦ ῥεῖ πολλῶ ὑποδεέστερος ἢ τοῦ θέρος· τότε μὲν γὰρ μετὰ πάντων τῶν ὑδάτων ἴσον ἔλκεται, τὸν δὲ χειμῶνα μῦνος πείζεται<sup>77</sup>. οὕτω τὸν ἥλιον νενόμικα τούτων αἰτίων εἶναι. Αἴτιος δὲ 26  
 ὧντὸς [οὗτος,] κατὰ γνώμην τὴν ἐμὴν, καὶ τὸν ἡέρα ξηρὸν τὸν ταύτη εἶναι, διακαίῳν τὴν διέξοδον αὐτοῦ<sup>78</sup>. οὕτω τῆς Λιβύης τὰ

Under a  
change of  
circum-  
stances the

<sup>76</sup> ἀλεινῆς, "lying open to the sun." This word (the *apricus* of the Latins) is connected with ἀλέη, and apparently belongs (in the sense in which it is here used) to Ionia. Ἀλέη is found once in the same sense in the Homeric poems, in a passage remarkable also for another circumstance (θερέω, in the sense of "to get warm"). αὐτίκ' ἐπεὶ κε πυρὸς θερέω, ἀλέη τε γένηται (*Odyss.* xvii. 23). In that passage, a various reading, ἐλέη, is found, and the word is interpreted by the Scholiast as θερμασία, κυρίως ἢ τοῦ ἡλίου. HIPPOCRATES uses the expression τοὺς περιτάτους ποιεῖσθαι ἐν ἀλέῃ. Perhaps the two forms, ἀλέη and ἐλέη, are local varieties of an original form, ἀελέη, of which traces remain in the epithet ἐκαλής, coupled by Hesiod with λείσχη (see note 513 on i. 153). XENOPHON, in several passages, uses the word ἀλεινὸς as applied to a region, and opposed to ψυχινός, which may be explained from his Asiatic experiences. But through the traffic with Ionia it would come to Athens, and be

used in popular language without any reference to its original meaning, as it is by ARISTOPHANES, simply in the sense of "warm:"

ψυχὸς γὰρ ἦν, ἐγὼ δὲ λεπτὴ κάσθενης·  
 ἔπειθ' ἰν' ἀλεινίοιμι, τοῦτ' ἡμισχόμην·  
 σὲ δ' ἐν ἀλέῃ κατακείμενον καὶ στρώμασιν  
 κατέλιπον, ὄνερ.

(*Ecclesiastes*. 539.)

<sup>77</sup> τότε μὲν γὰρ . . . πείζεται. In other words, Herodotus considers the Nile during the inundation to be in its normal condition, the height of the water then being the result of the balance between the supply of its sources and the evaporating power of the sun in the lower part of its course. During the winter, he conceives this last agency to be exerted at the sources, thus cutting off the supplies from the lower parts, which, no rain falling in Egypt, have no means of recruiting themselves.

<sup>78</sup> αἴτιος δὲ ὧντὸς . . . τὴν διέξοδον αὐτοῦ, "and this same [sun], in my judg-

Ister would  
rise as the  
Nile now  
does.

ἄνω θέρος αἰεὶ κατέχει. εἰ δὲ ἡ στάσις ἥλλακτο τῶν ὥρέων, καὶ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τῇ μὲν νῦν ὁ βορέης τε καὶ ὁ χειμῶν ἐστᾶσι ταύτῃ μὲν τοῦ νότου ἦν ἡ στάσις καὶ τῆς μεσαμβρίας, τῇ δὲ ὁ νότος νῦν ἔστηκε ταύτῃ δὴ\* ὁ βορέης, εἰ ταῦτα οὕτω εἶχε, ὁ ἥλιος ἂν ἀπελευνόμενος ἐκ μέσου τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὑπὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος καὶ τοῦ βορέου ἦεν ἂν τὰ ἄνω τῆς Εὐρώπης, κατὰπερ νῦν τῆς Λιβύης ἔρχεται· διεξιόντα δ' ἂν μιν διὰ πάσης Εὐρώπης, ἔλπομαι ποιεῖν ἂν τὸν Ἴστρον

27 τὰ περ νῦν ἐργάζεται τὸν Νεῖλον. Τῆς αὖρης δὲ πέρι, ὅτι οὐκ ἀποπνέει, τῇδε ἔχω γνώμην, ὥς κάρτα ἀπὸ θερμῶν χωρέων οὐκ οἰκός ἐστι οὐδὲν ἀποπνέειν· αὖρη δὲ ἀπὸ ψυχροῦ τιος φιλέει πνέειν.

Story of the  
fountains of  
the Nile re-  
lated by the  
muniment-  
keeper of  
the Athe-  
naeum at  
Sais.

28 Ταῦτα μὲν νῦν ἔστω ὥς ἔστι· τε καὶ ὥς ἀρχὴν ἐγένετο. τοῦ δὲ Νεῖλου τὰς πηγὰς οὔτε Αἰγυπτίων οὔτε Λιβύων οὔτε Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἐμολ' ἀπικομένων ἐς λόγους οὐδεὶς ὑπέσχετο εἰδέναι, εἰ μὴ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἐν Σαί πόλιν<sup>79</sup> ὁ γραμματιστὴς τῶν ἱρῶν χρημάτων τῆς Ἀθηναίης· οὗτος δ' ἐμολ' γε παίζειν ἐδόκεε φάμενος εἰδέναι ἀπρεκέως. ἔλεγε δὲ ὧδε· “εἶναι δύο οὖρεα ἐς ὅξυ τὰς κορυφὰς ἀπυγμένα, μεταξὺ Σιήνης τε πόλιος κείμενα τῆς Θηβαΐδος καὶ Ἐλεφαντίνης<sup>80</sup>. οὐνόματα δὲ εἶναι τοῖσι οὖρεσι, τῇ μὲν Κρῶφι τῇ δὲ Μῶφι<sup>81</sup>. τὰς ὧν δὴ πηγὰς τοῦ Νεῖλου, ἐούσας ἀβύσσους, ἐκ τοῦ μέσου τῶν οὐρέων τούτων ῥέειν καὶ τὸ μὲν ἡμισυ τοῦ ὕδατος ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου ῥέειν καὶ πρὸς βορρῇν ἄνεμον, τὸ δ' ἕτερον ἡμισυ, ἐπὶ Αἰθιοπίας τε καὶ νότον· ὥς δὲ ἄβυσσοὶ εἰσι αἱ πηγαί, ἐς διάπειραν ἔφη τοῦτου Ψαμμίτιχον Αἰγύπτου βασιλέα ἀπικέσθαι· πολλῶν

ment, is the cause of the air too in this region being dry, in scorching up the path he takes through it.” Gaisford reads, with some MSS, αὐτῷ. S omits the word. In the next sentence, the expression, ἡ στάσις τῶν ὥρέων, “the position of the seasons,” instead of τοῦ ἡλίου κατὰ τὰς ὥρας, is illustrated by what has been said in note 12.

\* ταύτῃ δὴ. So S. Gaisford, with most MSS, has ταύτῃ δέ.

<sup>79</sup> ἐν Σαί πόλιν. For the site of Sais, see note on § 163. WILKINSON (*Modern Egyptians*, i. p. 187) places it on the eastern bank of the Nile, about a mile inland. It is to the north of a village, now called *Sa-el-Hagar* (*Sa of the Stone*), probably from the remains. See a description of the ruin in note on § 169.

<sup>80</sup> μεταξὺ Σιήνης τε πόλιος . . . καὶ Ἐλεφαντίνης. The extreme incorrectness of this statement is remarkable, as Syene (*Assouan*, placed by Wilkinson in lat. 24° 5' 30") is on the east bank of the river, immediately opposite to the island Elephantine, at a distance of half a stade (STRABO, xvii. p. 464). See above, note on § 9.

<sup>81</sup> τῇ μὲν Κρῶφι τῇ δὲ Μῶφι. These two names have been interpreted by CHAMPOLLION as significant of “good” and “evil.” If this be so, perhaps some allegory may lie at the bottom of the statement; possibly, a symbolical account of the origin of mixed good and evil in the world. But, whatever the Saitan may have meant, it is plain that his auditor took him literally.



γὰρ αὐτὸν χιλιάδων ὀργυίων πλεξάμενον κάλον κατεῖναι ταύτη, καὶ οὐκ ἐξικέσθαι ἐς βυσσόν." οὕτω μὲν δὴ ὁ γραμματιστής, (εἰ ἄρα ταῦτα γεγόμενα ἔλεγε,) ἀπέφαινε, ὡς ἐμὲ κατανοέειν δίνας τινὰς ταύτῃ ἐούσας ἰσχυρὰς καὶ παλιρροίην<sup>22</sup>. οἷα δὲ ἐμβάλλοντος τοῦ ὕδατος τοῖσι οὖρεσι<sup>23</sup> μὴ δύνασθαι κατιεμένην καταπειρητήρην ἐς βυσσὸν ἵεναι. Ἄλλου δὲ οὐδενὸς οὐδὲν ἐδυνάμην πυθέσθαι. 29 ἀλλὰ τοσόνδε μὲν ἄλλο ἐπὶ μακρότατον ἐπυθόμην, μέχρι μὲν Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλιος αὐτόπτης ἐλθὼν<sup>24</sup>, τὸ δ' ἀπὸ τούτου ἀκοῇ ἤδη ἱστορέων. ἀπὸ Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλιος ἄνω ἰόντι, ἄναντές ἐστι χωρίον ταύτῃ ὧν δεῖ τὸ πλοῖον διαδήσαντας ἀμφοτέρωθεν, κατὰ περ βούν<sup>25</sup>, πορεύεσθαι ἣν δὲ ἀπαρραγῇ, τὸ πλοῖον οἴχεται φερόμενον ὑπὸ ἰσχύος τοῦ ῥόου. τὸ δὲ χωρίον τοῦτο ἐστὶ ἐπὶ ἡμέρας τέσσαρας πλόος<sup>26</sup>. σκολιὸς δὲ ταύτῃ, κατὰ περ ὁ Μαλιάνδρος, ἐστὶ ὁ Νεῖλος.

Beyond Elephantine the writer did not go: but he describes from hearsay the rapids, the mode of towing, and the island Tachompeo.

<sup>22</sup> οὕτω μὲν δὴ . . . παλιρροίην, "the muniment-keeper now so put the matter to me—if indeed these things which he mentioned really happened—as to produce the notion on my part of certain strong eddies with a cross current existing in this locality."

<sup>23</sup> οἷα δὲ ἐμβάλλοντος τοῦ ὕδατος τοῖσι οὖρεσι. It seems impossible to reconcile this phrase with any mode of the operation of water rising out of springs, even in a way which might suit the vague notions of the time of Herodotus. Perhaps the real origin of the statement is to be looked for in some misunderstanding of the Saitan, who, possibly, was thinking of the rapids and eddies of the river itself at that part, i. e. just below the first cataract. At Syene there was in later times a "well," the bottom of which the sun was believed to illuminate at one time of the year, it being supposed that Syene was under the tropic. STRABO (xvii. p. 464) mentions this, but neither that the well was used "as an observatory," nor that he "saw the sun in the well," nor, indeed, that he saw the well at all.

<sup>24</sup> μέχρι μὲν Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλιος αὐτόπτης ἐλθὼν. This phrase occasions very great difficulty. Is the author himself the αὐτόπτης spoken of here? If so, how comes the fact of the insular position of Elephantine, and its bearing from Assouan, to be so strangely ignored? See notes 36 and 80, above.

<sup>25</sup> κατὰ περ βούν, "just like an ox," i. e. with a rope tied to each horn, to prevent

the animal from suddenly bolting when led to sacrifice. EURIPIDES perhaps had the Egyptian mode of towing in his mind when he wrote of the drawing the wooden horse into Troy (*Troad*. 537):

κλωστοῦ δ' ἀμφιβόλοισι λῖνοισι, ναὺς ὥσελ σκάφος κελαινδὸν, εἰς ἔδρανα λῖνα δάπεδά τε φόνια πατρίδι Παλλὰδος θέσαν θεῶς.

<sup>26</sup> τὸ δὲ χωρίον . . . πλόος. The author does not say from what points the reckoning is to be made, but one may presume he intends *Elephantine*, and that the ἄναυτες χωρίον denotes the rapids at the second cataract. This is described by WILKINSON (*Modern Egyptians*, ii. p. 332) as less interesting than the cataract of Syene, but more extensive, being a succession of rapids which occupy a space of several miles, called *Bain el Hagar*, "the belly of stone," a locality suggesting such a mode of tracking (i. e. simultaneously from both banks) as the author describes. But the actual distances disagree very much with the other estimates of Herodotus. In § 9, he lays the distance between Elephantine and Thebes at 1800 stades. Now the real distance (as estimated by Wilkinson) is 124 miles, which gives about 14·5 stades to a mile. An excess, though much smaller in extent, likewise appears between Thebes and the sea, which Herodotus puts at 6120 stades; and, its real distance being 566 miles and a half, about 10·8 stades must be reckoned to the mile. But the

σχοῖνοι δὲ δυνάδεκά εἰσι οὔτοι, τοὺς δὲ τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ διεκπλῶσαι καὶ ἔπειτα ἀπῆλθαι ἐς πεδίον λεῖον, ἐν τῷ νήσῳ περιρρέει ὁ Νεῖλος· Ταχομφῶ<sup>87</sup> οὖνομα αὐτῇ ἐστὶ· οἰκέουσι δὲ τὰ ἀπὸ Ἐλεφαντίνης ἄνω Αἰθίοπες ἦδη, καὶ τῆς νήσου τὸ ἡμῶν τὸ δὲ ἡμῶν, Αἰγύπτιοι. ἔχεται δὲ τῆς νήσου λίμνη μεγάλη, τὴν περίξ νομάδες Αἰθίοπες νέμονται· τὴν διεκπλῶσας ἐς τοῦ Νείλου τὸ ῥέεθρον ἤξεις, τὸ ἐς τὴν λίμνην ταύτην ἐκδίδοι<sup>88</sup>· καὶ ἔπειτα ἀποβάς, παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν<sup>89</sup> ὁδοιπορίην ποιήσας ἡμερέων τεσσαράκοντα· σκόπελοι τε γὰρ ἐν τῷ Νείλῳ ὀξείες ἀνέχουσι καὶ χοιράδες πολλαὶ εἰσι, δι' ὧν οὐκ οἶά τέ ἐστι πλέειν· διεξελθὼν δὲ ἐν τῇσι τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρησι τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον, αὐτὸς ἐς ἕτερον πλοῖον ἐμβὰς, δυνάδεκα ἡμέρας πλεύσας· καὶ ἔπειτα ἤξεις ἐς πόλιν μεγάλην, τῇ οὖνομα ἐστὶ Μερὸν· λέγεται δὲ αὕτη ἡ πόλις εἶναι μητρόπολις τῶν ἄλλων Αἰθιόπων. οἱ δ' ἐν ταύτῃ Δία θεῶν καὶ Διόνυσον μόνους σέβονται, τούτους τε μεγάλως τιμῶσι· καὶ σφί μανητίῳ Διὸς κατέστηκε στρατεύονται· δ' ἐπεὰν σφεας ὁ θεὸς οὗτος κελεύῃ διὰ θεσπισμάτων<sup>90</sup> καὶ, τῇ αὖν κελεύῃ, ἐκείσε. Ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης τῆς πόλιος πλέων, ἐν ἴσῳ χρόνῳ ἄλλω ἤξεις ἐς τοὺς Αὐτομόλους, ἐν ὅσῳ περ ἐξ Ἐλεφαντίνης ἦλθες<sup>91</sup> ἐς τὴν μητρόπολιν τὴν Αἰθιόπων. τοῖσι δὲ Αὐτομόλοισι τούτοις οὖνομα ἐστὶ Ἀσμάχ<sup>92</sup>· δύναται δὲ τοῦτο τὸ

30

The Deser-  
ters an  
Egyptian  
colony four  
months  
above  
Syene.

distance from Elephantine to the second cataract is 232 miles, and, if the day's sail be reckoned at 9 *schœni* of 60 *stades* each (as in § 9), the result will be less than 9½ *stades* to a mile. As the difficulties of progress would be much increased above Syene, one would expect the variation to be exactly in the opposite direction. *Wadi Halfa*, which is in the immediate proximity of the second cataract, is said to be in lat. 21° 50'.

<sup>87</sup> Ταχομφῶ. Modern travellers have found nothing at all resembling the description given in the text of this island or the lake in its vicinity.

<sup>88</sup> τὴν διεκπλῶσας . . . ταύτην ἐκδίδοι. The manuscript S has τὴν δὲ ἐκπλῶσας ἐκ τοῦ Νείλου τὸ ῥέεθρον ἤξεις τὸ ἐκδίδοι ἐς τὴν λίμνην ταύτην.

<sup>89</sup> παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν. This can scarcely be the description of a person who himself made the journey. The road through the desert saves the great bend which the river makes to the westward, and in that part is many days' journey from the bank. The rapids last for about 120 miles above

*Meharraka* (in the neighbourhood of which Tachompso ought to be) to *Wadi-Halfa*; but above that point the river is again available for navigation.

<sup>90</sup> ἐν ὅσῳ περ ἐξ Ἐλεφαντίνης ἦλθες. The time to *Meroe* would be 4 + 40 + 12 days, besides the time (whatever it might be) occupied in passing from Tachompso to the point where the land-journey commenced, and also that consumed in passing the rapids, a distance of twelve *schœni* (§ 29). It seems clear, therefore, that the time to be occupied in reaching the *Automoli* was conceived as not less than four months from *Elephantine*; i. e. they were simply placed at the extremity of the country of which there was any knowledge. See § 31.

<sup>91</sup> Ἀσμάχ. This word in the Ethiopic language signifies "soldats choisis ou distinguez" (LACROZE, *ap. Jablonaky, Opuscula*, i. p. 42). If in the Egyptian language it meant what Herodotus says, the secondary meaning would probably be, "the despised," or "the neglected;" (compare the interpretation of "Ben-

ἔπος κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλήνων γλῶσσαν οἱ ἐξ ἀριστερῆς χειρὸς παριστάμενοι βασιλεῖ. ἀπέστησαν δὲ αὐταὶ τέσσαρες καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδες Αἰγυπτίων τῶν μαχίμων ἐς τοὺς Αἰθίοπας τούτους, δι' αἰτίην τοιγόνδε ἐπὶ Ψαμμίτιχου βασιλέως φυλακαὶ κατέστασαν ἐν τε Ἐλεφαντίνῃ πόλει πρὸς Αἰθίοπων, καὶ ἐν Δάφνησι τῇσι Πηλουσίῃσι [ἄλλη δὲ<sup>α</sup>] πρὸς Ἀραβίων τε καὶ Σύρων, καὶ ἐν Μαρῇ πρὸς Λιβύης ἄλλη. ἔτι δὲ ἐπ' ἐμεῦ καὶ Περσέων κατὰ ταῦτά αἱ φυλακαὶ ἔχουσι, ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ Ψαμμίτιχου ἦσαν· καὶ γὰρ ἐν Ἐλεφαντίνῃ Πέρσαι φρουρεύουσι, καὶ ἐν Δάφνησι<sup>β</sup>. τοὺς ὦν δὴ Αἰγυπτίους τρία ἔτεα φρουρήσαντας ἀπέλυε οὐδεὶς τῆς φρουρῆς· οἱ δὲ βουλευσάμενοι καὶ κοινῇ λόγῳ χρησάμενοι, πάντες ἀπὸ τοῦ Ψαμμίτιχου ἀποστάντες ἦσαν ἐς Αἰθιοπίην· Ψαμμίτιχος δὲ πυθόμενος ἐδῶκε<sup>γ</sup>. ὡς δὲ κατέλαβε, ἐδέετο πολλὰ λόγων, καὶ σφέας θεοὺς πατρώους ἀπολιπεῖν οὐκ ἔα, καὶ τέκνα, καὶ γυναῖκας· τῶν δὲ τινα λέγεται δελξάντα τὸ αἰδοῖον εἰπεῖν “ἐνθα ἂν τοῦτο ᾗ, ἔσεσθαι αὐτοῖσι ἐνθαῦτα καὶ τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας.” οὗτοι ἐπεὶ τε ἐς Αἰθιοπίην ἀπῆκοντο, διδοῦσι σφέας αὐτοὺς τῷ Αἰθίοπων βασι-

jamin,” *Genesis* xxxv. 18). The tale of the deserters agrees with these two etymologies; in Egypt, they are *Asmat* in the Egyptian sense of the word; in Ethiopia, the same in the Ethiopic. DIODORUS SICULUS, writing at a time when Egypt had become thoroughly Hellenized, gives a Hellenic version of the etymology. According to him, Psammitichus, in an expedition against Syria, had given the *right* wing in his army to his Hellenic mercenaries, and put the *native troops on the left*: an indignity which caused the secession (i. 67).

<sup>α</sup> ἄλλη δέ. Bekker omits the last of these two words as an interpolation. But, alone, its entrance into the text cannot be accounted for. The two words together seem to have crept in from the margin, where they were written by some one who thought it necessary to point out that the corps in Daphnæ was a different one from that in Elephantine.

<sup>β</sup> καὶ ἐν Δάφνησι. It seems strange that he should not also have mentioned the *corps d'armée* at Marea. Is it conceivable that this was annihilated in the successes of Inarus, when he destroyed Achæmenes (see note on iii. 12), and that the visit of the writer to Egypt took place

between that time (B.C. 460) and the complete re-establishment of the Persian power in the western angle of the Delta?

<sup>γ</sup> Ψαμμίτιχος δὲ πυθόμενος ἐδῶκε. At *Abou-simbul* in Nubia, an inscription was found in the Greek language on a temple, beginning with the line βασιλέως ἐλθόντος ἐς Ἐλεφαντίναν Ψαμμίτιχο. This is described by WILKINSON (*Modern Egyptians*, ii. p. 329), who gives a copy, as “the curious Greek inscription of the *Ionian and Carian soldiers* of Psamaticus sent by the Egyptian king after the deserters.” The inscription mentions neither deserters nor soldiers, either Ionian, Carian, or of any other nation; but merely that certain individuals (two of whom were Damearchus the son of Amcebichus, and Pelephus [qy. Telephus] the son of *Udamus* (?)), in the company of one Psamaticus the son of Theoclus, sailed up the river beyond a place called Cercis. To say nothing of the Doric forms, Elephantina, Psamaticus, and Damearchus, which indicate no Ionic writer, or of the use of the letters ψ, χ, φ, ω, and η, which were probably not written in the time of the monarch Psammitichus, it is plain that no real “illustration of Herodotus” is to be looked for here.

λεί· ὁ δὲ σφεας τῷδε ἀντιδωρέεται· ἥσαν οἱ διάφοροί τιμες γεγονότες τῶν Αἰθιοπῶν· τούτους ἐκέλευε ἐξελόντας τὴν ἐκείνων γῆν οἰκέειν· τούτων δὲ ἐσοικισθέντων ἐς τοὺς Αἰθίοπας, ἡμερώτεροι γεγόνασι Αἰθίοπες, ἤθεα μαθόντες Αἰγύπτια.

31

The Nile is known for four months' journey above Thebes.

32

Additional story told to some Cyrenæans by the king of the Ammonians respecting an expedition into Central Africa by some Namasones.

Μέχρι μὲν νυν τεσσέρων μηνῶν πλόου καὶ ὁδοῦ γινώσκεται ὁ Νεῖλος, πάρεξ τοῦ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ βρέυματος· (τοσοῦτοι γὰρ συμβαλλομένη μῆνες εὐρίσκονται ἀναισιμούμενοι ἐξ Ἑλεφαντίνης πορευομένη ἐς τοὺς Αὐτομόλους τούτους·) ῥέει δὲ ἀπὸ ἐσπέρης<sup>72</sup> τε καὶ ἡλίου δυσμέων. τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦδε, οὐδεὶς ἔχει σαφέως φράσαι· ἐρήμος γάρ ἐστι ἡ χώρα αὕτη ὑπὸ καύματος. Ἀλλὰ τὰδε μὲν ἤκουσα ἀνδρῶν Κυρηναίων, φαμένων ἐλθεῖν τε ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀμμωνος χρηστήριον καὶ ἀπικέσθαι ἐς λόγους Ἑτεάρχῃ τῷ Ἀμμωνίων βασιλεῖ<sup>73</sup>. καὶ κως ἐκ λόγων ἄλλων ἀπικέσθαι ἐς λέσχην<sup>74</sup> περὶ τοῦ Νείλου, ὡς οὐδεὶς αὐτοῦ οἶδε τὰς πηγὰς· καὶ τὸν Ἑτεάρχον φάναι ἐλθεῖν κοτε παρ' αὐτὸν Νασαμώνας ἀνδρας· (τὸ δὲ ἔθνος τοῦτο ἐστι μὲν Λιβυκὸν, νέμεται δὲ τὴν Σύρτιν τε καὶ τὴν πρὸς ἡῷ χώρην τῆς Σύρτιος οὐκ ἐπὶ πολλόν·) ἀπικομένους δὲ τοὺς Νασαμώνας, καὶ εἰρωτεωμένους εἰ τι ἔχουσι πλέον λέγειν περὶ τῶν ἐρήμων τῆς Λιβύης, φάναι παρὰ σφίσι γενέσθαι ἀνδρῶν δυναστέων παῖδας ὕβριστάς· τοὺς ἄλλα τε μηχανᾶσθαι ἀνδρωθέντας περισσὰ, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀποκληρῶσαι πέντε ἐωυτῶν ὄψομένους τὰ ἐρήμα τῆς Λιβύης, καὶ εἰ τι πλέον ἴδοιεν τῶν τὰ μακρότατα ἰδομένων. (τῆς γὰρ Λιβύης τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν βορρῆτην θάλασσαν, ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου ἀρξάμενοι μέχρι Σολόεντος ἄκρης, ἣ τελευταί τῆς Λιβύης<sup>75</sup>, παρήκουσι παρὰ πᾶσαν Λίβυνες—καὶ Λιβύων ἔθνεα πολλὰ, —πλὴν ὅσον Ἕλληνες καὶ Φοίνικες ἔχουσι· τὰ δὲ ὑπὲρ θαλάσσης τε καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν κατηκόντων ἀνθρώπων, τὰ κατ'ἐπερθε

<sup>72</sup> ῥέει δὲ ἀπὸ ἐσπέρης. See note 72, above.

<sup>73</sup> Ἑτεάρχῃ τῷ Ἀμμωνίων βασιλεῖ. The Hellenic name of this chief is perhaps the translation of a significant native word. Besides the intercourse of the Cyrenæans with Ammon, the fact of the Oasis (*El Wak*) being tenanted by Samians (iii. 26) shows the vigour with which, in very early times, the Hellenic towns extended their commercial enterprises.

<sup>74</sup> ἀπικέσθαι ἐς λέσχην, "got into a conversation." See note on ix. 71.

<sup>75</sup> ἣ τελευταί τῆς Λιβύης. The promontory *Soloëis* is mentioned again iv. 43, where it seems to be regarded as the last landmark known to the Phœnicians. In the *Periplus* of HANNO it is described as covered with trees, and as lying east of Thymiatærium, which latter again is two days' sail outside the straits. SCYLAX makes it two days from the straits to the promontory of Hermes; from thence to *Soloëis* three more; and to *Cerne* the island seven further still.

θηριώδης ἐστὶ ἡ Λιβύη· τὰ δὲ κατύπερθε τῆς θηριώδεος, ψάμμος τέ ἐστι καὶ ἄνδρος δεινῶς, καὶ ἐρήμος πάντων.) ἐπεὶ ὦν τοὺς νεηνίας ἀποπεμπομένους ὑπὸ τῶν ἡλίκων, ὕδασί τε καὶ σιτίοισι εὖ ἐξηγνυμένους, ἰέναι τὰ πρῶτα<sup>97</sup> μὲν διὰ τῆς οἰκεομένης, ταύτην δὲ διεξελθόντας ἐς τὴν θηριώδεα ἀπικέσθαι, ἐκ δὲ ταύτης τὴν ἐρήμον διεξιέναι τὴν ὁδὸν ποιευμένους πρὸς ζέφυρον ἄνεμον<sup>98</sup>· διεξελθόντας δὲ χώρον πολλὸν ψαμμώδεα καὶ ἐν πολλῇσι ἡμέρησι ἰδεῖν δὴ κοτε δένδρεα ἐν πεδίῳ πεφυκότα· καὶ σφεας προσελθόντας ἄπτεσθαι τοῦ ἐπεόντος ἐπὶ τῶν δενδρέων καρποῦ· ἄπτομένοισι δὲ σφι ἐπελθεῖν ἄνδρας μικροὺς<sup>99</sup>, μετρίων ἐλάσσονας ἀνδρῶν, λαβόντας δὲ ἄγειν σφέας· φωνῆς δὲ οὔτε τι τῆς ἐκείνων τοὺς Νασαμώνας γινώσκειν οὔτε τοὺς ἄγοντας τῶν Νασαμώνων· ἄγειν τε δὴ αὐτοὺς δι' ἐλέων μεγίστων, καὶ διεξελθόντας ταῦτα ἀπικέσθαι ἐς πόλιν ἐν τῇ ἅπαντας εἶναι τοῖσι ἄγουσι τὸ μέγαθος ἴσους, χρῶμα δὲ μέλανας· παρὰ δὲ τὴν πόλιν ῥέειν ποταμὸν μέγαν· ῥέειν δὲ ἀπὸ ἐσπέρης αὐτὸν πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνατέλλοντα· φαίνεσθαι δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ κροκοδείλους. Ὁ μὲν δὴ τοῦ Ἀμμωνίου Ἐτεάρχου λόγος ἐς 33 τοῦτό μοι δεδηλώσθω, πλὴν ὅτι ἀπονοστήσαι τε ἔφασκε τοὺς Νασαμώνας, [ὥς οἱ Κυρηνάιοι ἔλεγον<sup>99</sup>] καὶ ἐς τοὺς οὗτοι ἀπ-

They probably reached the upper Nile.

<sup>97</sup> *ἰέναι τὰ πρῶτα*. These words and those which follow are to be taken after *ἐπεὶ* as the *protasis* of the construction, of which the *apodosis* begins with *διεξελθόντας δὲ*, "then, after having passed through an enormous extent of country, and having taken a long time about it, they at length saw (*ἰδεῖν δὴ κοτε*) trees growing in a plain."

<sup>98</sup> *τὴν ὁδὸν ποιευμένους πρὸς ζέφυρον ἄνεμον*. As these words are placed, it would seem to be the meaning of the writer that the westerly course of the Nasamones commenced after their arrival in the region of the desert. This rather militates against the notion that the route they followed was nearly the same as that taken by Denham and Clapperton in 1823 (which runs nearly south from the neighbourhood of the tropics in a longitude of about 15° to the great central lake *Tchad*), and would go to favour the theory which brings them to *Timbuctoo*. The recent origin of the existing city is no objection whatever to this view, any more than the different stature of the existing natives. Moreover, there is no doubt that the river at Tim-

buctoo flows to the east, which is far from certain of the *Yeou*, the river in the immediate neighbourhood of the lake *Tchad*. See ALLEN (*Journal of the Geographical Society*, vol. viii.). Neither is the lake *Tchad* itself accurately described as a series of extensive swamps,—at least the western end of it, which alone is known. That description is more applicable to the neighbourhood of *Socato* (lat. 13°, long. 6°) where Clapperton died, and the caravan track said to exist from *Mourzouk* in Fezzan to that place would be in its general bearings about s.w.

<sup>99</sup> *ἄνδρας μικροὺς*. It would seem not unlikely that, in the times of which Herodotus is speaking, that diminutive race, the *Bosjemans*, which still exist here and there in Southern Africa, was more widely extended.

<sup>99</sup> [*ὥς οἱ Κυρηνάιοι ἔλεγον*]. These words are omitted in S. If they are genuine, they appear to be out of place, and to have been originally written after the words *Ἐτεάρχου λόγος*. But they seem to me to be a marginal note.

Comparison  
of the Nile  
and the  
Ister.

ἰκοντο ἀνθρώπους γόητας εἶναι πάντας." τὸν δὲ δὴ ποταμὸν τοῦτον τὸν παραρρέοντα καὶ Ἑτέαρχος συνεβάλλετο εἶναι τὸν Νεῖλον, καὶ δὴ καὶ ὁ λόγος οὕτω αἰρέει· ῥέει γὰρ ἐκ Λιβύης ὁ Νεῖλος, καὶ μέσσην τάμνων Λιβύην καὶ (ὡς ἐγὼ συμβάλλομαι, τοῖσι ἐμφανέσι τὰ μὴ γνωσκόμενα τεκμαιρόμενος) τῷ Ἰστρῷ ἐκ τῶν ἴσων μέτρων ὁρμάται<sup>100</sup>. Ἰστρος τε γὰρ ποταμὸς ἀρξάμενος ἐκ Κελτῶν καὶ Πυρήνης πόλιος<sup>101</sup>, ῥέει μέσσην σχίζων τὴν Εὐρώπην (οἱ δὲ Κελτοὶ εἰσι ἔξω Ἑρακληῶν στηλέων, ὁμουργέουσι δὲ Κυνησίοισι<sup>102</sup>, οἱ ἔσχατοι πρὸς δυσμέων οἰκεῖνσι τῶν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ κατοικημένων) τελευτᾷ δὲ ὁ Ἰστρος ἐς θάλασσαν ῥέων τὴν τοῦ Εὐξείνου πόντου διὰ πάσης Εὐρώπης, τῇ Ἰστρίῃ οἱ Μιλησίων οἰκεῖνσι ἄποικοι.

- 34 Ὁ μὲν δὴ Ἰστρος, ῥέει γὰρ δι' οἰκουμένης, πρὸς πολλῶν γνωσκεται· περὶ δὲ τῶν τοῦ Νεῖλου πηγῶν οὐδεὶς ἔχει λέγειν ἀοίκητός τε γὰρ ἐστὶ καὶ ἐρήμος ἡ Λιβύη, δι' ἧς ῥέει. περὶ δὲ τοῦ ῥεύματος αὐτοῦ ἐπ' ὅσον μακρότατον ἱστορεῦντα ἦν ἐξικέσθαι εἰρηται· ἐκδιδοὶ δὲ ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἡ δὲ Αἴγυπτος τῆς ὀρεινῆς Κιλικίης μάλιστα κη ἀντίη κέεται [ἐνθεύτεν δὲ, ἐς Σινώπην τὴν ἐν τῷ Εὐξείνῳ πόντῳ πέντε ἡμερῶν ἰθεὶα ὁδὸς εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρὶ<sup>103</sup>.] ἡ δὲ Σινώπη τῷ Ἰστρῷ ἐκδιδόντι ἐς θάλασσαν ἀντίον κέεται<sup>104</sup>. οὕτω τὸν Νεῖλον δοκέω διὰ πάσης τῆς Λιβύης διεξιόντα ἐξισούσθαι τῷ Ἰστρῷ. Νεῖλου μὲν νυν περὶ τοσαῦτα εἰρήσθω.

35  
Continuation  
of the  
description  
of Egypt.

Ἐρχομαι δὲ περὶ Αἰγύπτου μηχανέων τὸν λόγον, ὅτι πλείστα θουμάσια ἔχει ἢ ἄλλη πᾶσα χώρα, καὶ ἔργα λόγου μέζω παρέχεται πρὸς πᾶσαν χώραν τούτων εἵνεκα πλέω περὶ αὐτῆς εἰρήσεται.

<sup>100</sup> τῷ Ἰστρῷ ἐκ τῶν ἴσων μέτρων ὁρμάται. This estimate is unduly favourable to the Ister, the length of whose course is about 1500 miles, taking the bendings of the river into account, or 1100 miles direct. The whole length of the eastern branch of the Nile, the only one which has been traced, is 1600 miles direct. But it has been of late considered that the western branch (*Bahr el Abiad*) which the ancients always considered the true Nile, is really much shorter than the other; and, if so, it may possibly turn out that Herodotus's statement is nearer the truth than now seems likely.

<sup>101</sup> Πυρήνης πόλιος. This is the only place in which Herodotus speaks of this city. It is plain that he has the vaguest notions of the localities he mentions. The

Celts of which he speaks must be looked for in Lusitania, if any where at all.

<sup>102</sup> Κυνησίοισι. See note on iv. 49, μετὰ Κύνητας.

<sup>103</sup> ἐνθεύτεν δὲ . . . εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρὶ. This passage appears to me to be an interpolation. It has nothing to do with the particular point the author has in hand, viz. to show a kind of analogy between the Ister and the Nile. It is also quite contrary to facts; and perhaps is derived from a misunderstanding of i. 72, where see note 246.

<sup>104</sup> ἡ δὲ Σινώπη τῷ Ἰστρῷ ἐκδιδόντι ἐς θάλασσαν ἀντίον κέεται. Probably a merchant-vessel going from the Ister to Phasis (see note 363 on i. 104) would lay her course for Sinope, or on the opposite course run for the Ister from Sinope.

Αἰγύπτιοι ἅμα τῷ οὐρανῷ τῷ κατὰ σφέας ἐόντι ἑτεροίῳ, καὶ τῷ ποταμῷ φύσιν ἄλλοιην παρεχομένῳ ἢ οἱ ἄλλοι ποταμοί, τὰ πολλὰ πάντα ἐμπαλιν τοῖσι ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις ἐστήσαντο ἥθεά τε καὶ νόμους<sup>105</sup>. ἐν τοῖσι αἱ μὲν γυναῖκες ἀγοράζουσι<sup>106</sup> καὶ καπηλεύουσι. οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες κατ' οἴκους ἐόντες ὑφαίνουσι<sup>107</sup>. ὑφαίνουσι δὲ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ἄνω τὴν κρόκην ὠθέοντες, Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ κάτω. τὰ ἄχθεια οἱ μὲν ἄνδρες ἐπὶ τῶν κεφαλῶν φορέουσι, αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων. οὐρέουσι, αἱ μὲν γυναῖκες ὀρθαί, οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες κατήμενοι. εὐμαρὲν χρέωνται ἐν τοῖσι οἴκοις, ἐσθίουσι δὲ ἔξω ἐν τῇσι ὁδοῖς, ἐπιλέγοντες, ὥς τὰ μὲν αἰσχροῦ ἀναγκαῖα δὲ ἐν ἀποκρύφῳ ἐστὶ ποιεῖν χρεὼν, τὰ δὲ μὴ αἰσχροῦ ἀναφανδόν. ἱρᾶται<sup>108</sup> γυνὴ μὲν οὐδεμία οὔτε ἔρσηνος θεοῦ οὔτε θηλέης· ἄνδρες δὲ πάντων τε καὶ πασέων. τρέφειν τοὺς τοκέας τοῖσι μὲν παισὶ οὐδεμία ἀνάγκη μὴ βουλομένοις· τῇσι δὲ θυγατράσι πᾶσα ἀνάγκη καὶ μὴ βουλομένησι. Οἱ ἱεεὶ τῶν θεῶν τῇ μὲν ἄλλῃ κομέουσι, ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ δὲ 36 ξυρεῖνται. τοῖσι ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις νόμος ἅμα κηδεὶ κεκάρθαι τὰς κεφαλὰς τοὺς μάλιστα ἰκνέεται, Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ ὑπὸ τοὺς θανάτους ἀνιέσι τὰς τρίχας αὔξασθαι, τὰς τε ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ καὶ τῷ γενεῖ, τέως ἐξυρήμενοι. τοῖσι μὲν ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις χωρὶς θηρίων δίαίτα ἀποκέκριται, Αἰγυπτίοις δὲ ὁμοῦ θηρίοις ἡ διαίτα ἐστὶ. ἀπὸ πυρέων καὶ κριθῶν ὧλλοι ζώουσι, Αἰγυπτίων δὲ τῷ ποιευμένῳ ἀπὸ τούτων τὴν ζῴην ὄνειδος μέγιστόν ἐστι· ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ

Strange  
contrariety  
between  
the  
Egyptians  
and other  
nations.

<sup>105</sup> τὰ πολλὰ πάντα ἐμπαλιν τοῖσι ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις ἐστήσαντο ἥθεά τε καὶ νόμους. The words τὰ πολλὰ and πάντα are not to be taken together, but the latter to be coupled with ἐμπαλιν. Translate "in most things they have established customs and laws for themselves, in every point the reverse of other men." (See note on i. 203.) NYMPHODORUS (*ap. Schol. in Soph. Œd. Col. 337*) exaggeratingly says that the only thing in which the Egyptian and Hellenic manners coincided was, that with both nations the younger men made way for the elder in public.

<sup>106</sup> ἀγοράζουσι, "frequent the agora."

<sup>107</sup> ὑφαίνουσι. These were doubtless the manufacturers of the linen for which Egypt was famous. (See the first note on § 164.) A state of civilization implying a division of labour would induce the practice which so forcibly struck a Greek visitor, in whose country the clothes of the

household would be manufactured by the industry of the female members of the family. SOPHOCLES alludes to it (*Œdip. Col. 337*):

ἃ πάντ' ἐκείνῳ τοῖς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ νόμοις  
φύσιν κατεικασθέντε καὶ βίου τροφὰς·  
ἐκεῖ γὰρ οἱ μὲν ἄρσηνες κατὰ στέγας  
θακοῦσιν ἰστυροῦντες, αἱ δὲ σύννομοι  
τᾷ βίῳ τροφῆα πορσύνουσ' αἰ.

NYMPHODORUS (i. c.) gives several other particulars, and adds that these habits were introduced by *Sesostrius* with the intention of rendering his subjects effeminate, —the same policy which *Croesus* recommends *Cyrus* to pursue towards the *Lydians* (i. 155).

<sup>108</sup> ἱρᾶται. Unless this word be taken in a very restricted sense, as referring only to the office of a *sacificial* priest, some difficulty arises. See note on § 54.

ὀλυρέων ποιεῦνται σιτία, τὰς ζειὰς μετεξέτεροι καλέουσι. φυρώσι τὸ μὲν σταῖς τοῖσι ποσὶ, τὸν δὲ πηλὸν τῇσι χερσὶ καὶ τὴν κόπρουν ἀναιρέονται. τὰ αἰδοῖα ὅλλοι μὲν ἑῷσι ὡς ἐγένοντο, πλὴν ὅσοι ἀπὸ τούτων ἔμαθον Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ περιτάμνονται. εἴματα, τῶν μὲν ἀνδρῶν ἕκαστος ἔχει δύο, τῶν δὲ γυναικῶν ἑν ἐκάστη. τῶν ἱστίων τοὺς κρίκους καὶ κάλους<sup>109</sup> οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ἔξωθεν προσδέουσι, Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ ἔσωθεν. γράμματα γράφουσι καὶ λογιζονται ψήφοισι Ἕλληνας μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀριστερῶν ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιὰ φέροντες τὴν χεῖρα, Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν δεξιῶν ἐπὶ τὰ ἀριστερά· καὶ ποιεῦντες ταῦτα, αὐτοὶ μὲν φασὶ ἐπὶ δεξιὰ ποιεῖν Ἕλληνας δὲ ἐπ' ἀριστερά. διφασίοισι δὲ γράμμασι χρέωνται καὶ τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν ἰρὰ τὰ δὲ δημοτικὰ καλέεται.

37

Customs  
founded on  
religious  
views.

Θεοσεβέες δὲ περισσῶς ἔόντες μάλιστα πάντων ἀνθρώπων, νόμοισι τοιοῖσιδε χρέωνται. ἐκ χαλκῶν ποτηρίων πίνουσι, διασμέωντες ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέρην, οὐκ ὁ μὲν ὁ δ' οὐ, ἀλλὰ πάντες. εἴματα δὲ λίνεα φορέουσι αἰεὶ νεόπλυτα, ἐπιτηδεύοντες τοῦτο μάλιστα. τὰ τε αἰδοῖα περιτάμνονται καθαριότητος εἵνεκεν προτιμῶντες καθαροὶ εἶναι ἢ εὐπρεπέστεροι. οἱ δὲ ἱρέες ξυρεῦνται πᾶν τὸ σῶμα διὰ τρίτης ἡμέρης, ἵνα μήτε φθεῖρ μήτε ἄλλο

<sup>109</sup> τοὺς κρίκους καὶ κάλους. It is very difficult to say exactly what is here meant. The writer alludes to some arrangement which was familiar to his hearers, and from this very circumstance abstains from the explanation which would be welcome to a modern reader. I am disposed to think that the κρίκοι καὶ κάλοι are the apparatus for reefing the sails; viz. a row of eyelet holes parallel to the seam of the sail, through each of which a short line is run, and prevented from coming out by a knot at each extremity. In the act of reefing, the portion of the sail which lies below this row is rolled up and secured by the short lines in question. It would seem from the text that the operation was in Egypt effected by drawing home the knot on the inside of the sail, but in Greece by doing the same with that on the outside. Accordingly they would make fast the reef-points in the one case on the inside (or weatherly side) of the sail, and in the other on the outside (or lee side). In both instances the knot drawn home would be the larger of the two, and would lie, like a button, over the twist which would

be taken by the other end round it. In Liddell and Scott's Lexicon (v. κάλος) the true explanation of ΕΥΚΛΙΠΙΔΗΣ, *Troad.* 93, *καρὰ δόκει Ὅταν στράτευμ' Ἀργείων ἐξῆρ κάλος* is missed, from a mistaken apprehension that *ἐξίναυι κάλος* means the same thing as *χαλᾶσαι πύδα*. But the former means to "shake out the reefs,"—a proceeding appropriate to fine settled weather and a steady light breeze. Poseidon accordingly, who is meditating the destruction of the Greeks, watches the opportunity when the fleet shall be carrying as much canvas as possible. The latter expression, on the contrary, means to "ease off the sheet," the word *πύς* signifying the line which secures the leemost extremity of the bottom of a sail. To let this go is, as the Athenians knew well from their experience of the ferry between the Piræus and Salamis, the only way to save a boat from capsizing when a squall suddenly strikes her.

καὶ ναῦς γὰρ ἐνταθεῖσα πρὸς βίαν ποδὶ ἔβαινεν, ἔστη δ' αὖθις ἢν χαλᾶ πύδα.

EURIPIDES, *Orest.* 706.



μυσαρὸν μηδὲν ἐγγίνηται σφι θεραπεύουσι τοὺς θεοὺς. ἐσθῆτα δὲ φορέουσι οἱ ἱρέες λυγὴν μούνην, καὶ ὑποδήματα βύβλινα· ἄλλην δὲ σφι ἐσθῆτα οὐκ ἔξεστι λαβεῖν, οὐδὲ ὑποδήματα ἄλλα. λύνονται δὲ δις<sup>a</sup> τῆς ἡμέρης ἐκάστης ψυχρῶ, καὶ δις ἐκάστης νυκτός. ἄλλας τε θρησκίας ἐπιτελέουσι μυρίας, ὥς εἰπεῖν λόγῳ. πάσχουσι δὲ καὶ ἀγαθὰ οὐκ ὀλίγα· οὔτε τι γὰρ τῶν οἰκητῶν τρίβουσι<sup>110</sup> οὔτε δαπανέονται, ἀλλὰ καὶ σιτία σφί ἐστι ἱρὰ πεσσύμενα, καὶ κρεῶν βοέων καὶ χηνέων πλήθός τι ἐκάστῳ γίνεται πολλόν, ἡμέρης ἐκάστης· δίδεται δὲ σφι καὶ οἶνος ἀμπέλινος<sup>111</sup>. ἰχθύων δὲ οὐ σφι ἔξεστι πάσασθαι. κυάμους δὲ οὔτε τι μάλα σπείρουσι Διγύπτῳ ἐν τῇ χώρῃ, τοὺς τε γενομένους οὔτε τρώγουσι οὔτε ἔφροντες πατέονται· οἱ δὲ δὴ ἱρέες οὐδὲ ὀρέοντες ἀνέχονται, νομίζοντες οὐ καθαρὸν μιν εἶναι δσπριον. ἱρᾶται δὲ οὐκ εἰς ἐκάστου τῶν θεῶν, ἀλλὰ πολλοὶ τῶν εἰς ἐστι ἀρχιέρεως<sup>112</sup>. ἐπεὰν δὲ τις ἀποθάνῃ, τοῦτου ὁ παῖς ἀντικατίσταται.

Τοὺς δὲ βοὺς τοὺς ἔρσενας τοῦ Ἐπάφου εἶναι νομίζουσι<sup>113</sup>, καὶ 38

<sup>a</sup> δις. CHÆREMON (ap. Porphyry. *De Abstinēti*. iv. 7) makes their daily ablutions to be three in number, one on rising, one before dinner, and one before going to sleep.

<sup>110</sup> οὔτε τι τῶν οἰκητῶν τρίβουσι. The priests apparently had a common domain, free from taxes, and held by them as a corporation. On the other hand, the individual cultivators, the ryots, were regarded as the tenants at will of the sovereign. Compare *Genesis* xlvii. 18—26 with § 109, below.

<sup>111</sup> οἶνος ἀμπέλινος. It is a question from whence this wine must have come. Since the time of Psammitichus doubtless the commodity formed a large part of the imports from Hellas; and it was from thence probably that the bulk of the wine consumed at the festival of Bubastis (described below, § 60) was derived. In later times it was said that antecedently to the days of Psammitichus the Egyptians abstained from wine on religious grounds, believing the juice of the grape to be the blood of the giants which warred against the gods, from whose buried bodies the vine had sprung (EUDOXUS, ap. *Plutarch. De Isid. et Osiride*, p. 353). But the mention of "the chief butler," as a high officer of state in the court of a Pharaoh (*Genesis* xl.), seems quite opposed to this view; and as there is no early authority for it, but on the contrary ΗΕΚΑΤÆΥΣ related that the

kings used to drink a *metretes* of wine by the special order of the sacred writings, I should rather be disposed to consider it as referring to a dogma of later growth than the time of Herodotus. That the bulk of the population did not drink wine habitually seems clear from the scoff of the Achaean king Peleagus in *ÆSCHYLUS*:

ἀλλ' ἔρσενας τοι τῆσδε γῆς οἰκητορας  
εὐρήσας' οὐ πίνοντας ἐκ κριθῶν  
μέθην (*Suppl.* 953).

But this circumstance probably arose from the cultivation of the vine being possible in very few parts of Egypt (see note on § 77), while the country was especially favourable to the growth of cereals. So little general belief attached to the superstition mentioned by Eudoxus, that TIBULLUS identifies *Osiris* even with the wine-god Dionysus, and attributes to him the invention of vine-culture. (*Lib. i. Eleg. vii. 33*):

"Hic docuit teneram palis adungere vitem,  
Hic viridem durā cedere falce comam."

<sup>112</sup> ἀρχιέρεως. This is the reading of Gaisford on the authority of several MSS, and it is defended by the use of the same form by DIO CASSIUS. But it is contrary to analogy, and other MSS (among which is S) have the common form ἀρχιερέως.

<sup>113</sup> τοῦ Ἐπάφου εἶναι νομίζουσι, "they consider as belonging to Epaphus." It is

*Bulls sacred to Eraphus if marked with any black.*

*Others may be sacrificed.*

## 39

*Mode of sacrifice.*

*Curses are heaped on the head of the victim.*

τούτου εἵνεκα δοκιμάζουσι αὐτοὺς ὧδε· τρίχα ἦν καὶ μίαν ἰδηται ἐπεοῦσαν μέλαιναν, οὐ καθαρὸν εἶναι νομίζει. διζήται δὲ ταῦτα ἐπὶ τούτῳ τεταγμένος τῶν τις ἱρέων, καὶ ὀρθοῦ ἐστεῶτος τοῦ κτήneos καὶ ὑπτίου, καὶ τὴν γλῶσσαν ἐξειρύσας, εἰ καθαρὴ τῶν προκειμένων σημητῶν, τὰ ἐγὼ ἐν ἄλλῳ λόγῳ \* ἐρέω· κατορᾷ δὲ καὶ τὰς τρίχας τῆς οὐρῆς, εἰ κατὰ φύσιν ἔχει πεφυκίλας· ἦν δὲ τούτων πάντων ἡ καθαρὸς, σημαίνεται βύβλη· περὶ τὰ κέρα εἰλίσσων· καὶ ἔπειτα γῆν σημαντρίδα ἐπιπλάσας, ἐπιβάλλει τὸν δακτύλιον· καὶ οὕτω ἀπάγουσι. ἀσήμαντον δὲ θύσαντι θάνατος ἢ ζημὴ ἐπικέεται. δοκιμάζεται μὲν νυν τὸ κτήνος τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. Θυσίῃ δὲ σφι ἦδε κατέστηκε· ἀγαγόντες τὸ σεσημασμένον κτήνος πρὸς τὸν βωμὸν, ὅκου ἂν θύωσι, πυρὴν καίουσι· ἔπειτα δὲ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ <sup>114</sup> οἶνον κατὰ τοῦ ἱρητοῦ ἐπιωπείσαντες, καὶ ἐπικαλέσαντες τὸν θεόν, σφάζουσι· σφάζαντες δὲ, ἀποτάμνουσι τὴν κεφαλὴν· σῶμα μὲν δὴ τοῦ κτήneos δείρουσι· κεφαλῇ δὲ κείνῃ πολλὰ καταρησάμενοι <sup>115</sup>, φέρουσι· τοῖσι μὲν ἂν ἡ ἀγορὴ καὶ Ἑλληνέες σφίσι ἔωσι ἐπιδήμιοι ἔμποροι, οἱ δὲ φέροντες ἐς τὴν ἀγορὴν ἀπ' ὧν ἔδοντο <sup>116</sup>. τοῖσι δὲ ἂν μὴ παρέωσι Ἑλληνες, οἱ δ' ἐκβάλλουσι ἐς τὸν ποταμόν· καταρῶνται δὲ τάδε λέγοντες τῇσι κεφαλῇσι· “εἴ τι μέλλοι ἢ σφίσι

to be observed that the writer here simply substitutes the Hellenic equivalent for the Egyptian deity *Apis*. In § 153 he explains that they are identical. There can be no doubt that the Egyptian deity is the original one; but the Greeks, after their usual wont to account for all the legends they found by a reference to their own mythology and language, derived Eraphus from *εραφεῖν*. *ÆSCHYLUS, Prom.* 848:

ἐνταῦθα δὴ σε Ζεὺς τίθησιν ἔμφρονα  
ἐπαφῶν ἀταρβεῖ χεῖρι καὶ θύγων μόνον  
ἐπάνομον δὲ τῶν Διὸς γεννημάτων  
τέξεις κελαιὸν Ἑραφόν.

\* ἐν ἄλλῳ λόγῳ. See iii. 28.

<sup>114</sup> ἐπ' αὐτοῦ, i. e. τοῦ βωμοῦ. The wine was so poured as to fall in a jet on the crest of the victim, and from thence on to the altar.

<sup>115</sup> πολλὰ καταρησάμενοι. The analogous practice of the scapegoat sent into the wilderness prevailed among the pastoral Israelites (*Leviticus* xvi. 21). WILKINSON (*Ancient Egypt*, ii. p. 351) denies on the negative evidence of the sculptures that this practice was more than occasional and exceptional.

<sup>116</sup> ἐπ' ὧν ἔδοντο. This *temesis* of the preposition from the verb with which it is compounded and the interposition of the particle *ἂν* is exceedingly common in Herodotus, although it seems to be confined to the aorist. Attempts have been made to explain the usage,—some on the principle that it implies an habitual practice, some on the ground that it is appropriate to a sudden action. But, to go no further than the present Book, the passage, § 172, κατ' ὧν κόψας, refutes the former of these views, and the passage in the text the latter. Perhaps if the anteherodotean prose writings still existed, the origin of the idiom might have been plain; but all that can now be said of it is that it is a peculiarity of the author's style which has survived the reasons of its use. The use of the word *half* in the spoken dialect and popular literature of the Austrian Germans is a somewhat parallel case. That provincialism is doubtless the relic of *ich halte dafür*, 'I guess';—but it is habitually used in cases where it would be impossible to substitute the full phrase for it with any shadow of propriety.

τοῖσι θύουσι ἡ Αἰγύπτῳ τῇ συναπάσῃ κακὸν γενέσθαι, ἐς κεφαλὴν ταύτην τραπέσθαι." κατὰ μὲν νυν τὰς κεφαλὰς τῶν θυομένων κτηνῶν καὶ τὴν ἐπίσπεισιν τοῦ οἴνου, πάντες Αἰγύπτιοι νόμοισι τοῖσι αὐτοῖσι χρέωνται ὁμοίως ἐς πάντα τὰ ἱρά· καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ νόμου, οὐδὲ ἄλλου οὐδενὸς ἐμφύχου κεφαλῆς γεύσεται Αἰγυπτίων οὐδεὶς. Ἡ δὲ δὴ ἐξαίρεσις τῶν ἱρῶν καὶ ἡ καύσις ἄλλη 40 περὶ ἄλλο ἱρὸν σφί κατέστηκε. τὴν δ' ὧν μεγίστην τε δαίμονα ῥηγνυται εἶναι, καὶ μεγίστην οἱ ὀρτὴν ἀνάγουσι, ταύτην ἔρχομαι ἐρέων ἐπεὰν ἀποδείρωσι τὸν βούν, κατευξάμενοι, κοιλίην μὲν κεινὴν πᾶσαν ἐξ ὧν εἶλον<sup>117</sup>, σπλάγχνα δὲ αὐτοῦ λείπουσι ἐν τῷ σώματι καὶ τὴν πιμελήν· σκέλεα δὲ ἀποτάμνουσι, καὶ τὴν ὀσφύν ἄκρην, καὶ τοὺς ὤμους τε καὶ τὸν τράχηλον· ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες, τὸ ἄλλο σῶμα τοῦ βοῦς πιμπλάσι ἄρτων καθαρῶν καὶ μέλιτος καὶ ἀσταφίδος καὶ σύκων καὶ λιβανωτοῦ καὶ σμύρνης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θυωμάτων· πλήσαντες δὲ τούτων, καταγίξουσι ἔλαιον ἄφθονον καταχέοντες. προνηστεύσαντες<sup>118</sup> δὲ θύουσι. καιομένων δὲ τῶν ἱρῶν τύπτονται πάντες· ἐπεὰν δὲ ἀποτύφωνται<sup>a</sup>, δαῖτα προτίθενται τὰ ἐλίποντο τῶν ἱρῶν.

Peculiar forms when the victim is offered to Isis, whose feasts are preceded by fasts.

Τοὺς μὲν νυν καθαρὸς βούς τοὺς ἔρσενας καὶ τοὺς μόσχους οἱ 41 πάντες Αἰγύπτιοι θύουσι· τὰς δὲ θηλέας οὐ σφί ἔξεστι θύειν, ἀλλὰ ἱρά· εἰσι τῆς Ἰσίδος. τὸ γὰρ τῆς Ἰσίδος ἄγαλμα ἐὼν γυναικίον βούκερὼν ἐστὶ, κατὰπερ Ἑλλήνες τὴν Ἰοῦν γράφουσι<sup>119</sup>. καὶ τὰς βούς τὰς θηλέας Αἰγύπτιοι πάντες ὁμοίως σέβονται προ-

Cows are sacred to Isis, and never killed.

<sup>117</sup> ἐπεὰν . . . εἶλον. Here is a considerable variation of the MSS. Gaisford follows M, K, P, F, a. But V, R, b, c, d have ἐπὶ προνηστεύουσι τῇ Ἰσίδι, καὶ ἐπὶ κατεύξονται, θύουσι τὸν βούν καὶ ἀποδείρων κοιλίην μὲν ἐκείνην (Ald. κείνην) πᾶσαν ἐξ ὧν εἶλον. The manuscript S appears to agree with these, except in having the future, προνηστεύουσιν and κατεύξονται, instead of the subjunctive of the aorist. It is quite certain that these variations cannot have arisen the one from the other.

<sup>118</sup> προνηστεύσαντες. See note 168, below.

<sup>a</sup> ἐπεὰν δὲ ἀποτύφωνται. See first note on ix. 31.

<sup>119</sup> κατὰπερ Ἑλλήνες τὴν Ἰοῦν γράφουσι. There seems little question that this delineation of Isis represented her in her character of the moon, whose phases are indicated by the symbol of horns.

JABLONSKY (*De vocibus Aegyptiacis, v. Isis*) says that the Coptic *Ioh* was the proper word to denote the moon, considered merely as a physical object. He regards *Isis* as the mere symbolical personification of the simple *Io*, and the Hellenic legend to have arisen from the union of the name *Io* with the delineation of *Isis*. The word *Io* is said to have been, in the *Argive* dialect, equivalent to σελήνη (EUSTATH. *ad Dionys. Perieg.*, cited by Jablonsky). If this be true, the word itself no doubt came from Egypt in the way of commerce, in those times to which Herodotus alludes above (i. 1), and the legend must of necessity be later. The milch-cow itself, if a symbol of *Isis* (which seems likely from § 132), was so in her capacity of *Aphrodite Urania*, i. e. as the impersonation of the productive power of nature. See note 121, below.

βάτων πάντων μάλιστα μακρῷ. τῶν εἵνεκα οὐτ' ἀνὴρ Αἰγύπτιος οὔτε γυνή ἄνδρα Ἑλλήνα φιλήσειε ἂν τῷ στόματι, οὐδὲ μαχαίρῃ ἀνδρὸς Ἑλληνος χρήσεται, οὐδ' ὀβελοῖσι, οὐδὲ λέβητι, οὐδὲ κρέως καθαροῦ βοῦς διατετμημένου Ἑλληνικῇ μαχαίρῃ γεύσεται. θάππουσι δὲ τοὺς ἀποθνήσκοντας βοῦς τρόπον τόνδε· τὰς μὲν θηλέας ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἀπιάσι, τοὺς δὲ ἔρσενας κατορύσσουσιν ἕκαστοι ἐν τοῖσι προαστείοις, τὸ κέρας τὸ ἕτερον ἢ καὶ ἀμφότερα ὑπερέχοντα, σημητὸν εἵνεκεν. ἐπεὰν δὲ σαπῇ, καὶ προσήῃ ὁ τεταγμένος χρόνος, ἀπικνέεται ἐς ἐκάστην πόλιν βάρης<sup>110</sup> ἐκ τῆς Προσωπίτιδος καλυμένης νήσου· ἡ δ' ἔστι μὲν ἐν τῷ Δέλτα, περίμετρον δὲ αὐτῆς εἰσὶ σχοῖνοι ἑννέα· ἐν ταύτῃ ὦν τῇ Προσωπίτιδι νήσῳ ἔνεισι μὲν καὶ ἄλλαι πόλεις συχναί, ἐκ τῆς δὲ αἰ βάρης παραγίνονται ἀναιρησόμεναι τὰ ὁστέα τῶν βοῶν οὖνομα τῇ πόλει Ἀτάρβηχης<sup>111</sup>. ἐν δ'

When dead, they are thrown into the river, but the male animals are buried.

<sup>110</sup> *βάρης*. This is a local Egyptian term, as appears from § 96, where the mode of constructing these vessels is described. Hence the Egyptian herald in *ÆSCHYLUS* most appropriately adopts it: *βαλνεν κελύω βάρην εἰς ἀμφίστροφον* (*Suppl.* 882). *JABLONSKY* connects the word etymologically with the Coptic *Ber*, or *Bar*, which is equivalent to *πλέκειν*. *Bir* is, he says, the translation of *στυρίδας* in *MARK* viii. 8.

<sup>a</sup> ἐκ τῆς Προσωπίτιδος καλυμένης νήσου. The site of this island, *Proso-pitis*, is by no means, to me, satisfactorily made out. It has been considered to be bounded by the Canopic and the Sebennytic branches of the Nile, and on the north by a canal joining the two. But if it is identical with the Προσωπίτης νομός of *STRABO* (xvii. p. 410), it ought, apparently, rather to be put to the south than the north of the Ἀθριβίτης νομός, and the site of this last seems decided by the ruins (still bearing the name *Atreeb*) which are the remains of the ancient Athribis. These are on the eastern side of the Sebennytic channel. It seems not impossible that *Atarbechis* and *Athribis* are two different names of the same city, and that the Ἀθριβίτης νομός and Προσωπίτης νομός are likewise nearly, if not altogether, identical. If *Jablonsky's* interpretation of the name (for which see the next note) is correct, nothing is more natural than that there should be many duplicates of it. See note 181, below.

<sup>111</sup> Ἀτάρβηχης. This name in the

Egyptian language is equivalent to Ἀφροδιτόπουλις, the word *Baki* signifying "a city" in Coptic (*JABLONSKY*, *sub v.*, who considers that the true reading here should be Ἀτάρβηκίς). The root Ἀτάρ is doubtless etymologically identical with Ἀθῦρ and Ἀθῶρ, which, according to *HESYCHIUS*, both signified in Egyptian "a cow," and was the name given to the third month of the year. *JABLONSKY*, however, considered that the name did not signify "a cow," except when that animal was regarded as the symbol of the goddesses. But although *Athor* is the Egyptian *Aphrodite*, so as to be identified with her in the text, there were some characteristics about her which made *ΜΑΝΕΤΗΟ* identify her with *Here*. If *Athribis* and *Atarbechis* are, as seems probable, the same places, perhaps the original notion of *Athor* may be explained by considering her as uniting the characteristics of the *Derceto* (or *Atergatis*) of Syria, the *Here* of ante-Dorian Mycenæ, the *Artemis* of Ephesus, and the *Nûs* of the mythology developed in the parabasis of *Aristophanes's Birds*, vv. 685—698. Compare the description of the Sardinian goddess in the note on v. 102, and see notes on § 67 and § 141, below. *PLUTARCH* (*De Is. et Os.* p. 374) says that *Athyri* is one of the Egyptian names of *Isis*, and signifies οἶκος Ὠρου κόσμος. This notion is quite in harmony with *Athyr*, "the sacred cow." See note on iii. 28, and note 119, above.

αὐτῇ Ἀφροδίτης ἱρὸν ἅγιον ἵδρυται. ἐκ ταύτης τῆς πόλιος πλα-  
νέονται πολλοὶ, ἄλλοι ἐς ἄλλας πόλεις, ἀνορύξαντες δὲ τὰ ὅστέα  
ἀπάγουσι καὶ θάπτουσι ἐς ἓνα χώρον πάντες. κατὰ ταῦτα δὲ  
τοῖσι βουσί καὶ τᾶλλα κτήνεα θάπτουσι ἀποθνήσκοντα· καὶ γὰρ  
περὶ ταῦτα οὕτω σφι νενομοθέτηται· κτείνουσι γὰρ δὴ οὐδὲ ταῦτα.

“Ὅσοι μὲν δὴ Διὸς Θηβαίεος<sup>122</sup> ἵδρυται ἱρὸν, ἢ νομοῦ τοῦ 42

Θηβαίου εἰσὶ, οὗτοι μὲν νυν πάντες ὧν ἀπεχόμενοι αἰγας θύουσι.

(θεοὺς γὰρ δὴ οὐ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἅπαντες ὁμοίως Αἰγύπτῳ σέβονται,  
πλὴν Ἰσιός τε καὶ Ὀσίριος, τὸν δὴ Διόνυσον εἶναι λέγουσι<sup>123</sup>.

τούτους δὲ ὁμοίως ἅπαντες σέβονται.) ὅσοι δὲ τοῦ Μένδητος

ἐκτενται ἱρὸν, ἢ νομοῦ τοῦ Μενδησίου εἰσὶ, οὗτοι δὲ αἰγῶν ἀπ-  
εχόμενοι δις θύουσι. Θηβαῖοι μὲν νυν, καὶ ὅσοι διὰ τούτους<sup>124</sup> ὧν

ἀπέχονται, διὰ τὰδε λέγουσι τὸν νόμον τόνδε σφι τεθῆναι· “Ἡρα-  
κλέα θελῆσαι πάντως ἰδέσθαι τὸν Δία, καὶ τὸν οὐκ ἐθέλειν ὀφθῆναι

ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ τέλος δὲ, ἐπεὶ τε λιπαρέειν τὸν Ἡρακλέα, τὸν Δία

μηχανήσασθαι κριὸν ἐκδείραντα, προέχεσθαι<sup>125</sup> τε τὴν κεφαλὴν

ἀποταμόντα τοῦ κριοῦ καὶ ἐνδύντα τὸ νάκος οὕτω οἱ ἑαυτὸν ἐπι-  
δέξαι.” ἀπὸ τούτου κριοπρόσωπον τοῦ Διὸς τῶγαλμα ποιεῖσι

Αἰγύπτῳ· ἀπὸ δὲ Αἰγυπτίων Ἀμμώνιοι, εἶντες Αἰγυπτίων τε

καὶ Αἰθιοπῶν ἄποικοι, καὶ φωνὴν μεταξὺ ἀμφοτέρων νομίζοντες·

δοκέειν δ’ ἐμοί, καὶ τὸ ὄνομα Ἀμμώνιοι ἀπὸ τοῦδὲ σφι τὴν

ἐπωνυμίην<sup>126</sup> ἐποιήσαντο· Ἀμοῦν<sup>127</sup> γὰρ Αἰγύπτῳ καλέουσι τὸν

<sup>122</sup> *Θηβαίεος*. The manuscripts S, V, a, b, c, d have this form; others, *Θηβαίου*. See above, note 611 on l. 182.

<sup>123</sup> τὸν δὴ Διόνυσον εἶναι λέγουσι. This Dionysus, who, as Osiris, was the common object of worship to all the Egyptians, was not the god of the vine-dressers, but the deity corresponding to the *Zagreus* of the Cretan mythology, or the *Adonis* of Cyprus (see PLUTARCH, *Sympos.* iv. 5). But, in another relation, Osiris was the wandering Sun (see JABLONSKY, *Pantheon Egypt.* ii. 1, § 8). In this Herodotus appears to refer to him below (§ 132). Subsequently to the formation of Alexandria, a purely astronomical interpretation was given to the legend of Adonis; and in later times still almost every deity of the old mythology was referred to either sun or moon (see MACROBIUS, *Saturnal.* i. 21).

<sup>124</sup> διὰ τούτους. S and b have διὰ

τούτων. These words should not be translated by so definite a phrase as “after the example of these,” but “through these.” They would include the case of a colony which brought its religious ritual with it like any other of its customs. It seems uncertain whether Herodotus heard the tradition he relates at first-hand from the Thebans themselves; and hence, perhaps, the reason for adding the second clause, ὅσοι . . . ἀπέχονται. See note 58, above.

<sup>125</sup> προέχεσθαι. S, V, b, d have προεκθέσθαι. The clause προέχεσθαι . . . ἐπιδέξαι is to be considered as an *epexegetis* of μηχανήσασθαι.

<sup>126</sup> τὴν ἐπωνυμίην. These words seem superfluous, but perhaps may be explained by considering ἐπωνυμίην ποιήσασθαι as nearly equivalent to ἐπονομάσασθαι. See note 132, below.

<sup>127</sup> Ἀμοῦν. By the way in which the

*Isis and Osiris (Dionysus) are the only deities common to all Egypt. Peculiar scruples entertained by the several priest-hoods.*

Δία. τοὺς δὲ κριοὺς οὐ θύουσι Θηβαῖοι, ἀλλ' εἰσὶ σφι ἱροὶ διὰ τοῦτο· μὴ δὲ ἡμέρη τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ, ἐν ὁρτῇ τοῦ Διὸς, κριὼν ἕνα κατακόψαντες καὶ ἀποδείραντες κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐνδύουσι τᾷγαλμα τοῦ Διὸς, καὶ ἔπειτα ἄλλο ἄγαλμα Ἡρακλῆος προσάγουσι πρὸς αὐτό· ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες, τύπτονται οἱ περὶ τὸ ἱρὸν ἅπαντες τὸν κριὼν, καὶ ἔπειτα ἐν ἱρῇ θήκῃ θάπτουσι αὐτόν.

43

*Heracles*  
one of the  
twelve  
deities.  
His name  
passed over  
into Hellas  
from Egypt,  
not to Egypt  
from Hellas.

Ἡρακλῆος δὲ περὶ τόνδε τὸν λόγον ἤκουσα, ὅτι εἴη τῶν δυνάδεκα θεῶν τοῦ ἐτέρου δὲ περὶ Ἡρακλῆος τὸν Ἕλληνας οὔδασι, οὐδαμῇ Αἰγύπτου ἐδυνάσθην ἀκούσαι· καὶ μὴν ὅτι γε οὐ παρ' Ἑλλήνων ἔλαβον τὸ οὐνομα τοῦ Ἡρακλῆος<sup>128</sup> Αἰγύπτιοι, ἀλλὰ Ἕλληνας μᾶλλον παρ' Αἰγυπτίων, καὶ Ἑλλήνων οὗτοι οἱ θέμενοι τῷ Ἀμφιτρύωνος γόνυ τοῦνομα Ἡρακλέα, πολλὰ μοι καὶ ἄλλα τεκμήριά ἐστι τοῦτο οὕτω ἔχει, ἐν δὲ καὶ τόδε, ὅτι τε τοῦ Ἡρακλῆος τοῦτου οἱ γονεὲς ἀμφότεροι ἦσαν, Ἀμφιτρύων καὶ Ἀλκμήνη, γεγονότες τὸ ἀνέκαθεν ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου καὶ διότι Αἰγύπτιοι οὔτε Ποσειδῶνος οὔτε Διοσκουρων τὰ οὐνόματά φασι εἶδέναι, οὐδέ σφι θεοὶ οὗτοι ἐν τοῖσι ἄλλοισι θεοῖσι ἀποδεδέχεται. καὶ μὴν εἴ γε παρ' Ἑλλήνων ἔλαβον οὐνομά τευ δαίμονος, τούτων οὐκ ἦκιστα ἀλλὰ μάλιστα ἔμελλον μνήμην ἔξειν, εἴπερ καὶ τότε ναυτιλίῃσι ἐχρέωντο\*, καὶ ἦσαν Ἑλλήνων τινὲς ναυτίλοι, ὥς ἔλπομαι τε καὶ ἐμὴ γνώμη αἰρέει· ὥστε τούτων ἂν καὶ μᾶλλον τῶν θεῶν τὰ οὐνόματα ἐξεπιστέατο Αἰγύπτιοι ἢ τοῦ Ἡρακλῆος. ἀλλὰ τις ἀρχαῖός ἐστι θεὸς Αἰγυπτίοισι Ἡρακλῆς· ὥς δὲ αὐτοὶ<sup>129</sup> λέγουσι, ἑτέα ἐστι ἑπτὰ κισχίλια καὶ μύρια ἐς Ἀμασιν βασιλεύσαντα, ἐπεὶ τε ἐκ τῶν



author puts it, one might suppose that the Egyptian word in the nominative case was Ἄμοις. But *Amoun* is the real form, which, indeed, is evidenced by the Hellenic equivalent Ἄμμων.

<sup>128</sup> τὸ οὐνομα τοῦ Ἡρακλῆος. This expression is a striking evidence of the colour which Hellenic channels gave to the facts received by the author. There is no Egyptian name which in the least degree corresponds to *Heracles*; those of the deities which are identified with him being *Sem* or *Som*, and *Chon* (JABLONSKY, *Pantheon Egypt.* ii. c. 3, §§ 3, 4). The only way, therefore, in which a sense can be attached to the author's remark, is to consider that he looks upon the form in which the Egyptian mythology was cast

by the naturalized Greeks of his time as genuine Egyptian, losing sight (except in a few instances) of the fact of this being a mere adapted translation. See note 338 on i. 95, and note 129, below.

\* ἐχρέωντο. The subject of this word would be Αἰγύπτιοι. There is no reason whatever to believe that the Egyptians themselves ever were maritime, but see note 588 on i. 174.

<sup>129</sup> αὐτοί. If these were the real aboriginal Egyptians, it would be strange that they should select the reign of *Amasis* as a kind of epoch; but if we look upon them as naturalized foreigners, this is not wonderful, that reign being the one in which these first formed an important class (ii. 178). See note 134, below.

ὁκτὼ θεῶν οἱ δικάδεκα θεοὶ ἐγένοντο, τῶν Ἡρακλέα ἓνα νομίζουσι.  
 Καὶ θέλων δὲ τούτων πέρι σαφές τι εἶδέναι ἐξ ὧν οἶόν τε ἦν, 44  
 ἔπλευσα καὶ ἐς Τύρον τῆς Φοινίκης, πυνθανόμενος αὐτόθι εἶναι <sup>The writer's visits to the Heracleum at Tyre,</sup>  
 ἱρὸν Ἡρακλέος ἁγίον<sup>130</sup>. καὶ ἶδον πλουσίως κατεσκευασμένον  
 ἄλλοις τε πολλοῖσι ἀναθήμασι, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ ἦσαν στῆλαι δύο, ἡ  
 μὲν χρυσοῦ ἀπέφθου, ἡ δὲ σμαράγδου λίθου λάμποντος τὰς νύκτας  
 μέγας<sup>131</sup>. ἐς λόγους δὲ ἔλθων τοῖσι ἱερεῦσι τοῦ θεοῦ εἰρόμην  
 ὁκόσος χρόνος εἴη ἐξ οὗ σφί τοι ἱρὸν ἰδρυται; εὗρον δὲ οὐδὲ τούτους  
 τοῖσι Ἕλλησι συμφερομένους· ἔφασαν γὰρ ἅμα Τύρῃ οἰκίζομένη  
 καὶ τὸ ἱρὸν τοῦ θεοῦ ἰδρυθῆναι· εἶναι δὲ ἔτεα ἀφ' οὗ Τύρον  
 οἰκέουσι τριηκόσια καὶ δισχιλία. εἶδον δὲ ἐν τῇ Τύρῃ καὶ ἄλλο  
 ἱρὸν Ἡρακλέος, ἐπωνυμίην ἔχοντος Θασίου εἶναι<sup>132</sup>. ἀπικόμην δὲ  
 καὶ ἐς Θάσον, ἐν τῇ εὗρον ἱρὸν Ἡρακλέος ὑπὸ Φοινίκων ἰδρυμένον, <sup>and at Thasos,</sup>  
 οἱ κατ' Εὐρώπης ζήτησιν ἐκπλώσαντες Θάσον ἐκτίσαν καὶ ταῦτα <sup>induce him to believe both in a god and a hero called Heracles.</sup>  
 καὶ πέντε γενεῆσι<sup>a</sup> ἀνδρῶν πρότερά ἐστι ἢ τὸν Ἀμφιτρύωνος  
 Ἡρακλέα ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι γενέσθαι. τὰ μὲν νυν ἱστορημένα δηλοῖ  
 σαφέως παλαιὸν θεὸν τὸν Ἡρακλέα εἶναι· καὶ δοκέουσι δέ μοι  
 οὔτοι ὀρθότατα Ἕλλήνων ποιεῖν οἱ διὰ Ἡράκλεια ἰδρυσάμενοι  
 ἔκτενται, καὶ τῷ μὲν ὡς ἀθανάτῳ Ὀλυμπίῳ δὲ ἐπωνυμίην θύουσι,

<sup>130</sup> ἱρὸν Ἡρακλέος ἁγίον. The native name of the Tyrian Heracles was *Melkart*, of which word the two elements are *Melec*, or Moloch (dominus), and *Karta*, or Karta (urbs), which latter appears in *Carthago* and in *Carteia*, the Carthaginian colony in Spain. It seems likely that the Phœnician *Melkart* (*dominus urbis*) the tutelary deity of Tyre, being transported as the guardian of the trading vessels of his subjects to Corinth, there became the local *Meliceria*,—who betrays his origin by his character as the patron of navigators, the light in which the people of the country to which he came would naturally view him.

<sup>131</sup> μέγας. This is the reading of all the MSS, but must certainly be corrupt.

<sup>132</sup> ἐπωνυμίην ἔχοντος Θασίου εἶναι. This is considered as an instance of the pleonastic use of *εἶναι*, but I should rather be disposed to explain the construction in a different way, and to call *εἶναι* the infinitive after the composite participle *ἐπωνυμίην ἔχοντος*. If for these two words *λεγόμενου* were substituted,

the construction would run perfectly regular, and *ἐπωνυμίην ἔχειν* is in fact a mere special case of *λέγεσθαι*. The Tyrian Heracles was *said* (a fact appearing from his surname) to be a Thasian. This is a species of the so-called construction *πρὸς τὸ σημαίνον*, which may be described as the using a combination of words which in the aggregate are the equivalent of one verb, in the regimen that verb would require. See note 126, above. Several examples from the Tragedians are given by SEIDLER (ad *Troad.* 338). The following passage from PLATO is an example of the converse procedure, *ἐπωνομάσθη* being used in the regimen of *ὄνομα ἐπετέθη*. *Ἐπιθυμία δὲ ἀλόγως ἐλκοῦσης ἐπὶ ἡδονὰς καὶ ἀρετῆς ἐν ἡμῖν, τῇ ἀρχῇ ὅταν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐπωνομάσθη.* "But when desire drags us against our reason after pleasure, and has become the master-principle within us, to this domination has been attached the name *"ἔβρις."* (*Phædr.* § 30.)

<sup>a</sup> πέντε γενεῆσι. See note on § 145, below.

45  
Many foolish legends current among the Greeks : one of Heracles in Egypt.

τῷ δὲ ἐτέρῳ ὡς ἡρωϊ ἐναγίζουσι. Λέγουσι δὲ πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα ἀνεπισκέπτως οἱ "Ἕλληνες" εὐθέως δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ ὅδε ὁ μῦθος ἐστὶ τὸν περὶ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους λέγουσι ὡς αὐτὸν ἀπικόμενον ἐς Αἴγυπτον στέφαντες οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι, ὑπὸ πομπῆς ἐξήγον ὡς θύσαντες τῷ Διὶ τὸν δὲ τέως μὲν ἡσυχίην ἔχειν ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τῷ βαιμῶ κατάρχοντο, ἐς ἄλλην τραπόμενον πάντας σφέας καταφονεῖσαι. ἐμοὶ μὲν νυν δοκέουσι, ταῦτα λέγοντες, τῆς Αἰγυπτίων φύσις καὶ τῶν νόμων πάμπαν ἀπείρως ἔχειν οἱ "Ἕλληνες" τοῖσι γὰρ οὐδὲ κτήνεια ὅση θύειν ἐστὶ, χωρὶς ὄτων<sup>133</sup>, καὶ ἐρσένων βοῶν καὶ μόσχων ὅσοι ἂν καθαροὶ ἔωσι, καὶ χηνῶν, κῶς ἂν οὔτοι ἀνθρώπους θύοιεν\* ; ἔτι δὲ ἓνα ἔοντα τὸν Ἡρακλέα, καὶ ἔτι ἄνθρωπον, (ὡς δὴ φασι,) κῶς φύσιν ἔχει πολλὰς μυριάδας φονεῖσαι ; καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων τοσαῦτα ἡμῖν εἰποῦσι καὶ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἡρώων εὐμένεια εἶη.

46  
The Mendesians consider the goat a sacred animal.

Τὰς δὲ δὴ αἰγας καὶ τοὺς τράγους τῶνδε εἵνεκα οὐ θύουσι Αἰγυπτῖων οἱ εἰρημένοι. τὸν Πᾶνα τῶν ὀκτῶ θεῶν λογιζονται εἶναι οἱ Μενδήσιοι. τοὺς δὲ ὀκτῶ θεοὺς τούτους προτέρους τῶν δωδέκα θεῶν φασὶ γενέσθαι. γράφουσὶ τε δὴ καὶ γλύφουσιν οἱ ζωγράφοι καὶ οἱ ἀγαλματοποιοὶ τοῦ Πανὸς τῷγαλμα, κατὰπερ "Ἕλληνες, αἰγοπρόσωπον καὶ τραγασκελέα"<sup>134</sup>. οὗ τι τοιοῦτον νομίζοντες εἶναι

<sup>133</sup> ὄτων. This is a conjectural emendation of Valcknaer's. One MS has ὄω, and all the rest ὄων.

\* κῶς ἂν οὔτοι ἀνθρώπους θύοιεν ; In spite of this argument, MANETHO (whose antiquarian knowledge was very great) positively declared that the Egyptians had been in the habit of sacrificing such men as were of a red complexion to "Ilithyia ;" that they called them ἄνδρας Τυφονίους, it being the colour they attributed to Typhon ; and that they were marked beforehand like the oxen described above (§ 38). This custom prevailed in Heliopolis, and was put a stop to by King Amosis. (*Plutarch. et Porphyr.* quoted by JABLONSKY, *Panth. Egypt.* iii. 3, § 7.) DIODORUS SICULUS (i. 88) says that these victims were offered on "the tomb of Osiris," which being called *Busiris* in the Egyptian language gave rise to the Hellenic legend of the tyrant slain by Heracles, a legend of which that in the text is a slight variation. It seems probable that the *Ilithyia* of Manetho is the Isis worshipped at Busiris (below, § 59), and that in identifying her with Demeter we

must conceive a Demeter-Brins or Persephone, to whom such offerings would not be inappropriate. Nevertheless, it is not impossible that Manetho's statement was founded on a misinterpretation of certain pictorial groupes, which are said by Wilkinson to symbolize conquest.

<sup>134</sup> γράφουσιν . . . τραγασκελέα. WILKINSON (*Ancient Egyptians*, i. p. 260) denies that this can be said of the representations of any one of the Egyptian gods whatever. The Priapeian Osiris was called *Chemmo* or *Khem*, and from the description given of the image of Pan by STEPHANUS BYZANTINUS (*sub v. Πανὸς πόλις*), Wilkinson conceives that he had this deity in his eye. Wilkinson also denies the truth of the aspersion contained in the latter part of the paragraph ; but the allusion in the Mosaic law (*Levit.* xviii. 23) taken together with a fragment of PINDAR (*ap. Strabon.* xvii. p. 440) confirms Herodotus's statement. Nevertheless, it is possible that the Egyptians here bear the burden of exotic vices. Compare i. 135, and see notes 128 and 129 on § 43, above.



μιν, ἀλλ' ὁμοῖον τοῖσι ἄλλοισι θεοῖσι· ὅτεν δὲ εὔνεκα τοιούτων  
γράφουσι αὐτὸν, οὐ μοι ἡδὺν ἔστι λέγειν σέβονται δὲ πάντας  
τοὺς ἀγας οἱ Μενδήσιοι, καὶ μᾶλλον τοὺς ἔρσενας τῶν θηλέων,  
καὶ τούτων οἱ αἰπόλοι<sup>135</sup> τιμὰς μέζοντας ἔχουσι· ἐκ δὲ τούτων εἰς  
μάλιστα, ὅστις ἐπεὰν ἀποθάνῃ, πένθος μέγα παντὶ τῷ Μενδησίῳ  
νομῷ τίθεται· καλέεται δὲ ὃ τε τράγος καὶ ὁ Πᾶν Αἰγυπτιστὶ  
Μένδης· ἐγένετο δ' ἐν τῷ νομῷ τούτῳ ἐπ' ἐμεῦ τοῦτο τὸ τέρας·  
γυναικὶ τράγος ἐμίσητο ἀναφανδόν· τοῦτο ἐς ἐπίδειξιν<sup>b</sup> ἀνθρώ-  
πων ἀπῆκετο.

Signifi-  
cation of  
the word  
*Mendes*.

\*Τὴν δὲ Αἰγύπτιοι μαρὸν ἡγνῆται θηρίον εἶναι· καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἦν 47  
τις ψαύση αὐτῶν παριῶν ὑδς, αὐτοῖσι ἱματίοις ἀπ' ὧν ἔβαψε  
ἐκωντὸν, βὰς ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμόν· τοῦτο δὲ οἱ συβῶται, ἔοντες Αἰγύ-  
πτιοι ἐγγενέες, ἐς ἱρὸν οὐδὲν τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἐσέρχονται μόνου  
πάντων οὐδὲ σφὶ ἐκδίδοσθαι θυγατέρα οὐδεὶς ἐθέλει οὐδ' ἄγεσθαι ἐξ  
αὐτῶν· ἀλλ' ἐκδιδόσθαι τε οἱ συβῶται καὶ ἀγέσθαι ἐξ ἀλλήλων<sup>136</sup>.  
τοῖσι μὲν νυν ἄλλοισι θεοῖσι θύειν ὥς οὐ δικαιοῦσι Αἰγύπτιοι,  
Σελήνῃ δὲ καὶ Διονύσῳ μόνουσι, τοῦ αὐτοῦ χρόνου, τῇ αὐτῇ πα-  
σελήνῃ, τοὺς ὥς θύσαντες πατέονται τῶν κρεῶν· διότι δὲ τοὺς ὥς  
ἐν μὲν τῇσι ἄλλῃσι ὀρτῇσι ἀπεστινυγῆκασιν ἐν δὲ ταύτῃ θύουσι, ἔστι  
μὲν λόγος περὶ αὐτοῦ ὑπ' Αἰγυπτίων λεγόμενος· ἐμοὶ μέντοι ἐπι-  
σταμένῳ οὐκ εὐπρεπέστερός ἐστι λέγεσθαι· θυσίῃ δὲ ἦδε τῶν ἰῶν  
τῇ Σελήνῃ ποιέεται· ἐπεὰν θύσῃ, τὴν οὐρὴν ἄκρην καὶ τὸν σπλήνα  
καὶ τὸν ἐπίπλοον συνθεῖς ὁμοῦ, κατ' ὧν ἐκάλυψε πάσῃ τοῦ κτήνεος  
τῇ πικελῇ τῇ περὶ τὴν νηδὺν γυνομένη, καὶ ἔπειτα καταγίξει πυρὶ·

Detestation  
in which  
swine and  
swineherds  
are held.

The animal  
is sacrificed  
on one festi-  
val only,  
conjointly  
to *Selene*  
and *Dio-  
nyseus*;

<sup>135</sup> οἱ αἰπόλοι. This expression has caused much perplexity, and Schæfer alters it from conjecture into οἱ κόλοι. I am inclined to think that the *leading goats* of the several flocks are intended by the term, which is perhaps a literal translation of an Egyptian word used in the sense of VIRGIL's *Vir gregis* (*Bucol.* vii. 7). Nor would it be wonderful that, in a locality where the deity was symbolized by this creature, there should be a kind of animal hierarchy culminating in that individual which was preserved as the image of the god. See § 69, below.

<sup>a</sup> Αἰγυπτιστὶ Μένδης. It is said that there is nothing in the *Coptic* to confirm this assertion.

<sup>b</sup> ἐπίδειξιν. This is the reading of the majority of the MSS, including S. Gais-

ford, on the authority of K, P, adopts ἐπίδειξιν, which is undoubtedly more in accordance with the usage of Herodotus. But see note on vi. 61, δειξαι.

<sup>136</sup> ἐκδιδόσθαι τε . . . καὶ ἀγέσθαι ἐξ ἀλλήλων. The more correct and technical expression for a father who gives his daughter in marriage is ἐκδιδόναι, in the active voice. Thus THUCYDIDES (viii. 21) has τοῖς γεγεμένοις μετεδίδωσαν ὅτε ἄλλον οὐδενός, ὅτε ἐκδιδόναι ὅτε ἀγαγέσθαι παρ' ἐκείνων, and our author (v. 92), ἐδίδωσαν δὲ καὶ ἡγοντο ἐξ ἀλλήλων. But ἐκδιδόσθαι, meaning "to procure the making of the marriage," may be fitly used where, as here, the general custom, and not the act of a particular individual, is referred to. For the form ἐκδιδόσθαι, see note 177, below.

48

and so is  
a pig to  
Dionysus on  
the eve of  
his festival,  
which in  
most other  
respects is  
like the  
Hellenic.

τὰ δὲ ἄλλα κρέα σιτεύονται ἐν τῇ πανσελήνῃ ἐν τῇ ἂν τὰ ἱρὰ  
θύσωσι· ἐν ἄλλῃ δὲ ἡμέρῃ οὐκ ἂν ἔτι γευσάλατο· οἱ δὲ πένητες  
αὐτῶν ὑπ' ἀσθενείης βίου σταιτίνης πλάσαντες ὅς καὶ ὀπτήσαντες  
ταύτας θύουσι. Τῷ δὲ Διονύσῳ, τῆς ὀρτῆς τῇ δορπίῃ, χοῖρον πρὸ  
τῶν θυρέων σφάξας ἕκαστος, διδοῖ ἀποφέρεισθαι τὸν χοῖρον αὐτῷ  
τῷ ἀποδομένῳ τῶν συβωτέων. τὴν δὲ ἄλλην ἀνάγουσι ὀρτὴν τῷ  
Διονύσῳ οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι, πλὴν χορῶν, κατὰ ταῦτα σχεδὸν πάντα  
Ἑλλήσι <sup>137</sup>. ἀντὶ δὲ φαλλῶν, ἄλλα σφί ἐστι ἐξηρημένα ὅσον τε  
πηχυαῖα ἀγάλματα νευρόσπαστα τὰ περιφορέουσι κατὰ κόμας  
γυναῖκες, νεύον τὸ αἰδοῖον οὐ πολλῶ τέφ' ἔλασσον ἐὼν τοῦ ἄλλου  
σώματος· προηγέεται δὲ αὐλὸς, αἱ δὲ ἔπονται ἀεῖδουσαι τὸν Διό-  
νυσον. διότι δὲ μέζον τε ἔχει τὸ αἰδοῖον, καὶ κινέει μῦθον τοῦ  
σώματος, ἔστι λόγος περὶ αὐτοῦ ἱρὸς λεγόμενος. Ἡδὴ ἂν δοκέει  
μοι Μελάμπους ὁ Ἀμυθέωνος τῆς θυσίης ταύτης οὐκ εἶναι ἀδαῆς,  
ἀλλ' ἔμπειρος. Ἑλλήσι γὰρ δὴ Μελάμπους ἐστὶ ὁ ἐξηγησά-  
μενος <sup>138</sup> τοῦ Διονύσου τό τε οὖνομα καὶ τὴν θυσίην καὶ τὴν πομ-  
πὴν τοῦ φαλλοῦ. ἀτρεκέως μὲν οὐ πάντα συλλαβὼν τὸν λόγον  
ἔφηνε <sup>139</sup>. ἀλλ' οἱ ἐπυγνόμενοι τοῦτ' ὀσοφισταὶ <sup>140</sup> μεζόνως ἐξέφην-

49

Melampus  
not unac-  
quainted  
with the  
Egyptian  
rites, from  
which he  
adopted the  
Hellenic

<sup>137</sup> κατὰ ταῦτα σχεδὸν πάντα Ἑλλήσι. The κόμας, or the riotous procession afterwards called *κομασία* by the Alexandrine Greeks, differed in no respect from the parallel proceedings in Europe. SYNE-SIUS (quoted by Sturz, *De Dialecto Aegyptiaca*, p. 103) describes some of these processions in which the attendants of the deities went mopping and mowing with masks of hawks, ibises, or dogs, just like what may be seen in modern Rome at the Carnival. It seems not unlikely that this practice was the origin of the animal choruses in the old Attic comedy (κάμω φθῆ). See note 73 on i. 21.

<sup>138</sup> ὁ ἐξηγησάμενος, "he who set forth." The ἐξηγητής set forth the prescribed form of ritual, the "way" in which the deity was to be invoked, and the essential observances which were necessary in order to render him propitious. It was the consciousness of not knowing this which induced the Samaritans to send to Babylon for a Jewish priest "to teach them the manner of the God of the land" (2 Kings xvii. 27). In Acts xvii. 18 our Version renders *καταγγεῖν* as if it had been *ἐξηγήτης*, "a setter forth," which would have been a proper phrase had the apostle

prescribed a ritual, instead of relating a history.

<sup>139</sup> ἔφηνε, "revealed." See the note on vi. 135.

<sup>140</sup> σοφισταί. See notes 95 and 99 on i. 29 and 30. The σοφὸς or σοφιστής of the early times was in many cases a hierophant; or, to speak more accurately, σοφία was considered to include the knowledge both of human and divine things. Thus ISOCHRATES (*Laud. Busir.* § 28) says of Pythagoras, who may be considered as the representative of ethico-political science in its earliest form, that he ἀφικόμενος εἰς Αἴγυπτον καὶ μαθητὴς ἐκείνων (i. e. τῶν ἱερῶν) γενόμενος τὴν τε ἄλλην φιλοσοφίαν πρῶτος εἰς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐκόμισε, καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς θυσίας καὶ τὰς ἀγιστείας τὰς ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἐπιφανέστερον τῶν ἄλλων ἐσπούδασεν. See too what Herodotus (iv. 95) relates of Zamolxis to have done after having been in the society of Pythagoras. Chilo the Lacedæmonian, one of the seven sages, is also represented by him as advising Hippocrates, the father of Pisisstratus, in a question of hieromancy (i. 59). And Epimenides the Cretan, who was especially notorious as a mystagogue, was placed by some, instead of Periander,

ναν τὸν δ' ὦν φαλλὸν τὸν τῷ Διονύσῳ πεμπόμενον Μελάμπους Dionysiac  
phallo-  
phoria.  
ἐστὶ ὁ κατηγησάμενος<sup>141</sup>. καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου μαθόντες ποιεῦσι τὰ  
ποιεῦσι "Ἕλληνες. ἐγὼ μὲν νῦν φημι Μελάμποδα γεγόμενον  
ἄνδρα σοφὸν, μαντικὴν τε ἐνυτῷ συστήσαι, καὶ πυθόμενον ἀπ'  
Αἰγύπτου ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ἐσηγήσασθαι "Ἑλλῃσι καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν  
Διόνυσον, ὀλίγα αὐτῶν παραλλάξαντα· οὐ γὰρ δὴ συμπεσέειν γε  
φήσω<sup>142</sup> τὰ τε ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ποιεύμενα τῷ θεῷ καὶ τὰ ἐν τοῖσι  
"Ἑλλῃσι ὁμότροπα<sup>143</sup> γὰρ ἂν ἦν τοῖσι "Ἑλλῃσι, καὶ οὐ νεωστὶ  
ἐσαγμένα. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ φήσω ὅκως Αἰγύπτιοι παρ' Ἑλλήνων  
ἔλαβον ἢ τοῦτο ἢ ἄλλο κού τι νόμιον πιθέσθαι δέ μοι δοκεί  
μάλιστα Μελάμπους τὰ περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον παρὰ Κάδμου τε τοῦ  
Τυρίου, καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ ἐκ Φοινίκης ἀπικομένων ἐς τὴν νῦν  
Βοιωτὴν καλεομένην χώραν.

Σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ πάντα τὰ οὐνόματα<sup>144</sup> τῶν θεῶν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου 50  
ἐλήλυθε ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. διότι μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τῶν βαρβάρων ἦκει, The Hel-  
lenic names  
of the gods  
are partly  
Egyptian  
and partly  
Pelaagian.  
πυθνανόμενος οὕτω εὐρίσκω ἓν δοκέω δ' ὦν μάλιστα ἀπ' Αἰγύ-  
πτου ἀπῆχθαι. ὅτι γὰρ δὴ μὴ Ποσειδέωνος καὶ Διοσκουῶν, ὥς  
καὶ πρότερόν μοι ταῦτα εἶρηται, καὶ "Ἡρης<sup>145</sup>, καὶ Ἰστίης, καὶ  
Θέμιος<sup>146</sup>, καὶ Χαρίτων, καὶ Νηρηίδων, τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν Αἰγυ-  
πτίοις αἰεὶ κοτε τὰ οὐνόματά ἐστι ἐν τῇ χώρῃ. λέγω δὲ τὰ  
λέγουσι αὐτοὶ Αἰγύπτιοι. τῶν δὲ οὐ φασι θεῶν γινώσκειν τὰ

among the number of the seven sages. (PLUTARCH, *Solon*. § 12.) Hence it is not surprising that the mythical ritual of a state was a most important point of public policy. See the remarks of STRABO on the subject (i. c. 2, pp. 26—29), and compare the account of what Clisthenes did at Sicyon (v. 67) and his relative at Athens (v. 69), with the notes on those passages.

<sup>141</sup> ὁ κατηγησάμενος. The MSS vary between this word, ἀπηγησάμενος, and ἐξηγησάμενος, but the majority support the text. The difference between κατηγησάμενος and ἀπηγησάμενος is that between directing the ceremony in question personally and doing it by a general description. See note on vii. 183.

<sup>142</sup> οὐ γὰρ δὴ συμπεσέειν γε φήσω. "For undoubtedly I will not allow that there was a mere coincidence between," &c. &c.

<sup>143</sup> ὁμότροπα. This word seems to be used in the sense of "uniform." The

argument of the writer appears to be that an accidental coincidence would have produced a uniformity in the Hellenic Dionysiac ritual; and on that hypothesis there would be no trace of any portion of it any where having been recently introduced. But the sentence is very obscure, and slovenly if not corrupt.

<sup>144</sup> πάντα τὰ οὐνόματα. See notes on § 43. The manuscripts S and V have πάντων τῶν θεῶν τὰ οὐνόματα.

<sup>145</sup> καὶ "Ἡρης. MANETHO, in the syncretism of Hellenic and Egyptian deities which was attempted in the time of the Ptolemies, identified the Egyptian *Athor* with the Hellenic *Here*,—which she seems to have been in some respects. See note 121, above.

<sup>146</sup> καὶ Θέμιος. This is not at all in accordance with facts, if the Egyptian word THME be, as WILKINSON asserts, the root both of the Hebrew *Thummim* and the Hellenic *θέμις*. But I doubt the truth of the remark in the latter case.

οὐνόματα, οὗτοι δέ μοι δοκέουσι ὑπὸ Πελασγῶν ὀνομασθῆναι, πλὴν Ποσειδέωνος. τούτον δὲ τὸν θεὸν παρὰ Λιβύων ἐπίθοντο<sup>147</sup>. οὐδαμὸς γὰρ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς Ποσειδέωνος οὐνομα ἔκτηνται, εἰ μὴ Λίβυες καὶ τιμῶσι τὸν θεὸν τούτον αἰεὶ νομίζουσι ὃ ὦν Αἰγύπτιοι οὐδ' ἤρωσι οὐδέν. Ταῦτα μὲν νυν, καὶ ἄλλα πρὸς τούτοις τὰ ἐγὼ φράσω, "Ἕλληνες ἀπ' Αἰγυπτίων νενομίκασι· τοῦ δὲ Ἑρμέως τὰ ἀγάλματα ὀρθὰ ἔχειν τὰ αἰδοῖα ποιεῖντες, οὐκ ἀπ' Αἰγυπτίων μεμαθήκασι ἀλλ' ἀπὸ Πελασγῶν, πρῶτοι μὲν Ἑλλήνων ἀπάντων Ἀθηναῖοι παραλαβόντες, παρὰ δὲ τούτων ἄλλοι Ἀθηναίοισι γὰρ ἤδη τηνικαῦτα ἐς Ἑλλήνας τελέουσι<sup>148</sup>, Πελασγοὶ σύνοικοι ἐγένοντο<sup>149</sup> ἐν τῇ χώρῃ ὅθεν περ καὶ Ἕλληνες ἤρξαντο νομισθῆναι (ὅστις δὲ τὰ Καβείρων ὄργια μεμύηται τὰ Σαμοθρήικες ἐπιτελέουσι παραλαβόντες παρὰ Πελασγῶν, οὗτος ὠνὴρ οἶδε τὸ λέγω. τὴν γὰρ Σαμοθρήικην οἶκεον πρότερον Πελασγοὶ οὗτοι, τοὶ περ Ἀθηναίοισι σύνοικοι ἐγένοντο<sup>150</sup>. καὶ παρὰ τούτων Σαμοθρήικες τὰ ὄργια παραλαμβάνουσι.) ὀρθὰ ὦν ἔχειν τὰ αἰδοῖα τὰγάλματα τοῦ Ἑρμέως Ἀθηναῖοι πρῶτοι Ἑλλήνων, μαθόντες παρὰ Πελασγῶν, ἐποιήσαντο· οἱ δὲ Πελασγοὶ ἰρὸν τινα λόγον περὶ αὐτοῦ ἔλεξαν, τὰ ἐν τοῖσι ἐν Σαμοθρήικῃ μυστηρίοις δεδοῦλωται. Ἔθνον δὲ πάντα πρότερον οἱ Πελασγοὶ θεοῖσι ἐπευχόμενοι, ὥς ἐγὼ ἐν Δωδώνῃ

51  
The priapic  
Hermæ were  
derived from  
the Pelas-  
gians, as is  
proved by  
the Cabiric  
orgies in  
Samothrace.

52  
The Pelas-  
gians sacri-

<sup>147</sup> τούτον δὲ τὸν θεὸν παρὰ Λιβύων ἐπίθοντο. It seems quite impossible to reconcile this view with the account given in iv. 151 of the absence of all intercourse with this part of the world until comparatively recent times. It is perfectly certain that long before these both the name and the office of Poseidon were familiar to the Hellenic race.

<sup>148</sup> ἤδη τηνικαῦτα ἐς Ἑλλήνας τελέουσι, "just then growing into Greeks." See the note on iii. 34. The change conceived by the writer is the same with that which he calls (i. 57) τὴν ἐς Ἑλλήνας μεταβολήν.

<sup>149</sup> σύνοικοι ἐγένοντο. This expression seems to indicate an immigration of Pelasgians into Attica, mixing with a race in which Pelasgian characteristics had given way in a great measure to Hellenic. That, in the view of Herodotus, the Athenians in the earliest times were Pelasgian, and called Cranai, appears from viii. 44. See note 179 on i. 56.

<sup>150</sup> Πελασγοὶ οὗτοι, τοὶ περ Ἀθηναίοισι σύνοικοι ἐγένοντο. In another passage (vi.

137—140) Herodotus relates that the Pelasgians who were neighbours of the Athenians were expelled by them and migrated to Lemnos. These two statements may no doubt be combined by considering that the Samothracian Pelasgians migrated to Attica, and from thence to Lemnos. But to me it seems more likely that different traditions are followed in the two passages. The Dodonæan legend (which Herodotus here follows) is based upon the ritualistic similarity of the Cabiric worship in Samothrace to the Hermæ-symbolism and religious ideas connected therewith, at Athens. The popular Attic tradition (which is followed by him in the other passage) is one explanation (for Herodotus himself gives another) of the current proverb *Λήμνια ἔργα*, so worked up as to furnish a justification for the bucaniering expedition of Miltiades. For another statement which makes the immigrants into Attica to be Pelasgians from Placie and Scylace, see note 185 on i. 57.

οἶδα ἀκούσας, ἐπωνυμίην δὲ οὐδ' οὔνομα ἐποιεῦντο οὐδενὶ αὐτῶν  
οὐ γὰρ ἀκηκόεσάν κω. θεοὺς δὲ προσωνόμασάν σφας ἀπὸ τοῦ  
τοιοῦτου, ὅτι κόσμῳ θέντες τὰ πάντα πρήγματα καὶ πάσας νομὰς  
εἶχον ἔπειτα δὲ<sup>151</sup>, χρόνου πολλοῦ διεξεληθόντος, ἐπύθοντο ἐκ τῆς  
Αἰγύπτου ἀπικόμενα τὰ οὐνόματα τῶν θεῶν τῶν ἄλλων Διονύσου  
δὲ ὕστερον πολλῶ ἐπύθοντο. καὶ μετὰ χρόνον ἐχρηστηρίαζοντο  
περὶ τῶν οὐνομάτων ἐν Δωδώνῃ· τὸ γὰρ δὴ μαντήσιον τοῦτο νενό-  
μισται ἀρχαιότατον τῶν ἐν Ἑλλήσι χρηστηρίων εἶναι, καὶ ἦν τὸν  
χρόνον τοῦτον μῦνον· ἐπεὶ ὦν ἐχρηστηρίαζοντο ἐν τῇ Δωδώνῃ οἱ  
Πελασγοὶ “εἰ ἀνέλωνται” τὰ οὐνόματα τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων  
ἦκοντα;” ἀνείλε τὸ μαντήσιον “χρᾶσθαι” ἀπὸ μὲν δὴ τούτου τοῦ  
χρόνου ἔθνον τοῖσι οὐνόμασι τῶν θεῶν χρῶμενοι· παρὰ δὲ Πελα-  
γῶν Ἕλληνας ἐξεδέξαντο ὕστερον. Ἐνθεν δὲ ἐγένετο ἕκαστος τῶν  
θεῶν, εἴ τε δ' αἰεὶ ἦσαν πάντες, ὁκοῖαί τε τινες τὰ εἶδεα, οὐκ ἡπι-  
στέατο μέχρι οὐ πρώην τε καὶ χθές, ὥς εἰπῆν λόγῳ<sup>152</sup>. Ἡσίοδον  
γὰρ καὶ Ὀμηρον ἡλικίην τετρακοσίοισι ἔτεσι δοκέω μεν πρεσβυ-  
τέρους γενέσθαι, καὶ οὐ πλέοσι· οὗτοι δὲ εἰσι οἱ ποιήσαντες θεογο-  
νίην Ἑλλήσι, καὶ τοῖσι θεοῖσι τὰς ἐπωνυμίας δόντες, καὶ τιμὰς τε  
καὶ τέχνας διελόντες καὶ εἶδεα αὐτῶν σημῆναιτες<sup>153</sup>. οἱ δὲ πρότερον

fixed of old  
to the gods  
without  
naming  
them, their  
names com-  
ing after-  
wards (Dio-  
nysus last  
of all) from  
Egypt.

53  
Homer and  
Hesiod the  
first con-  
structors  
of the Hel-  
lenic theo-  
gonica.

<sup>151</sup> ἔπειτα δέ. So S. Gaisford, with the majority of the MSS, reads ἐπεὶ τε δέ.

<sup>152</sup> εἰ ἀνέλωνται, “if they must adopt.” See note 170 on i. 53.

<sup>153</sup> μέχρι οὐ . . . λόγῳ. The sentence is constructed as if the writer had intended to continue it with the words Ἡσίοδος καὶ Ὀμηρος τὴν θεογονίην Ἑλλήσι ἐποίησαν. But, if this had been written, the objection would not have been met, that Orpheus, Linus, and others had given a mythology professedly at a much earlier date. To forestall this objection, the writer begins a fuller explanation of the state of the case.

<sup>154</sup> οὗτοι δὲ εἰσι . . . σημῆναιτες. In this passage, Herodotus has been described “as recognizing Homer and Hesiod as the prime authors of Grecian belief respecting the names and generations, the attributes and agency, the forms and the worship of the gods.” (GROVE, *History of Greece*, i. p. 483.) But this seems an undue straining of the text. The writer scarcely conceived the poets in question as inventing the mythology of their countrymen in the mo-

dern sense of the word. His words are quite compatible with a process such as that suggested in notes 164 and 366 on Book I. By giving a symmetry and consolidation to the popular creed, and clothing it in the vesture of poetry, they satisfied the imagination of their countrymen; and gradually, as their works were the chief food upon which the national intellect was nourished, they became invested with a kind of sacred character, as the universally received teachers of youth. It is from this point of view that PLATO criticizes them (see, for instance, *Repub.* ii. pp. 378—80), and the same feeling, only exaggerated a hundredfold, gave rise to the misplaced ingenuity of the Alexandrines to endeavour to discover in them (especially in Homer) the germ of those sciences which had by that time grown up. The great bulk of these productions have perished, but traces of their theories remain in STRABO (*passim*) and elsewhere. The Alexandrine Jews, from the time of Ptolemy Philometor, attempted the same thing with their sacred books, and the unfortunate results may be seen in the extant writings of PHILO-JUDEUS.

ποιηται λεγόμενοι τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν γενέσθαι, ὕστερον, ἐμοί γε δοκέειν, ἐγένοντο τούτων. καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα αἱ Δωδωνίδες ἱρήϊαι λέγουσι, τὰ δὲ ὕστερα, τὰ ἐς Ἡσιόδον τε καὶ Ὀμηρον ἔχοντα, ἐγὼ λέγω.

54  
Egyptian  
account of  
the origin  
of the ora-  
cles at Am-  
mon and  
Dodona.

Χρηστηρίων δὲ περί, τοῦ τε ἐν Ἑλλήσι<sup>154</sup> καὶ τοῦ ἐν Λιβύῃ, τόνδε Αἰγύπτῳ λόγον λέγουσι· ἔφασαν οἱ ἱρέες τοῦ Θηβαίους<sup>155</sup> Διὸς “δύο γυναικας ἱρήτας<sup>156</sup> ἐκ Θηβέων ἐξαχθῆναι ὑπὸ Φοινίκων καὶ τὴν μὲν αὐτέων πυθέσθαι ἐς Λιβύην πρηθεῖσαν, τὴν δὲ ἐς τοὺς Ἑλληνας· ταύτας δὲ τὰς γυναικας εἶναι τὰς ἰδρυσάμενας τὰ μαντήϊα πρῶτας ἐν τοῖσι εἰρημένοισι ἔθνεσι” εἰρομένου δέ μιν<sup>157</sup>, ὁκόθεν οὕτω ἀτρεκέως ἐπιστάμενοι λέγουσι; ἔφασαν πρὸς ταῦτα, “ζήτησιν μεγάλην ἀπὸ σφέων γενέσθαι τῶν γυναικῶν τουτέων· καὶ ἀνευρεῖν μὲν σφεας οὐ δυνατοὶ γενέσθαι, πυθέσθαι δὲ ὕστερον ταῦτα περὶ αὐτέων τάπερ δὴ ἔλεγον.” Ταῦτα μὲν νυν τῶν ἐν Θήβῃσι ἱρέων ἤκουον· τάδε δὲ Δωδωναίων φασὶ αἱ προμάντιες<sup>158</sup>.

<sup>154</sup> τοῦ τε ἐν Ἑλλήσι. These words would at first sight suggest not the oracle of Dodona, but that of Delphi (see τὸν θεὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων, i. 90, i. e. Apollo). But Dodona is the oracle, κατ' ἐξοχὴν, of the old Pelasgian population. Hence Achilles is made to invoke Zeus by the title, “King Zeus, Dodonæan, Pelasgic!” (*Iliad* xvi. 223.) If Herodotus is here following, *without alteration*, the story of a traveller belonging to a country in which the national ritual belonged to the Pelasgic family, the expression in the text may be explained; and probably it is the same person who calls the oracle at *Buto*, “the oracle in Egypt” (§ 155).

<sup>155</sup> τοῦ Θηβαίους. See note 611 on i. 182.

<sup>156</sup> ἱρήτας. The dissonance of this passage with that above (§ 35), ἱρᾶται γυνὴ οὐδεμία, is not satisfactorily explained by considering the women as inferior attendants, for in Dodona this does not at all answer to their description. It is easier to suppose either that the custom had been changed in Egypt, or that the two passages rest on different authorities.

<sup>157</sup> εἰρομένου δέ μιν. See note 10, above.

<sup>158</sup> Δωδωναίων φασὶ αἱ προμάντιες. There is some difficulty in reconciling this expression with the notices of Dodona in Homer. He represents the

Σελλοὶ (whom PINDAR calls Ἑλλοὶ) as the ὑποφῆται of the deity. They are a set of rude ascetics (ἀνιπτόροδες, χαμαιῖναι) living round about the oracle, as the Delphi did round about Pytho in the early times (*Iliad* xvi. 23). In the *Odyssey* (xvi. 403), εἰ μὲν κ' ἀνῆλθωσι Διὸς μεγάλῳ θέμιστες (a passage which refers to the oracle of Dodona) there formerly existed the variation Τομοῦραι for θέμιστες, and it was said that this name applied to the same persons who in the *Iliad* are called Σελλοί. The mountain under which the temple lay was called Τόμαρος or Τυάρος (STRABO, vii. p. 126). But it seems not impossible that θέμιστες in this passage are the same as the προμάντιες spoken of by Herodotus, the same word being, perhaps, used to designate both the deity and the sacred minister, as was the case with Βάκχος, Μέλισσα, and Ζεῖληνος. (See note 216 below.) The alternative reading Τομοῦραι has a feminine termination, and therefore is not unfavourable to this hypothesis. STRABO (l. c.) says that the female prophetesses came in at the time when the worship of *Dione* was associated with that of *Zeus*. If this be true, the state of things at Dodona may be illustrated by that at Pytho. The *Selli* and the *Delphi* are severally periclians, perhaps originally hierodules, living around spots where oracles are delivered, the religion being

“ δύο πελειάδας μελαίνας ἐκ Θηβέων τῶν Αἰγυπτίῶν ἀναπτα-  
 μένας, τὴν μὲν αὐτέων ἐς Λιβύην, τὴν δὲ παρὰ σφέας ἀπικέσθαι·  
 ἰζομένην δὲ μιν ἐπὶ φηγὸν αὐδάσθαι φωνῇ ἀνθρωπινή, ὡς χρεὼν  
 εἶη μαντήιον αὐτόθι Διὸς γενέσθαι· καὶ αὐτοὺς ὑπολαβεῖν θεῶν  
 εἶναι τὸ ἐπαγγελλλόμενον αὐτοῖσι, καὶ σφεας ἐκ τούτου ποιῆσαι·  
 τὴν δὲ ἐς τοὺς Λίβυας οἰχομένην πελειάδα λέγουσι Ἀμμωνος  
 χρηστήριον κελεύσαι τοὺς Λίβυας ποιέειν” ἔστι δὲ καὶ τοῦτο  
 Διὸς. Δωδωναίων δὲ αἱ ἱρήϊαι (τῶν τῇ πρεσβυτάτῃ οὖνομα ἦν  
 Προμένηα, τῇ δὲ μετὰ ταύτῃ Τιμαρέτῃ, τῇ δὲ νεωτάτῃ Νικάνδρῃ,)  
 ἔλεγον ταῦτα· συνωμολόγηον δὲ σφί καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Δωδωναῖοι οἱ  
 περὶ τὸ ἱρόν. Ἐγὼ δ' ἔχω περὶ αὐτέων γνώμην τήνδε· εἰ ἀληθὲς 56  
 οἱ Φοινίκες ἐξήγαγον τὰς ἱρὰς γυναῖκας, καὶ τὴν μὲν αὐτέων ἐς  
 Λιβύην τὴν δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀπέδοντο, δοκεῖ ἐμοὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὕτη  
 τῆς νῦν Ἑλλάδος πρότερον δὲ Πελασγίης<sup>100</sup> καλευμένης τῆς αὐτῆς  
 ταύτης πρηθῆναι ἐς Θεσπρωτοὺς, ἔπειτα δουλεύουσα αὐτόθι ἰδρύ-  
 σασθαι ὑπὸ φηγῷ πεφυκυῖῃ Διὸς ἱρόν ὥσπερ ἦν οἶκος ἀμφιπο-  
 λεύουσιν ἐν Θήβῃσι ἱρόν Διὸς, ἔνθα ἀπικέτο ἐνθαῦτα μνήμην  
 αὐτοῦ ἔχειν ἐκ δὲ τούτου, χρηστήριον κατηγγήσατο, ἐπεὶ τε  
 συνέλαβε τὴν Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν· φάναι δὲ οἱ ἀδελφεὴν ἐν Λιβύῃ  
 πεπρήσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν Φοινίκων, ὑπ' ὧν καὶ αὕτη ἐπρήθη.  
 Πελειάδες<sup>100</sup> δὲ μοι δοκέουσι κληθῆναι πρὸς Δωδωναίων ἐπὶ τοῦδε 57

The au-  
 thor's cri-  
 ticism of  
 the story.

an elemental one, and the sacred symbol  
 an oak in the one case, a strangely shaped  
 rock (γῆς ὀμφαλός) in the other. The  
 original deity at Dodona was apparently  
 considered a male one, and to this was  
 superadded a female (Dione). The origi-  
 nal at Pytho was female (*ÆSCHYLUS*,  
*Eumenid.* 2), and to this was superadded  
 a male (*Zeus*, represented by his *προφή-  
 τῆς*, *Apollo Loxias*, *Eumenid.* 19). But  
 the Apollo-worship of the Delphians gave  
 a marked anthropomorphic character to their  
 traditions, which, in its results, produced  
 a strong contrast with those of Dodona in  
 later times, although at first there was ap-  
 parently a great affinity between the re-  
 ligions of the two places.

<sup>100</sup> Πελασγίης. It is to be observed  
 that the author here makes the name  
*Pelasgia* co-extensive with what in his  
 time was called *Hellas*, perhaps from an  
 inaccuracy of language. For the phrase  
*τῆς αὐτῆς ταύτης*, compare § 158: ἐκ τῆς  
*βορῆης θαλάσσης ὑπερβῆναι ἐς τὴν νοτίαν*

καὶ Ἐρυθρὴν τὴν αὐτὴν ταύτην καλεο-  
 μένην.

<sup>a</sup> τὴν Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν. According  
 to the view of Herodotus, the *Pelasgians*,  
 and not the *Hellenic* language, would have  
 been learned by the female. With a simi-  
 lar forgetfulness, he makes the Greek name  
*Peleiades* to be given to the priestesses,  
 although he elsewhere declares the *Pelas-  
 gian* language to be a barbarous one. See  
 note 187 on i. 57.

<sup>100</sup> Πελειάδες. *SERVIVS* (*ad Virgil.*  
*Ecl.* ix. 13) says that in the Thessalian  
 tongue the word *Peliades* signified both  
 “doves” and “prophetesses.” The parallel  
 case of *Melissa* (see note on v. 92) some-  
 what confirms this. But, if this is true, the  
 origin of the synonym seems rather to be  
 looked for in the pantheistic views which  
 regarded the motions of animals as  
 ominous, and as directed spontaneously  
 towards sacred places. A relic of this  
 superstition exists in the habit of the  
 Indian Mohammedans to conceal the

αἱ γυναῖκες, διότι βάρβαροι ἦσαν· ἐδόκεον δὲ σφί ὁμοίως ὄρνισι φθέγγεσθαι· μετὰ δὲ χρόνον τὴν πελειάδα ἀνθρωπητῇ φωνῇ αὐδάσασθαι, [λέγουσι<sup>161</sup>] ἐπεὶ τε συνετά σφι ἡῦδα ἡ γυνή· ἕως δὲ ἐβαρβαρίζε, ὄρνιθος τρόπον ἐδόκεε σφί φθέγγεσθαι. ἐπεὶ τέφω τρόπῳ ἂν πελειάς γε ἀνθρωπητῇ φωνῇ φθέγγεαιτο; μέλαιναν δὲ λέγοντες εἶναι τὴν πελειάδα, σημαίνουσι ὅτι Αἰγυπτίῃ ἡ γυνὴ ἦν. ἡ δὲ μαντιτῇ ἥ τε ἐν Θήβησι τῇσι Αἰγυπτίῃσι καὶ ἐν Δωδώνῃ παραπλήσια ἀλλήλησι τυγχάνουσι εἶναι<sup>162</sup>. ἔστι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἰρῶν ἡ μαντικὴ<sup>163</sup> ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου ἀπυγμένη.

58

Processions  
and pilgrim-  
ages first  
devised  
by the  
Egyptians.

Πανηγύρις δὲ ἄρα καὶ πομπὰς καὶ προσαγωγὰς<sup>a</sup> πρῶτοι ἀνθρώπων Αἰγυπτίῳ εἰσι οἱ ποιησάμενοι· καὶ παρὰ τούτων Ἕλληνας μεμαθήκασιν. τεκμήριον δέ μοι τούτου τόδε· αἱ μὲν γὰρ φαίνονται ἐκ πολλοῦ τευ χρόνου ποιούμεναι, αἱ δὲ Ἑλληνικαὶ νεωστὶ ἐποιήθησαν. Πανηγυρίζουσι δὲ Αἰγύπτῳ οὐκ ἄπαξ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ,

59

Pilgrimages  
to diverse  
places.

πανηγύρις δὲ συχνὰς· μάλιστα μὲν καὶ προθυμώτατα ἐς Βούβαστιν<sup>164</sup> πόλιν τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι· δεύτερα ἐς Βούσιριν πόλιν τῇ Ἴσι· ἐν ταύτῃ γὰρ δὴ τῇ πόλει ἐστὶ μέγιστον Ἴσιος ἱρόν<sup>165</sup>. Ὡρυται δὲ ἡ

magnetic needle of their compasses under the wings of the figure of a bird, so placed that its flight appears to be in the direction of Mecca. See PASHLEY, *Crete*, ii. p. 38.

<sup>161</sup> [λέγουσι.] This word is found in all the MSS, but it appears to me to have been introduced to render the construction more apparently easy. αὐδάσασθαι is governed by ἐνόμιζον (or some such word) gathered by inference from the ἐδόκεόν σφί of the preceding sentence.

<sup>162</sup> ἡ μαντιτῇ . . . εἶναι. That the mode of divination at Thebes and Dodona may have been similar in the time of the writer is possible; but it seems certain that in the early times the divination at Dodona was from the sound of the leaves of "the talking oaks" (αἱ προσήγοροι ὄρκες, *Æsch. Prom.* 832). Odysseus went to Dodona "to learn the counsel of Zeus from a divine oak of lofty boughs" (*Odys.* xiv. 328). In later times an augury appears to have been sought from the sound of certain gongs. The first of these was made to vibrate by being struck with a scourge of brass by a figure rotating (as the wind blew) upon a fixed axis, upon which, either from juxtaposition, or from being properly harmonized, the rest sounded too, and continued so long that τὸ Δωδωνεῖον χαλκίον

became a proverbial expression. MENANDER applies the phrase to a female whom, when once set a-talking, it was impossible to stop (*Steph. Byzant.* v. Δωδώνη).—If it is this mode of divination to which the author alludes in the text, it might well be resorted to where the original conception of the deity was very different; and the identity of religion may be only a later inference from similarity of ritual. It seems pretty certain that originally the Zeus of Thebes and of Ammon were θεοὶ οὐράνιοι, and that the Zeus of Dodona was a θεὸς γῆνιος.

<sup>163</sup> καὶ τῶν ἰρῶν ἡ μαντικὴ, "the method of divining from victims also."

<sup>a</sup> προσαγωγὰς. This word is apparently used to denote the introduction of the worshipper into a sanctuary in which the idol or some sacred relic of the deity was preserved, which was exhibited to him by the *hierophant*.

<sup>164</sup> Βούβαστιν. Several MSS have Βούβαστον. But below (§ 67) all but one have Βουβάστι, and that one Βουβάστῃ; and in § 137 all have Βουβάστι. The name of the town is, according to another passage (§ 156), the same as the name of the deity. For its site, see note on § 158.

<sup>165</sup> μέγιστον Ἴσιος ἱρόν. EUDOXUS



πόλις αὕτη τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἐν μέσῳ τῷ Δέλτᾳ· Ἴσις δὲ ἐστὶ κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλήνων γλῶσσαν Δημήτηρ· τρίτα δ' ἐς Σάϊν πόλιν τῇ Ἀθηναίῃ<sup>166</sup> πανηγυρίζουσι· τέταρτα δὲ ἐς Ἡλιούπολιν τῷ Ἡλίῳ· πέμπτα δὲ ἐς Βουτοῦν πόλιν τῇ Λητοίᾳ· ἕκτα δὲ ἐς Πάπρημιν πόλιν τῷ Ἀρεΐ<sup>167</sup>. Ἐς μὲν νυν Βούβαστιν πόλιν ἑπεὰν κομίζονται, ποιεῖσι τοιάδε· πλέουσί τε γὰρ δὴ ἅμα ἄνδρες γυναῖξί, καὶ πολλόν τι πληῖθος ἐκατέρων ἐν ἐκάστῃ βάρῃ· αἱ μὲν τινες τῶν γυναικῶν κρόταλα ἔχουσαι κροταλίζουσι, οἱ δὲ αὐλέουσι κατὰ πάντα τὸν πλόν· αἱ δὲ λοιπαὶ γυναῖκες καὶ ἄνδρες αἰδοῦσι καὶ τὰς χεῖρας κροτέουσι· ἑπεὰν δὲ πλέοντες κατὰ τινα πόλιν ἄλλην γένωνται, ἐγχερίψαντες τὴν βάρην τῇ γῇ ποιεῖσι τοιάδε· αἱ μὲν τινες τῶν γυναικῶν ποιεῖσι τάπερ εἰρηκα, αἱ δὲ τωθάξουσι βοῶσαι τὰς ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ γυναῖκας· αἱ δ' ὀρχέονται· αἱ δ' ἀνασύρονται ἀνιστάμεναι· ταῦτα παρὰ πᾶσαν πόλιν παραποταμὴν ποιεῖν· ἑπεὰν δὲ ἀπικῶνται ἐς τὴν Βούβαστιν, ὀρτάζουσι μεγάλας ἀναγόντες θυσιάς· καὶ οἶνος ἀμπέλινος ἀναισιμῶνται πλέον ἐν τῇ ὁρτῇ ταύτῃ ἢ ἐν τῷ ἅπαντι ἐνιαυτῷ τῷ ἐπιλοίπῳ· συμφοιτέωσι δὲ ὁ τι ἀνὴρ καὶ γυνή ἐστὶ (πλὴν παιδίων) καὶ ἐς ἐβδομήκοντα μυριάδας, ὥς οἱ ἐπιχωριοὶ λέγουσι· ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ταύτῃ ποιεῖται. Ἐν δὲ Βουσίρῃ πόλει ὡς ἀνέγουσι τῇ Ἴσι τὴν ὁρτὴν, εἰρηται πρότερόν μοι<sup>168</sup>. τύπτονται μὲν γὰρ δὴ μετὰ τὴν θυσίην πάντες καὶ πᾶσαι, μυριάδες κάρτα πολλαὶ ἀνθρώπων τὸν δὲ τύπτονται οὐ μοι ὀσιόν<sup>169</sup> ἐστὶ λέγειν. ὅσοι δὲ Καρῶν εἰσὶ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ οἰκέοντες, οὗτοι δὲ τοσοῦτῳ ἔτι πλέω ποιεῖσι τούτων, ὅσῳ καὶ τὰ

60

Procession to Bubastis. Description of it.

61

Festival of Isis at Bubastis.

considered that *Bustiris* had, above all other places in Egypt, the best claim to be the birthplace of Osiris (cp. *Plutarch. De Is. et Os.* p. 359). *Dionorus* (i. 88) says that the word means in the Egyptian language, "the tomb of Osiris" (see note on § 45). The ruins at *Bahbeit* are supposed to be on the site of the temple of Isis.

<sup>166</sup> τῇ Ἀθηναίᾳ. In *PLUTARCH*'s time this deity was identified with *Isis*. (*De Is. et Os.* p. 354.)

<sup>167</sup> ἐς Πάπρημιν πόλιν τῷ Ἀρεΐ. That *Ares* should be the deity whose worship predominated in this city would lead one to conceive that possibly a camp was formed in it, or near it. And this supposition accords with its probable site,

which was in the western part of the Delta (see note on iii. 12), not far from the head-quarters of the army which observed the north-west entrance into the country.

<sup>168</sup> εἰρηται πρότερόν μοι. This seems to refer to § 40, but it is a singular thing that there the name of the deity should not be mentioned, and also that in that passage the mournful ritual should be described as *preceding*, and here as *following* the festival. The MSS bear marks of having varied considerably in that passage; and, perhaps, the variation was once much greater than now can be traced. See note 117, above.

<sup>169</sup> οὐ μοι ὀσιόν. See note on § 132, τὸν οὐκ ὀνομαζόμενον θεόν, κ.τ.λ.

62

Illumination of lanterns at Sais.

μέτωπα κόπτονται μαχαίρησι<sup>170</sup>. καὶ τούτῳ εἰσὶ δῆλοι ὅτι εἰσὶ ξεῖνοι καὶ οὐκ Αἰγύπτιοι. Ἐς Σάϊν δὲ πόλιν ἔπεαν συλλεχθέωσι τῆσι θυσίῃσι, ἐν τινι νυκτὶ λύχνα καλοῦσι πάντες πολλὰ ὑπαίθρια περὶ τὰ δώματα κύκλῳ· τὰ δὲ λύχνα ἐστὶ ἐμβάφια ἐμπλεα ἀλός καὶ ἐλαίου ἐπιπολῆς δὲ ἔπεστι αὐτὸ τὸ ἐλλύχνιον. καὶ τοῦτο καλεῖται παννύχιον καὶ τῇ ὀρτῇ οὖνομα κέεται Λυχνοκατή<sup>171</sup>. οἱ δ' ἂν μὴ ἔλθωσι τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἐς τὴν πανήγυριν ταύτην, φυλάσσοντες τὴν νύκτα τῆς θυσίης καλοῦσι καὶ αὐτοὶ πάντες τὰ λύχνα. καὶ οὕτω οὐκ ἐν Σαί μούνη καλεῖται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνὰ πᾶσαν Αἴγυπτον. ὅτε δὲ εἵνεκα φῶς ἔλαχε καὶ τιμὴν ἡ νύξ αὕτη, ἔστι ἱρὸς περὶ αὐτοῦ λόγος λεγόμενος. Ἐς δὲ Ἥλιου πόλιν καὶ Βουτοῦν θυσίας

63

Feasts at Heliopolis and Buto. Mock fight at Papremis.

μούνας ἐπιτελέουσι φοιτέοντες. ἐν δὲ Παπρήμῃ<sup>172</sup> θυσίας μὲν καὶ ἱρά, κατὰπερ καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ, ποιεύσιν· εὐτ' ἂν δὲ γίνηται καταφερῆς ὁ ἥλιος, ὀλίγοι μὲν τινες τῶν ἱρέων περὶ τῷγαλμα πεπονέαται· οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν ξύλων κορύνας ἔχοντες ἐστᾶσι τοῦ ἱροῦ ἐν τῇ ἐσόδῳ, ἄλλοι δὲ εὐχωλὰς ἐπιτελέοντες, πλεύνες χιλίων ἀνδρῶν ἕκαστοι, ἔχοντες ξύλα καὶ οὔτοι, ἐπὶ τὰ ἔτερα ἁλῆες ἐστᾶσι· τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα ἐὼν ἐν νηφὶ μικρῇ ξυλίνῳ κατακεχυρωμένῳ προεκκομίζουσι τῇ προτεραιῇ ἐς ἄλλο οἶκημα ἱρόν· οἱ μὲν δὴ ὀλίγοι οἱ περὶ τῷγαλμα λελειμμένοι ἔλκουσι τετράκυκλον ἄμαξαν, ἄγουσαν τὸν νηόν τε καὶ τὸ ἐν τῷ νηφὶ ἐνεὸν ἄγαλμα· οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἐώσι, ἐν τοῖσι προφυλαίοισι ἐστεῶτες, ἐσιέναι· οἱ δὲ εὐχωλιμαῖοι, τιμωρέοντες τῷ θεῷ, παλοῦσι αὐτοὺς ἀλεξομένους. ἐνθαῦτα μάχη ξύλοις καρτερῇ γίνεται· κεφαλὰς τε συναράσσονται, καὶ ὥς ἐγὼ δοκέω, πολλοὶ καὶ ἀποθνήσκουσι ἐκ τῶν τρωμάτων· οὐ μέντοι οἷ γε Αἰγύ-

<sup>170</sup> ὅσῃ καὶ τὰ μέτωπα κόπτονται μαχαίρησι. Compare the conduct of the priests of Beal described in 1 Kings xviii. 28. As the circumstance of their being foreigners is regarded as being evinced by this proceeding, it seems likely that they were settlers in the country, mixed up with the population, not mercenary troops, whom no one would for an instant think of confounding with the native population. And, if settlers, they would not improbably be Phœnicians—whom, in fact, CORINNA and BACCHYLIDES identified with Carians (*ap. Athen.* p. 174)—a people which, from their proximity to Egypt, as well as from their commercial habits, would naturally spread

into the country, and settle in it.

<sup>171</sup> Λυχνοκατή. In the temple of Athene Polias at Athens, a lamp used to be kept burning before the idol, which was said to be replenished with oil and supplied with a new wick only once a year, on a special day. (STRABO, ix. p. 240, and PAUSANIAS, i. 26. 7.) Although the perennial character of this lamp is probably a later fiction, yet the burning lamp itself, as an appropriate emblem of the goddess, is doubtless very ancient. In the *Odyssey* (xix. 34) she holds it to Telemachus and his father while arming themselves.

<sup>172</sup> Παπρήμι. See note on iii. 12.

πτιοι ἔφασαν ἀποθνήσκειν οὐδένα. Τὴν δὲ πανήγυριν αὐτὴν ἐκ 64  
 τοῦδε νομίσαι φασὶ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι οἰκέειν ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ τούτῳ τοῦ Popular  
 "Ἀρεος τὴν μητέρα· καὶ τὸν Ἄρεα ἀπότροφον" <sup>173</sup> γενόμενον, ἐλθεῖν legend to  
 ἑξανδρωμένον ἐθέλοντα τῇ μητρὶ συμμίζειν καὶ τοὺς προπόλους account for  
 τῆς μητρὸς, οἷα οὐκ ὀπωπότης αὐτὸν πρότερον, οὐ περιορᾶν παρ-  
 ιέναι ἀλλ' ἀπερύκειν· τὸν δ' ἐξ ἄλλης πόλιος ἀγαγόμενον ἀνθρώ-  
 πους τοὺς τε προπόλους τρηχέως περισπεῖν, καὶ ἐσελθεῖν παρὰ  
 τὴν μητέρα· ἀπὸ τούτου τῷ Ἀρεῖ αὐτὴν τὴν πληγὴν ἐν τῇ ὀρτῇ  
 νενομικέναι φασί.

Καὶ τὸ μὴ μίσγεσθαι γυναῖξιν ἐν ἱροῖσι μὴδὲ ἀλούτους ἀπὸ  
 γυναικῶν ἐς ἱρὰ ἐσιέναι, οὗτοί εἰσι οἱ πρῶτοι θρησκευσάντες. οἱ  
 μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι σχεδὸν πάντες ἄνθρωποι, πλὴν Αἰγυπτίων καὶ  
 Ἑλλήνων, μίσγονται ἐν ἱροῖσι καὶ ἀπὸ γυναικῶν ἀνιστάμενοι  
 ἄλoutoi ἐσέρχονται ἐς ἱρὸν, νομίζοντες ἀνθρώπους εἶναι κατὰπερ  
 τὰ ἄλλα κτήνεα· καὶ γὰρ τὰ ἄλλα κτήνεα ὀρᾶν καὶ ὀρνίθων γένεα  
 ὀχευόμενα ἐν τε τοῖσι νηοῖσι τῶν θεῶν καὶ ἐν τοῖσι τεμένεσιν· εἰ δὲ  
 εἶναι τῷ θεῷ τοῦτο μὴ φίλον, οὐκ ἂν οὐδὲ τὰ κτήνεα ποίεειν. οὗτοι  
 μὲν νυν τοιαῦτα ἐπιλέγοντες, ποιεῦσι ἐμοὶ γε οὐκ ἄρεστά· Αἰγύ-  
 πτιοι δὲ θρησκεύουσι περισσῶς τά τε ἄλλα περὶ τὰ ἱρὰ, καὶ δὴ  
 καὶ τάδε.

Ἐοῦσα δὲ Αἰγύπτου θμυρος τῇ Λιβύῃ οὐ μάλα θηριώδης ἐστὶ 65  
 τὰ δὲ ἔοντα σφί ἅπαντα ἱρὰ νενόμισται· καὶ τὰ μὲν σύντροφα Animal  
 αὐτοῖσι τοῖσι ἀνθρώποισι, τὰ δὲ οὐ. τῶν δὲ εἵνεκεν ἀνείται τὰ idolatry  
 ἱρὰ <sup>174</sup> εἰ λέγοιμι, καταβαλεῖν ἂν τῷ λόγῳ ἐς τὰ θεῖα πρήγματα, τὰ of the  
 ἐγὼ φεύγω μάλιστα ἀπηγγέεσθαι· τὰ δὲ καὶ εἰρηκα αὐτῶν ἐπιψαύ- Egyptians.

<sup>173</sup> ἀπότροφον, "brought up away from home," συμμίζειν, "to communicate with." See i. 123, συμμίσγων ἐν ἑκάστῳ δ' Ἀρκαγὸς τῶν πρώτων Μήδων.

<sup>174</sup> τῶν δὲ εἵνεκεν ἀνείται τὰ ἱρὰ, "but the reasons for which the sacred animals are held sacred." The word ἀνείσθαι would properly denote the being let go free, and would originally apply to such a case as an ox or horse "turned out" to enjoy a holiday for the remainder of life. Such an indulgence, if granted on religious grounds, would be a species of dedication; and the description which STRABO gives of the Apis-bull at Memphis answers to this. Julius Caesar, when he passed the Rubicon, turned loose, by

way of consecration, several troops of horses ("consecravit ac vagos sine custode dimisit." Suetonius, *Julius Cæs.* c. 81). The Calmucks are said to turn camels loose in the same way. The term probably passed from cattle to animals where it was inappropriate, and, they being *feræ naturæ*, all that remained of its original meaning was the dedication to this or that deity. After undergoing this change, there was no reason the word should not be applied to the dedication even of land, especially if let go out of cultivation, and devoted to pasturage or the growing timber. CALLIMACHUS, *Hymn. Demet.* 47, τέκνον, ὅτις τὰ θεοῖσιν ἀνειμένα δένδρεα κόπτεις.

Hereditary  
conservators  
of animals.

σας, ἀναγκαίῃ καταλαμβανόμενος εἶπον. νόμος δέ ἐστι περὶ τῶν θηρίων ὧδε ἔχων μελεδωνοὶ ἀποδεδέχαται τῆς τροφῆς χωρὶς ἐκάστων καὶ ἔρσενες καὶ θήλειαι τῶν Αἰγυπτίων, τῶν παῖς παρὰ πατρός ἐκδέκεται τὴν τιμὴν. οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇσι πόλισι ἕκαστοι εὐχὰς τάσδε σφί ἀποτελέουσι· εὐχόμενοι τῷ θεῷ τοῦ ἂν ἡ τὸ θηρίον, ξυρούντες τῶν παιδίων ἢ πάσαν τὴν κεφαλὴν ἢ τὸ ἡμισυ ἢ τὸ τρίτον μέρος τῆς κεφαλῆς, ἰστᾶσι σταθμῷ πρὸς ἀργύριον τὰς τρίχας· τὸ δ' ἂν ἐλκύσῃ, τοῦτο τῇ μελεδωνῷ<sup>175</sup> τῶν θηρίων διδοῖ· ἢ δ' ἀντ' αὐτοῦ τάμνουσα ἰχθύς, παρέχει βορὴν τοῖσι θηρίοισι. τροφή μὲν δὴ αὐτοῖσι τοιαύτη ἀποδέδεκται. τὸ δ' ἂν τις τῶν θηρίων τούτων ἀποκτείνῃ, ἢ μὲν ἑκὼν, θάνατος ἢ ζημίη ἢν δὲ ἀέκων, ἀποτίνει ζημίην τὴν ἂν οἱ ἱρέες τάξωται. ὃς δ' ἂν ἴβῃ ἢ

66  
Peculiarity  
in the habits  
of the Cat.

ἴρηκα ἀποκτείνῃ, ἢν τε ἑκὼν ἢν τε ἀέκων, τεθνάναι ἀνάγκη. Πολλῶν δὲ ἐόντων ὁμοτρόφων τοῖσι ἀνθρώποισι θηρίων, πολλὰ ἂν ἔτι πλέω ἐγίνετο, εἰ μὴ κατελάμβανε τοὺς αἰελοῦρους τοιαύδε· ἐπεὰν τέκωσι αἱ θήλειαι, οὐκέτι φοιτέουσι παρὰ τοὺς ἔρσενας· οἱ δὲ διζήμενοι μίσγεσθαι αὐτῇσι οὐκ ἔχουσι· πρὸς ὧν ταῦτα σοφίζονται τάδε· ἀρπάζοντες ἀπὸ τῶν θηλέων καὶ ὑπαιρεόμενοι τὰ τέκνα κτείνουσι· κτείναντες μέντοι οὐ πατέονται· αἱ δὲ στερισκόμεναι τῶν τέκνων ἄλλων δὲ ἐπιθυμέουσai, οὕτω δὴ ἀπικνέονται παρὰ τοὺς ἔρσενας φιλότεκνον δὲ τὸ θηρίον. πυρκαϊῆς δὲ γενομένης, θεῖα πρήγματα καταλαμβάνει τοὺς αἰελοῦρους· οἱ μὲν γὰρ Αἰγύπτιοι διαστάντες φυλακὰς ἔχουσι τῶν αἰελοῦρων, ἀμελήσαστες σβεννύναι τὸ καιόμενον· οἱ δὲ αἰελοῦροι, διαδύοντες καὶ ὑπερβρῶσκοντες τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ἐσάλλονται ἐς τὸ πῦρ· ταῦτα δὲ γινόμενα<sup>176</sup>, πένθεα μεγάλα τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους καταλαμβάνει. ἐν ὁτοίοισι δ' ἂν οἰκίοισι αἰελοῦρος ἀποθάνῃ ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτομάτου, οἱ ἐνοικέοντες

<sup>175</sup> τῇ μελεδωνῷ. As the conservators of the sacred animals were of both sexes, it seems strange that the feminine gender should here be used. Possibly, in the particular case that the author had in his eye, the functionary was a woman. And the sacred animal, too, must have been of an ichthyophagous character, such as an ichneumon or cat. Such an offering as fish would have been unacceptable to a cow, sheep, goat, or asp. For a crocodile it would have been unnecessary to chop the fish in pieces. Perhaps it was in the

city Bubastis that the information was gained. In the neighbourhood of that city was a very ancient Hellenic trading settlement (see note on § 154), and it appears from § 87 that there were the head-quarters of the cat-mummies.

<sup>176</sup> ταῦτα δὲ γινόμενα. Some of the MSS have τούτων δὲ γινόμενων, which seems undoubtedly to be an arbitrary correction. One of these is S, in which changes, made apparently for the sake of grammatical propriety, are more common than in any other.

πάντες ξυρέονται τὰς ὀφρύας μούνας παρ' ὁτέοισι δ' ἂν κύων, πᾶν τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν. Ἀπαγέεται<sup>177</sup> δὲ οἱ αἰέλουροι ἀποθάνοντες ἐς ἱρὰς στέγας, ἔνθα θάπτονται ταριχευθέντες ἐν Βουβάστι πόλει<sup>178</sup>. τὰς δὲ κύνας ἐν τῇ ἐαυτῶν ἑκάστοι πόλει θάπτουσι ἐν ἱρήσι θήκησι· ὡς δὲ αὐτως τῇσι κυσὶ οἱ ἰχθυεὶς θάπτονται. τὰς δὲ μυγαλάς<sup>179</sup> καὶ τοὺς ἰρηκας ἀπάγουσι ἐς Βουτοῦν πόλιν<sup>180</sup>. τὰς δὲ ἱβίς ἐς Ἑρμέω πόλιν<sup>181</sup>. τὰς δὲ ἄρκτους ἐόυσας σπανίας<sup>182</sup>, καὶ τοὺς λύκους οὐ πολλῶ τέφ ἐόντας ἀλωπέκων μέζονας, αὐτοὺς θάπτουσι τῇ ἂν εὐρεθέωσι κείμενοι.

67  
Cai-mummies laid up at Bubastis. Others at other places.

Τῶν δὲ κροκοδείλων ἡ φύσις ἐστὶ τοιῆδε τοὺς χειμεριωτάτους μῆνας τέσσερας ἐσθίει οὐδέν· ἔδον δὲ τετράπου, χερσαῖον καὶ λιμναῖον ἐστὶ· τίκτει μὲν γὰρ ὡὰ ἐν γῇ καὶ ἐκλέπει, καὶ τὸ πολλὸν τῆς ἡμέρης διατρίβει ἐν τῷ ξηρῷ, τὴν δὲ νύκτα πᾶσαν ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ· θερμότερον γὰρ δὴ ἐστὶ τὸ ὕδωρ τῆς τε αἰθρίας καὶ τῆς δρόσου. πάντων δὲ τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν θνητῶν τοῦτο ἐξ ἐλαχίστου μέγιστον γίνεταί· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ὡὰ χινέων οὐ πολλῶ μέζονα τίκτει, καὶ ὁ νεοσσὸς κατὰ λόγον τοῦ ὡοῦ γίνεταί· αὐξανόμενος δὲ γίνεταί καὶ ἐς ἑπτακαίδεκα πῆχας, καὶ μέζων ἔτι· ἔχει δὲ ὀφθαλμοὺς μὲν ὕς, ὀδόντας δὲ μεγάλους καὶ χαυλιόδοντας<sup>183</sup>, κατὰ λόγον τοῦ σώματος· γλῶσσαν δὲ μῦνον θηρίων οὐκ ἔφυσε· οὐδὲ τὴν κάτω κινέει γνάθον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο μῦνον θηρίων τὴν ἄνω γνάθον προσ-

68  
The Crocodile: its description and habits.

<sup>177</sup> ἀπαγέεται. This is the reading of F, the others having the common form ἀπάγονται. There is the same variation above, § 47, where all the MSS but F have ἐκδίδονται and ἔγονται, and in i. 209, where F has κηδέεται, and the rest (with one exception, which has κηδέονται) the common form κήδονται.

<sup>178</sup> ἐν Βουβάστι πόλι. See note on § 168.

<sup>179</sup> τὰς μυγαλάς, "shrewmice." The story ran in later times that Latona, when nursing Horus, changed herself into one of these animals to escape the pursuit of Typhon, by burrowing in the earth (ANTONINUS LIBERALIS, *Fab.* 28). PLUTARCH (*Sympos.* iv. 5, p. 670) says that the animal being regarded as blind was considered an emblem of primeval darkness. The mummies of the shrew-mouse are said to be found at Thebes, Buto, and *Atkribis*, probably the Atar-bechis of Herodotus (§ 41). (WILKINSON, *Ancient Egyptians*, ii. p. 135, 2nd Series.)

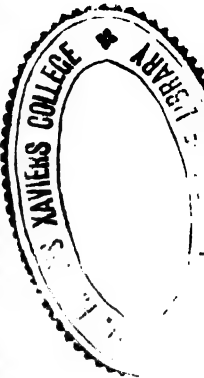
See notes on § 41 and § 141.

<sup>180</sup> ἐς Βουτοῦν πόλιν. See §§ 155, 6.

<sup>181</sup> τὰς δὲ ἱβίς ἐς Ἑρμέω πόλιν. The ibis-mummies are found in abundance at Thebes and Memphis, as well as at Her-mopolis. There were three towns in Egypt which went by the last name, and there is nothing to show which Herodotus meant, or indeed whether he had any one especially in his eye, as he appears to be speaking at second-hand.

<sup>182</sup> τὰς δὲ ἄρκτους ἐόουσας σπανίας. WILKINSON (*ii.* p. 136) says that there is little doubt of the bear having been always κατεκονα in Egypt. The only way in which it appears in the paintings or sculptures is among the presents brought by foreigners to the Egyptian sovereign.

<sup>183</sup> χαυλιόδοντας, "tusks." This description is quite false. PORPHYRY (*ap. Euseb. Prep. Ev.* x. 3) says that the account of the mode of capturing the crocodile, as well as the descriptions of the phoenix and the river-horse, are, with



ἀγει τῇ κάτω· ἔχει δὲ καὶ δυνχας καρτεροὺς καὶ δέρμα λεπιδωτὸν, ἄρρηκτον ἐπὶ τοῦ νώτου· τυφλὸν δὲ ἐν ὕδατι<sup>184</sup>, ἐν δὲ τῇ αἰθρίῃ ὀξυδερκέστατον. ἅτε δὴ ὦν ἐν ὕδατι διαίταν ποιούμενον, τὸ στόμα ἔνδοθεν φορέει πᾶν μεστὸν βδελλέων<sup>185</sup>. τὰ μὲν δὴ ἄλλα ὄρνεα καὶ θηρία φεύγει μιν ὁ δὲ τροχίλος εἰρηναῖον οἱ ἐστὶ ἅτε ὠφέλεο- μένῃ πρὸς αὐτοῦ· ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐκβῆ ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος ὁ κροκόδειλος, καὶ ἔπειτα χάνη,—ἔωθε<sup>186</sup> γὰρ τοῦτο ὡς ἐπίπαν ποιεῖν πρὸς τὸν ζέφυρον,—ἐνθαῦτα ὁ τροχίλος ἐσδύνων ἐς τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ καταπίνει τὰς βδέλλας, ὁ δὲ ὠφελεύμενος ἤδεται καὶ οὐδὲν σίνεται τὸν τροχίλον. Τοῖσι μὲν δὴ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἱροὶ εἰσι οἱ κροκόδειλοι, τοῖσι δ' οὐ, ἀλλ' ἅτε πολέμους περιέπονσι. οἱ δὲ περὶ τε Θήβας καὶ τὴν Μοῖριος λίμνην οἰκέοντες καὶ κάρτα ἤγηται αὐτοὺς εἶναι ἱρούς. ἐκ πάντων δὲ ἕνα ἑκάτεροι τρέφουσι κροκόδειλον, δεδιδαγμένοι εἶναι χειροθήρα· ἀρτήματά τε λίθινα χυτὰ καὶ χρύσεια ἐς τὰ ὦτα ἐνθέντες, καὶ ἀμφιδέας περὶ τοὺς προσθίους πόδας, καὶ σιτία ἀπότακτα διδόντες καὶ ἰρήϊα, καὶ περιέποντες ὡς κάλλιστα ζώοντας, ἀποθανόντας δὲ ταριχεύοντες θάπτουσι ἐν ἰρήσι θήκησι. οἱ δὲ περὶ Ἐλεφαντίνην πόλιν οἰκέοντες καὶ ἐσθίουσι αὐτοὺς, οὐκ ἡγεόμενοι ἱρούς εἶναι. καλέονται δὲ οὐ κροκόδειλοι ἀλλὰ χάμψαι<sup>187</sup>. κροκοδείλους δὲ Ἴωνες ὠνόμασαν<sup>188</sup>, εἰκάζοντες αὐτῶν τὰ εἶδεα τοῖσι παρὰ σφίσι γινομένοισι κροκοδείλοισι τοῖσι ἐν τῇσι αἰμασιῇσι. Ἀγραι δὲ σφῶν πολλὰι κατεστέασι καὶ παντοῖαι· ἡ δ' ὦν ἐμοί γε δοκεῖ ἀξιοτάτη ἀπηγήσιος εἶναι, ταύτην γράφω· ἐπεὶ νῶτον ὑὸς δελεᾷσθαι περὶ ἄγκιστρον, μετρίει ἐς μέσον τὸν ποταμόν· αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ χεῖλεος τοῦ ποταμοῦ

69 Not held sacred by all Egyptians.

Is eaten at Elephantine. Crocodile an Ionian word meaning a lizard.

70 Mode of taking them.

very slight changes, taken verbally from Hecateus. It seems likely that here also the writer is speaking at second-hand. See note 19, above.

<sup>184</sup> τυφλὸν δὲ ἐν ὕδατι. This notion probably arose from the appearance of the so-called "nictitating membrane," a horny substance which the animal has the power of drawing over its eye. The crocodile was, like the tiger in some parts of India, the impersonation of the Evil principle, and received at an early period divine honours, doubtless by way of propitiation. The silly syncretism of the neo-platonists, missing the original conception of the creature as a symbol of a destructive power, fixed upon this organ as the cause of the animal's deification.

Like the Supreme Deity, it saw all things while not observed to see them! (FLUTARCH, *De Iud. et Os.* p. 381.)

<sup>185</sup> μεστὸν βδελλέων. It is said that no leeches are to be found in the Nile.

<sup>186</sup> ἔωθε. The manuscripts S and V have *έώθεε*, all the others warranting the form in the text. In iii. 33, exactly the converse is the case.

<sup>187</sup> χάμψαι. WILKINSON says that this word is "a corruption of the Coptic or Egyptian *Meah* or *Bmooh*, from which the Arabs have derived their modern appellation *temedā*." (*Ancient Egyptians*, ii. p. 231.)

<sup>188</sup> κροκοδείλους δὲ Ἴωνες ὠνόμασαν. See above, note 128.

ἔχων δέλφακα ζῶην, ταύτην τύπτει· ἐπακούσας δὲ τῆς φωνῆς ὁ κροκόδειλος ἵεται κατὰ τὴν φωνήν, ἐντυχὼν δὲ τῷ νώτῳ καταπίνει· οἱ δὲ ἔλκουσι· ἐπεὰν δὲ ἐξελευσθῇ ἐς γῆν, πρῶτον ἀπάντων ὁ θηρευτῆς πηλῶ κατ' ὧν ἐπλασε αὐτοῦ τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς· τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσας, κάρτα εὐπετέως τὰ λοιπὰ χειροῦται· μὴ ποιήσας δὲ τοῦτο, σὺν πόνῳ.

Οἱ δὲ ἵπποι οἱ ποτάμιοι νομῶ μὲν τῷ Παπρημίτῃ<sup>100</sup> ἱροὶ εἰσι, 71  
τοῖσι δὲ ἄλλοις Αἰγυπτίοις οὐκ ἱροὶ· φύσιν δὲ παρέχονται ἰδέης The River-horse described.  
τοῖνδε· τετράπουν ἐστὶ, δίχηνον, [ὅπλαι βοός,]<sup>100</sup> σιμὸν, λοφίην  
ἔχον ἵππου, χαυλίδοντας φαῖνον, οὐρὴν ἵππου καὶ φωνὴν μέγα-  
θος, ὅσον τε βοῦς ὁ μέγιστος· τὸ δέρμα δ' αὐτοῦ οὕτω δὴ τι παχύ  
ἐστὶ, ὥστε αὐτοῦ γενομένου, ξυστὰ ποιέεσθαι ἀκόντια ἐξ αὐτοῦ.  
Γίνονται δὲ καὶ ἐνύδριες<sup>101</sup> ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ, τὰς ἱρὰς ἤρηνται εἶναι. 72  
νομίζουσι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἰχθύων τὸν καλούμενον λεπιδωτὸν ἱρὸν εἶναι, The Otter, Lepidotus, Eel, and Goose-fox.  
καὶ τὴν ἑγγελυν. ἱρούς δὲ τούτους τοῦ Νείλου φασὶ εἶναι· καὶ  
τῶν ὀρνίθων τοὺς χηνάλωπεκας\*.

Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλος ὄρνις ἱρὸς, τῷ οὐνομα φοῖνιξ· ἐγὼ μὲν μιν 73  
οὐκ εἶδον εἰ μὴ ὅσον γραφῇ· καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ σπάνιος ἐπιφοιτᾷ The Phoenix.

<sup>100</sup> νομῶ Παπρημίτῃ. See note on iii. 12.

<sup>100</sup> [ὅπλαι βοός.] These words seem undoubtedly to have crept into the text from the margin, after having been written there as an explanation of the word *δίχηνον*. The description is entirely false, for the foot of the animal is divided into toes like that of the elephant. Neither has it the tail of a horse. Herodotus, therefore (or his authority, see PORPHYRY, cited in note 183), could never have seen the real animal, which, indeed, is not found in the river below Thebes. But at Hermopolis, in the lower Delta, there was an image of *Tyrphon*, under the form of a river-horse, having a hawk, with a serpent in its talons, perched on its back; and on the seventh day of the month *Tybi* there was a festival at which the inhabitants used to eat cakes made into the form of the animal (PLUTARCH, *De Is. et Os.* p. 371). There was, therefore, probably, a traditional shape, which, in the course of years, had doubtless deviated considerably from its archetype, and from this the description may have been originally drawn. It is a curious

circumstance that now in some of the representations in the temples the animal is found depicted with cloven hooves and with huge projecting tusks, as described by Herodotus (HAMILTON, *Ægyptiaca*, pl. 22); and it is a remarkable proof of the carelessness of the Greeks for the sciences of observation, that 700 years later ACHILLES TATTIUS, himself an Alexandrine, gives a description of the animal scarcely less incorrect than that in the text. He makes it have cloven hooves and large crooked incisors (iv. 2).

<sup>101</sup> *ἐνύδριες*. The otter is unknown in Egypt, but WILKINSON says that he has known modern travellers mistake the *ichneumon*, when in the water, for it; and he considers that Herodotus may have been led into the error in the text by seeing this animal swimming. Another view is that he mistook the large *monitor-lizard* of the Nile for the otter.

\* τῶν χηνάλωπεκας. These animals are the geese of the Nile, which obtained their name from living in holes on the bank, like foxes. They appear continually in Egyptian monuments.

σφι, διὰ ἐτέων (ὡς Ἡλιουπολῖται λέγουσι) πεντακοσίων<sup>103</sup>. φοιτᾶν δὲ τότε φασί, ἔπειαν οἱ ἀποθάνῃ ὁ πατήρ. ἔστι δὲ, εἰ τῇ γραφῇ παρόμοιος, τοσούδε καὶ τοιούδε τὰ μὲν αὐτοῦ χρυσόκομα τὸν πτερυῶν, τὰ δὲ ἐρυθρά· ἐς τὰ μάλιστα αἰετῶ περιήγησιν ὁμοιότητος, καὶ τὸ μέγαςτος. τοῦτον δὲ λέγουσι μηχανᾶσθαι τάδε, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιστὰ λέγοντες· ἐξ Ἀραβίης ὀρμεώμενον, ἐς τὸ ἱρὸν τοῦ Ἥλιου κομίζων τὸν πατέρα ἐν σμύρῃ ἐμπλάσσοντα, καὶ θάπτειν ἐν τοῦ Ἥλιου τῷ ἱρῷ κομίζειν δὲ οὕτω πρῶτον, τῆς σμύρνης ὡς πλάσσειν ὡσαν τε δυνατός ἐστι φέρειν μετὰ δὲ, πειρᾶσθαι αὐτὸ φορέσθαι· ἔπειαν δὲ ἀποπειρηθῇ<sup>104</sup>, οὕτω δὲ κοιλήματα τὸ ὡς τὸν πατέρα ἐς αὐτὸ ἐντιθέναι· σμύρῃ δὲ ἄλλῃ ἐμπλάσσειν τοῦτο κατ' ὃ τι τοῦ ὡσοῦ ἐγκοιλήνας ἐνέθηκε τὸν πατέρα· ἐσκεμμένου δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς, γίνεσθαι τὸ αὐτὸ βάρος· ἐμπλάσαντα δὲ κομίζειν μιν ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου ἐς τοῦ Ἥλιου τὸ ἱρὸν. ταῦτα μὲν τοῦτον τὸν ὄρνιν λέγουσι ποιεῖν.

74

Tame  
snakes at  
Thebes.

Εἰσι δὲ περὶ Θήβας ἱροὶ ὄφεις ἀνθρώπων οὐδαμῶς δηλήμονες· οἱ μεγάλοι ὄντες μικροὶ<sup>105</sup> δύο κέρα φορέουσι πεφυκότα ἐξ ἄκρης τῆς κεφαλῆς· τοὺς θάπτουσι ἀποθανόντας ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ τοῦ Διὸς·

<sup>103</sup> διὰ ἐτέων πεντακοσίων. SCHOIA (*Lex. Egypt.*) supposes that the word *φῶνις* is derived from the Egyptian *foeneh*, "a secular period," a conjecture which is confirmed by the circumstance that some accounts made the interval between two consecutive apparitions of the bird 1461 years, which is undoubtedly the "annus omnicularis" or Sothic period (see note on § 142). But it is not easy to see what cyclical period would coincide even roughly with 500 years. IDLER (*Handbuch der Chronologie*, i. pp. 186, seqq.) discusses the question at length, and gives solutions by himself and others. The real cycle, which approaches the nearest to the number in the text, is that which would arise from taking the year without its intercalated days. For 487 years of 360 days equal 480 Julian years, so that in this time a civil year of that length would adjust itself to its proper place in the natural year. During this period, too, the heliacal rising of Sirius (see note 13, above) would seven times coincide with the first day of the month *Thoth*. The opinion of DES VIGNOLES is, that it is really this cycle

expressed in round numbers to which the number 500 in the text refers. It must be said, however, on the other side, that there is no positive evidence of the recognition of such a year or such a cycle in Egypt. IDLER himself considers that 500 is merely a round number for one-third of the Sothic period of 1461 intercalated years. It seems not impossible that it is one-third of the Sothic period, regarded as the representative of an early cycle of 487 non-intercalated years. If stated itself in terms of non-intercalated years, it would be nearly 494 years, which comes closer to 500.

<sup>104</sup> ἀποπειρηθῇ. See the first note on ix. 31.

<sup>105</sup> μεγάλοι ὄντες μικροί, "being small in size." See note 157 on i. 51. WILKINSON (*A. E.* ii. p. 246) says that these horned snakes are very common in Upper Egypt, but that there is no evidence from the sculptures of their having been sacred to the Theban deity. They are exceedingly venomous, and very dangerous, as they bury themselves in the sand, which is of the same colour.



τούτου γάρ σφεας τοῦ θεοῦ φασὶ εἶναι ἱρούς. Ἔστι δὲ χώρος τῆς 75  
 Ἀραβίης, κατὰ Βουτοῦν πόλιν<sup>155</sup> μάλιστα κη κείμενος· καὶ ἐς Bones of  
 τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον ἦλθον, πυνθανόμενος περὶ τῶν πτερωτῶν ὀφίων the neigh-  
 ἀπικόμενος δὲ εἶδον ὅστέα ὀφίων καὶ ἀκάνθας, πλήθει μὲν ἀδύνατα bourhood  
 ἀπηγγέσασθαι· σωροὶ δὲ ἦσαν ἀκανθέων καὶ μεγάλοι καὶ ὑποδε- of Buta.  
 έστεροι, καὶ ἐλάσσονες ἔτι τούτων πολλοὶ δὲ ἦσαν οὗτοι. ἔστι  
 δὲ ὁ χώρος οὗτος ἐν τῷ αἰ ἀκανθαὶ κατακεχύσται τοιόσδε τις  
 ἐσβολῇ ἐξ οὐρέων στεινῶν ἐς πεδίον μέγα· τὸ δὲ πεδίον τοῦτο  
 συνάπτει τῷ Αἰγυπτίῳ πεδίῳ· λόγος δὲ ἔστι, ἅμα τῷ ἔαρι πτερω-  
 τοὺς ὄφεις ἐκ τῆς Ἀραβίης πέτεσθαι ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου τὰς δὲ ἱβίς<sup>a</sup> The *Ibis*  
 τὰς ὀρνίθας ἀπαντῶσας ἐς τὴν ἐσβολὴν ταύτης τῆς χώρας οὐ παρι- destroys  
 ἔναι τοὺς ὄφεις, ἀλλὰ κατακτείνειν καὶ τὴν ἱβιν διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον the snakes.  
 τετιμῆσθαι λέγουσι Ἀράβιοι μεγάλως πρὸς Αἰγυπτίων ὁμολογέ-  
 ουσι δὲ καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι διὰ ταῦτα τιμᾶν τὰς ὀρνίθας ταύτας. Εἶδος 76  
 δὲ τῆς μὲν ἱβίος τόδε· μέλαινα δεινῶς πᾶσα, σκέλεα δὲ φορέει Description  
 γεράνου, πρόσωπον δὲ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἐπήγρυπον μέγας ὅσον of the bird.  
 κρέξ· τῶν μὲν δὴ μελαινέων τῶν μαχομένων πρὸς τοὺς ὄφεις ἦδε  
 ἰδέη· τῶν δ' ἐν ποσὶ μᾶλλον εἰλευμένων τοῖσι ἀνθρώποισι (διξαι  
 γὰρ δὴ εἰσι αἱ ἱβίαι) ἦδε<sup>b</sup>· ψιλὴ τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ τὴν δειρὴν  
 πᾶσαν λευκὴ πτεροῖσι, πλήν κεφαλῆς καὶ αὐχένος<sup>c</sup> καὶ ἄκρων  
 τῶν πτερύγων καὶ τοῦ πυγαίου ἄκρου· ταῦτα δὲ τὰ εἶπον πάντα  
 μελαινὰ ἔστι δεινῶς· σκέλεα δὲ καὶ πρόσωπον ἐμφερὴς τῇ ἐτέρῃ  
 τοῦ δὲ ὄφις ἢ μορφή οἷη περ τῶν ὕδρων<sup>156</sup>· πτίλα δὲ οὐ πτερωτὰ

<sup>155</sup> κατὰ Βουτοῦν πόλιν. If this *Buto* is the same as that mentioned in § 69, and described in § 155, it is very difficult to give any other sense to the expression than that it is on the same line (in this case on the same parallel of latitude) as that city. It is very conceivable that a navigator would refer all the places inland to their projections (so to speak) on the course which he himself was taking,—which here would be up the river. In this way, perhaps, κατὰ Σινώπην is to be understood in i. 76. *Pterie* is there regarded as lying in the line which, drawn directly to the line of coast, would pass through Sinope, but without any reference to its distance.

<sup>a</sup> τὰς δὲ ἱβίς. The *ibis* is a bird of a weak bill, like a curlew, and could not by any possibility destroy real snakes.

<sup>b</sup> ἦδε. The manuscripts M, K, P, F

have ἦ. The rest omit the word. I have introduced ἦδε, which is the conjecture of Schweighäuser. Gaisford follows the majority of the MSS in omitting the word; but the resulting text could not have been written by Herodotus even as a memorandum.

<sup>c</sup> αὐχένος. Gaisford, with the majority of MSS, has τοῦ αὐχένος.

<sup>156</sup> οἷη περ τῶν ὕδρων. This statement must be second-hand, as the writer only professes to have seen the bones of the Arabian snakes. In a description of some others which he identifies with these, he calls them μικροὶ τὰ μεγάλαι (iii. 107). WILKINSON (*Anc. Egypt.* ii. p. 218) considers that what the author saw was the remains of bats, which are found in large quantities in some parts of Egypt. The conjecture is somewhat confirmed by the description of the wings

φορεί, ἀλλὰ τοῖσι τῆς νυκτερίδος πτεροῖσι μάλιστα κη ἐμφερέ-  
στατα· τοσαῦτα μὲν θηρίων περὶ ἰρῶν εἰρήσθω.

77

Habits of  
the popula-  
tion of the  
arable part  
of Egypt.

Αὐτῶν δὲ δὴ Αἰγυπτίων οἱ μὲν περὶ τὴν σπειρομένην Αἴγυπτον  
οἰκέουσι, μνήμην ἀνθρώπων πάντων ἐπασκέοντες μάλιστα, λογιώ-  
τατοι<sup>197</sup> εἰσι μακρῶ τῶν ἐγὼ ἐς διάπειραν ἀπικόμην. τρόπῳ δὲ  
ζῆς τοῦδε διαχρέωνται· συρμαῖζουσι τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἐπεξῆς μηνὸς  
ἐκάστου ἐμέτοισι θηρώμενοι τὴν ὑγίειν καὶ κλύσμασι, νομίζοντες  
ἀπὸ τῶν τρεφόντων σιτικῶν πάσας τὰς νούσους τοῖσι ἀνθρώποισι  
γίνεσθαι. εἰσὶ μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἄλλως Αἰγύπτιοι μετὰ Αἰβυας ὑγιρέ-  
στατοι<sup>198</sup> πάντων ἀνθρώπων, τῶν ὥρέων (δοκέειν ἐμοὶ) εἵνεκεν, ὅτι  
οὐ μεταλλάσσουν αἱ ὥραι· ἐν γὰρ τῇσι μεταβολῇσι τοῖσι ἀνθρώ-  
ποισι αἱ νοῦσοι μάλιστα γίνονται, τῶν τε ἄλλων πάντων καὶ δὴ  
καὶ τῶν ὥρέων μάλιστα<sup>199</sup>. ἄρτοφαγέουσι δὲ ἐκ τῶν ὀλυρέων  
ποιεῖντες ἄρτους, τοὺς ἐκεῖνοι κυλλήστις<sup>200</sup> ὀνομάζουσι. οἶνον δ'  
ἐκ κριθέων πεποιημένῳ διαχρέωνται· οὐ γὰρ σφί εἰσι ἐν τῇ χώρῃ

(πίλα οὐ πτεροτά), which agree with the membrane which enables the bat to fly; and these remains the writer may have considered to belong to the winged serpents which appear in the paintings.

<sup>197</sup> *λογιώτατοι*, "the richest in legendary lore." See above, § 3. The abundance of monuments, to each of which a tradition attached, was singularly favourable to the cultivation of this talent. WESSLING quotes a passage from PROCLUS, which well illustrates the Egyptian practice, and shows the foundation which existed for many of their narratives: Αἰγυπτίους δὲ εἶναι καὶ τὰ γεγονότα διὰ τῆς μνήμης δεῖν νέα πᾶρεσθαι, ἣ δὲ μνήμη διὰ τῆς ἱστορίας, αὐτῇ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν σπηλαίων. The PSEUDO-SANCHONIATHON professed to derive his information ἐκ τῶν κατὰ πόλιν ὁπομημάτων καὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἀναγραφῶν (EUSEBIUS, *Præp. Evang.* i. 10). These ἀναγραφῆαι, however, were undoubtedly in many instances not contemporaneous, but the result of a previously calculated chronology. Of this the Parian Chronicle is one obvious example, and the synchronism of Semiramis with the siege of Troy (EUSEBIUS, l. c.) another.

<sup>198</sup> *ὕγιρέστατοι*. So Gaisford reads, with the majority of manuscripts. S, V, δ, d have *ὕγιεστοροι*. The form *ὕγιρότατος* is used in iv. 187. A proof of the fact stated in the case is the extremely small number of infant mummies

which are found, as compared with those of adults.

<sup>199</sup> *τῶν τε ἄλλων . . . μάλιστα*. These words are omitted in S, V, and d.

<sup>200</sup> *κυλλήστις*. This was the local name given to loaves twisted into a point (POLLUX and ΑΘΗΝÆUS, cited by Larcher). Possibly this shape had a reference originally to the same idea which dictated the pyramidal figure. The display of religious symbolism in articles of food is found every where. See PLUTARCH, cited in note 190. VARRO (*De lingua Lat.* iv. p. 30) has a fanciful derivation of the word "panis" from the god Pan, whose shape, he says, was originally given to loaves. This figure may very likely have been only a symbol something like a sugar-loaf (see note 367 on i. 105). Cakes called *πυραμίδες*, or *πυραμίδες*, were eaten in the nightly festivals (ΙΑΤΡΟΚΛΕΣ, *ap. Athen.* xiv. p. 647), and the word *panis* was one of the surnames under which Ceres was worshipped in Italy.

The word was notorious as coming from Egypt, and was used as such by ARISTOPHANES in his play of the *Danaides*. But it has no affinity with any known Egyptian word (JABLONSKY, *Voc. Egypt.* p. 117), so that possibly it belongs to the naturalized foreigners whom Herodotus elsewhere appears to treat as Egyptians. (See notes on § 43 and § 46.)

ἄμπελοι<sup>201</sup>. ἰχθύων<sup>202</sup> δὲ τοὺς μὲν πρὸς ἥλιον αὐήναντες ὤμους σιτέονται, τοὺς δὲ ἐξ ἄλμης τεταριχευμένους<sup>203</sup>. ὀρνίθων δὲ τοὺς τε ὄρνυγας καὶ τὰς νήσσας καὶ τὰ σμικρὰ τῶν ὀρνιθίων ὠμὰ σιτέονται, προταριχεύσαντες· τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ὅσα ἢ ὀρνίθων ἢ ἰχθύων ἐστὶ σφι ἐχόμενα, χωρὶς ἢ ὁκόσοι<sup>204</sup> σφι ἱροὶ ἀποδεδέχεται, τοὺς λοιποὺς ὀπτοὺς καὶ ἐφθοὺς σιτέονται. Ἐν δὲ τῇσι συνουσίῃσι, 78 τοῖσι εὐδαίμοσι αὐτῶν ἐπεὰν ἀπὸ δείπνου γένωνται περιφέρει ἄνθρωπος νεκρὸν ἐν σορῷ ξύλινον πεποιημένον, μεμιμημένον ἐς τὰ μάλιστα καὶ γραφή καὶ ἔργον, μέγαθος ὅσον τε πᾶντι<sup>205</sup> πηχυαῖον ἢ δόληχυν· δεκνὺς δὲ ἐκάστω τῶν συμποσίων λέγει· “ἐς τοῦτον ὀρέων, πίνε τε καὶ τέρπευ· ἔσσαι γὰρ ἀποθανὼν τοιοῦτος.” ταῦτα μὲν παρὰ τὰ συμπόσια ποιεῦσι.

Strange custom at entertainments.

Πατρίοισι δὲ χρεώμενοι νόμοισι, ἄλλον οὐδένα ἐπικτένεται. 79 τοῖσι ἄλλα τε ἐπάξιά ἐστι νόμιμα, καὶ δὴ καὶ αἶσμα ἔν ἐστι Ἀῖνος, ὅσπερ ἔν τε Φοινίκη αὐδιδμός ἐστι καὶ ἐν Κύπρῳ καὶ ἄλλῃ· κατὰ μέντοι ἔθνεα οὖνομα ἔχει· συμφέρεται δὲ ὧντος<sup>a</sup> εἶναι τὸν οἱ Ἕλληνας Δίωνος ὀνομάζοντες ἀείδουσιν· ὥστε πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα ἀποθουμάζειν με τῶν περὶ Αἴγυπτον ἐόντων, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ τὸν Δίον<sup>206</sup> ὁκόθεν ἔλαβον φαίνονται δὲ αἰεὶ κοτε τοῦτον ἀείδοντες· ἔστι δὲ Αἴγυπτιστὶ ὁ Δίως καλεόμενος Μανέρως<sup>207</sup>. ἔφασαν δὲ

Ancient chant, called by the Egyptians *Maneros*, identical with the Hellenic *Linus*.

<sup>201</sup> οὐ γὰρ σφι εἰσι ἐν τῇ χάρῃ ἄμπελοι. There were no vines in that part of Egypt which was overflowed by the Nile, but there were on the banks of the lake Mareotis, and also in the *Faioum*, or the neighbourhood of the lake Moeris (STRABO, xvii. p. 452). See note 111, above.

<sup>202</sup> ἰχθύων. The priests never ate any of these. See above, § 37.

<sup>203</sup> ἐξ ἄλμης τεταριχευμένους. See note 54, above.

<sup>204</sup> χωρὶς ἢ ὁκόσοι. The change of gender to the masculine may perhaps be accounted for in the following manner. In the notion of the Egyptians, it was not the whole *species* of any animal which was *primarily* held sacred. At first, certain individuals, selected as the symbolic *ἀγάλματα* of particular deities, were dedicated; and the veneration attaching to these gradually extended itself, first of all to those which resembled the sacred animal (a stage of the process which appears in the custom described above,

§ 38), and afterwards, after a long course of time, to the entire species.

<sup>205</sup> πᾶντι. This word when applied to measurements always means “in every dimension.” Here, therefore, it would imply that the mummy was of a cubical figure, which there seems no reason to suppose. I suspect the word has slipped out of its place, and that originally it occupied the site of the words καὶ γραφή καὶ ἔργον, which crept in from the margin as an interpretation of it.

<sup>a</sup> ὧντος εἶναι. So Gaisford prints, and does not notice any MS variation. But in v. 52, there is an equal unanimity for *ἐντός*.

<sup>206</sup> τὸν Δίον, “the Linus.” Compare νόμον τὸν ὕρσιον, “the reveillé,” i. 24. The article is used from the well-known character of the melody. So below, § 92, τῇ μήκῃ.

<sup>207</sup> ἔστι δὲ Αἴγυπτιστὶ . . . Μανέρως. According to JABLONSKY (*Voc. Egypt.* p. 128) the word “Maneros” is equivalent to “let us sing.” He conceives the

80

Respect  
towards  
the aged =  
in Lacedæmon.

μιν Αἰγύπτιοι τοῦ πρώτου βασιλεύσαντος Αἰγύπτου παῖδα μουνο-  
γενέα γενέσθαι ἀποθανόντα δ' αὐτὸν ἄνθρωπον θρήνοισι τούτοις  
ὑπ' Αἰγυπτίων τιμηθῆναι· καὶ ἰοιδὴν τε ταύτην πρώτην καὶ μού-  
νην σφίσι γενέσθαι. Συμφέρονται δὲ καὶ τὸδε ἄλλο Αἰγύπτιοι  
'Ελλήνων μόνουσι<sup>208</sup> Λακεδαιμονίοισι· οἱ νεώτεροι αὐτῶν τοῖσι  
πρεσβυτέροισι συντυγχάνοντες εἰκουσι τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ ἐκτράπονται,  
καὶ ἐπιούσι ἐξ ἑδρης ὑπανιστάται· τὸδε μέντοι ἄλλοισι 'Ελ-  
λήνων οὐδαμοῖσι συμφέρονται· ἀπὲρ τοῦ προσαγορεύειν ἀλλήλους  
ἐν τῇσι ὁδοῖσι, προσκινέουσι κατιέντες μέχρι τοῦ γούνατος τὴν  
χεῖρα. 'Ενδεδύκασι δὲ κιβῶνας λεγούσας περὶ τὰ σκέλεα θυσανω-  
τούς, οὓς καλέουσι καλασίρις<sup>209</sup>. ἐπὶ τούτοις δὲ εἰρίνεα εἴματα  
λευκὰ ἐπαναβληδὸν φορέουσι. οὐ μέντοι ἔς γε τὰ ἱρά ἐσφέρεται  
εἰρίνεα, οὐδὲ συγκαταθάπτεται σφί· οὐ γὰρ ὄσιον. ὁμολογέουσι  
δὲ ταῦτα τοῖσι 'Ορφικοῖσι καλεομένοις καὶ Βακχικοῖσι<sup>210</sup>, ἐοῦσι

81

They wear  
linen next  
the skin,  
and white  
woollen  
over-gar-  
ments.

phrase to have been the beginning of the song referred to in the text, which was accordingly known by that name. Compare ARISTOPHANES, *Nub.* 967: ἡ "Παλλὰς Περσέπολιν δεινὴν" ἡ "Τηλέπορον τι βοᾶμε." In all probability this chant was used on the occasion described in § 132, and in all cognate rituals, viz. all such symbolized the temporary suspension of the vital powers of nature, whether these were represented by the decadent sun (as in the case of Osiris), or the sown seed (as in the Eleusinia), or the fertilizing showers (as in the Hyacinthia of Amyclæ). Adonis, Gingras, Iānus, Zagreus, and others, are all so many different local variations, with more or fewer adventitious features, of the same myth. The song of BION, *Αἰδέω τὸν Ἀδωνιν*, is, probably, only a Hellenic version of the ancient "Maneros" adapted to the taste of the Ptolemaic times. That of the female in THEOCRITUS (xv. 100) is another specimen, only much altered from its original style for the purpose of courtly compliment.

If Jablonsky be right, the mistake of the word "Maneros" for a proper name is another instance of the turbid nature of the sources from which Herodotus drew. In the time of PLUTARCH a place had been found for this personage in the Osiris-cycle.

<sup>208</sup> 'Ελλήνων μόνουσι. In Lacedæmon the respect to the aged was most conspicuous; though the customs mentioned in

the text seem to have existed universally throughout Hellas (XENOPHON, *Memorab.* ii. 3, 16). But the new style of education introduced by the sophists was hostile to the traditional forms of reverence as well as to most others, and hence ARISTOPHANES makes the *δικαῖος λόγος* exhort the young Athenians *τῶν θάκων τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις θύαντασθαι προσιῶσιν* (*Nub.* 993). As the Lacedæmonians were the most conservative of ancient usages, the difference might appear so strongly marked between them and others to a casual observer as to warrant the observation in the text.

<sup>209</sup> καλασίρις. JABLONSKY (*Vocæ. Egypt.* p. 163, *seqq.*) is very uncertain as to the etymology of this word. He rather inclines to think that in its native form it was pronounced *Shai-ha-schar* (*vestis ad cutem*). The word *Kal*, however, appears to have meant "the leg," and he thinks that possibly there may be some etymological connexion.

<sup>210</sup> 'Ορφικοῖσι καὶ Βακχικοῖσι. The two are united in the phraseology of EURIPIDES, *Hippolyt.* 952:

ἤδη νυν ἀβχεῖ, καὶ δὲ ἀβόχου βορᾶς  
σίτοις κατήλεν, 'Ορφεα τ' ἀνακτ' ἔχον  
βάκχων, πολλῶν γραμμάτων τιμῶν κατ-  
νοῖς.

The ascetic character of the orgies, or rather of the preparation for them, as well as their substantial identity with those of the Idæan deities, may be seen in the second fragment from the *Kρήτες* of EURIPIDES (p. 98, *Dindorf.*).

δὲ Αἰγυπτίοισι<sup>211</sup> καὶ Πυθαγοραίοισι· οὐδὲ γὰρ τούτων τῶν ὀργῶν μετέχοντα δοῖόν ἐστι ἐν εἰρηνόοις εἰμασι θαφθῆναι, ἐστὶ δὲ περὶ αὐτῶν ἰρὸς λόγος λεγόμενος<sup>212</sup>.

Καὶ ταδε ἄλλα Αἰγυπτίοισι ἐστὶ ἐξευρημένα· μείς τε καὶ ἡμέρη 82  
ἐκάστη θεῶν ὅτεν ἐστί· καὶ τῇ ἑκάστῃ ἡμέρῃ γενόμενος, ὅτεοις  
ἐγκυρήσει· καὶ ὅκως τελευτήσῃ καὶ ὁκοῖός τις ἔσται· καὶ τούτοις  
τῶν Ἑλλήνων οἱ ἐν ποιήσῃ γενόμενοι ἐχρήσαντα τέρατά τε  
πλέα σφι ἀνέυρηται ἢ τοῖσι ἄλλοις ἀπασὶ ἀνθρώποις· γενομένου  
γὰρ τέρατος, φυλάσσουνσι γραφόμενοι τῷποβαῖνον· καὶ ἦν κοτε  
ὑστερον παραπλήσιον τούτῳ γένηται, κατὰ τὸντὸ νομίζουσι ἀπο-  
βῆσθαι. Μαντικὴ δὲ αὐτοῖσι ὧδε διακέεται· ἀνθρώπων μὲν 83  
οὐδενὶ προσκέεται ἡ τέχνη, τῶν δὲ θεῶν μετεξετέροισι καὶ γὰρ  
Ἡρακλῆος μαντήϊον αὐτόθι ἐστὶ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ἀθηναίης  
καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ Ἄρεος καὶ Διός, καὶ, ὅγε μάλιστα ἐν τιμῇ  
ἄγονται<sup>213</sup> πάντων τῶν μαντήϊων, Διητοῦς ἐν Βουτοῖ πόλι ἐστὶ.  
οὐ μάντιοι αἱ γε μαντήϊαι σφι κατὰ τὸντὸ ἐστᾶσι, ἀλλὰ διάφοροί  
εἰσι. Ἡ δὲ ἱητρικὴ κατὰ τάδε σφι δέδασται· μῆς νοῖσου ἑκάστος 84  
ἱητρός ἐστι, καὶ οὐ πλεόνων πάντα δ' ἱητρῶν ἐστὶ πλέα· οἱ μὲν

Each day  
and each  
month sa-  
cred to some  
deity.  
Astrology.  
Registration  
of pheno-  
mena.

Oracles  
many in  
number,  
of which  
that at Buto  
is the most  
respected.

84  
Medical  
professors.

<sup>211</sup> δοῖσι δὲ Αἰγυπτίοισι. The transfer of these ceremonies from Egypt to European Hellas probably took place through the intercourse which was established between the two countries in the time of Amasis. It seems to have been effected mainly through the agency of Onomacritus, of whom Herodotus speaks, vii. 6. Such *ἔργα* or *τελεταί* must not, either in the case of Dionysus or any other deity, be confounded with the *public* ritual of the same deity, although doubtless there was a connexion between the two. They were the vehicle for what may be called the personal religion of antiquity, as the public ceremonies were for the state religion. The latter are what VALERO calls "Theologiae genus civile, quod maxime sacerdotibus necesse atque administrare debent; in quo est, quos deos colere, quae sacra et sacrificia facere quoniam par sit." The former are referred to by PLATO, ἀγόνται καὶ μάντις ἐν πλουσίων θύρας ἰόντες πείθουσιν, ὡς ἐστὶ παρὰ σφωὶ δύναμις ἐκ θεῶν ποριζομένη θεοτάς τε καὶ ἀνθρώπους εἶπε τι ἀδίκημα γέγονεν αὐτοῦ ἢ πρὸς τῶν ἀνείσθαι (*Rep.*

ii. p. 364). See HERODOTUS, *sup.* v. Δόσις τελεταί, and EURIPIDES (*Bacch.* 72—81). In the time of DEMOSTHENES, the active management of these ceremonies had become a subject for contemptuous ridicule (see *Orat. c. Ctesiph.* p. 313), and the participation in them indicated extreme superstition (THEOPHRASTUS, *Charact.* 26, 4) although at the same time Aristotle could be successfully charged with blasphemy against the state religion for his *scôlism* to Hermias.

<sup>212</sup> ἰρὸς λόγος λεγόμενος. Possibly the real origin of the practice of burying in linen was the same as that of burying in woollen in England, the desire to encourage the staple manufacture of the country.

<sup>213</sup> ὅγε μάλιστα ἐν τιμῇ ἄγονται. In § 155, he calls this oracle τὸ χρηστήριον τὸ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, as if there was no other worth speaking of. It was probably more accessible to the foreign merchants, from its situation; and perhaps from the symbolism being analogous to that found in other mercantile habits, for instance at Delos. See §§ 155, 6.

Division  
of studies  
among  
them.

85

Funerals.  
Lamenta-  
tion in  
public of  
female  
mourners.

γὰρ ὀφθαλμῶν ἱητροὶ κατεστέασι, οἱ δὲ κεφαλῆς, οἱ δὲ ὀδόντων· οἱ δὲ τῶν κατὰ νηδύν, οἱ δὲ τῶν ἀφανέων νούσων.

Θρήνοι δὲ καὶ ταφαὶ σφρων εἰς αἶδε τοῖσι ἀν ἀπογένηται ἐκ τῶν οἰκίων ἄνθρωπος τοῦ τις καὶ λόγος ἦ, τὸ θῆλυ γένος πᾶν τὸ ἐκ τῶν οἰκίων τούτων κατ' ὧν ἐπλάσατο τὴν κεφαλὴν πηλῷ ἢ καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον· κάππειτα ἐν τοῖσι οἰκίοισι λιπούσαι τὸν νεκρὸν, αὐταὶ ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν στρωφώμεναι, τύπτονται ἐπεξωσμένοι καὶ φαίνουσαι τοὺς μαζοὺς<sup>214</sup>. σὺν δὲ σφί αἱ προσήκουσαι πᾶσαι· ἐτέρωθεν δὲ οἱ ἄνδρες τύπτονται ἐπεξωσμένοι καὶ οὗτοι· ἐπεὰν δὲ ταῦτα ποιήσωσι, οὕτω ἐς τὴν ταρίχενσιν κομίζουσι. Εἰςὶ δὲ οἱ ἐπ' αὐτῷ τούτῳ κατέαται<sup>215</sup>, καὶ τέχνην ἔχουσι ταύτην οὗτοι· ἐπεὰν σφί κομισθῇ νεκρὸς δευκνύσῃ τοῖσι κομίσασι παραδείγματα νεκρῶν ξύλινα τῇ γραφῇ μεμιμημένα· καὶ τὴν μὲν σπουδαιοτάτην αὐτέων φασὶ εἶναι, τοῦ οὐκ ὀσιον ποιεῦμαι τὸ οὖνομα ἐπὶ τοιούτῳ πρήγματι<sup>216</sup> ὀνομάζειν, τὴν δὲ δευτέραν δευκνύσῃ ὑποδεεστέραν τε ταύτης καὶ εὐτελεστέραν, τὴν δὲ τρίτην εὐτελεστάτην φράσαντες δὲ πυνθάνονται παρ' αὐτῶν κατὰ ἥντινα βούλονται σφί σκευασθῆναι τὸν νεκρὸν; οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐκποδῶν, μισθῷ ὁμολογήσαντες, ἀπαλλάσσονται· οἱ δὲ ὑπολειπόμενοι ἐν οἰκίμασι ὧδε τὰ σπουδαιότατα ταριχεύουσιν· πρῶτα μὲν σκολιῷ σιδήρῳ διὰ τῶν μυζωτήρων ἐξάγουσι τὸν ἐγκέφαλον, τὰ μὲν αὐτοῦ οὕτω ἐξάγοντες τὰ δὲ ἐγγέοντες φάρμακα<sup>217</sup>. μετὰ δὲ, λίθῳ Αἰθιοπικῷ<sup>218</sup> ὃξεί παρασχίσαντες παρὰ τὴν λαπάρην, ἐξ ὧν εἶλον τὴν κοιλίην

86  
Embal-  
ming.

Three dif-  
ferent me-  
thods.

<sup>214</sup> ἐπεξωσμένοι . . . μαζοὺς. The girdle prevented the tunic from falling lower than the waist, which, when loosened for the purpose of beating the breast, it would otherwise have done.

<sup>215</sup> κατέαται. The Sancroft MS has κατατεράχεται, which seems to be a gloss.

<sup>216</sup> ἐπὶ τοιούτῳ πρήγματι. See note on § 132. WILKINSON says that Herodotus is wrong in stating that there were three distinct modes of finishing the decoration of the mummies, there being really an indefinite variety. Also that the imitation of the form attributed to Osiris was not confined to the first class of them (*A. E.* ii. p. 455, 2nd Series). It would appear that every individual who was considered worthy of admission to the presence of Osiris after death was

allowed to assume his name and form. A parallel to this appears in the Dionysiac mysteries, the worthy participant in which was himself termed *Bacchus*: (Βάκχος ἐκλήθην ὁσωθεὶς. EURIPIDES, *fragm.* 2 of the *Κρήτες*). Hence the proverb: πολλοὶ μὲν νερθηκοφόροι ταῦροι δὲ τε Βάκχοι. See note 158, above.

<sup>217</sup> ἐγγέοντες φάρμακα, "by infusing drugs," i. e. for the purpose of decomposing the brain, which otherwise it would have been impossible to extract by the nostrils.

<sup>218</sup> λίθῳ Αἰθιοπικῷ. Kenrick well remarks on the antiquity of the practice of embalming, as shown by the retention of this primitive instrument in the process. He points out a similar case in the sacrifice of a swine by the *fetialis* at Rome, which was done with a flint.

πάσαν ἐκκαθήραντες δὲ αὐτὴν καὶ διηθήσαντες οἶνῳ φοινικίῳ, αὐτὶς διηθέουσι θυμῆμασι τετριμμένοισι· ἔπειτα τὴν νηδὺν σμύρνης ἀκηράτου τετριμμένης, καὶ κασίης, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θυωμάτων πλὴν λιβανωτοῦ πλήσαντες, συρράπτουσι ὀπίσω ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες, ταριχεύουσι λίτρῳ<sup>219</sup> κρύψαντες ἡμέρας ἑβδομήκοντα<sup>220</sup> πλεῦνας δὲ τουτέων οὐκ ἔξεστι ταριχεύειν. ἐπεὰν δὲ παρέλθωσι αἱ ἑβδομήκοντα, λούσαντες τὸν νεκρὸν κατείλισσουσιν πᾶν αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα σινδόνης βυσσίνης τελαμῶσι<sup>b</sup> κατατετρημένοισι, ὑποχρίοντες τῷ κόμμῳ· τῷ δὲ ἀντὶ κόλλης τὰ πολλὰ χρέωνται Αἰγύπτῳ· ἐνθεύτην δὲ παραδεξάμενοι μὲν οἱ προσήκοντες, ποιεῖνται ξύλινον τύπον ἀνθρωποειδέα· ποιησάμενοι δὲ, ἐσεργνύσι τὸν νεκρὸν καὶ κατακλητάσαντες οὕτω θησαυρίζουσι· [ἐν οἰκήματι θηκαίῳ, ἰσάαντες ὀρθὸν πρὸς τοίχον· οὕτω μὲν τοὺς τὰ πολυτελέστατα σκευάζουσι νεκρούς<sup>220</sup>.] Τοὺς δὲ τὰ μέσα βουλο- 87 μένους τὴν δὲ πολυτελεστὴν φεύγοντας, σκευάζουσι ὧδε<sup>221</sup>. ἐπεὰν

<sup>219</sup> λίτρῳ. So Gaisford reads, with several MSS. Others have λίτρη. The substance meant is no doubt the *trona* of commerce (hydro-carbonate of soda), which was obtained from the so-called Natron lakes to the south of Alexandria. The words λίτρῳ κρύψαντες are to be taken together. The body was immersed in a bath of brine.

<sup>a</sup> ἡμέρας ἑβδομήκοντα. DIODORUS SICULUS (i. 72) sets down seventy-two days as the time occupied, not indeed in embalming, but in mourning for the deceased, a part of which only was taken up by the actual process. (See *Genesis* i. 3.) That the number seventy-two should be expressed roundly as seventy may be illustrated by the parallel case of the supposed seventy-two translators of the Old Testament into Greek being habitually called *the seventy*.

<sup>b</sup> σινδόνης βυσσίνης τελαμῶσι. These words have occasioned a good deal of difficulty, as the writer appears to speak of something other than linen. Yet it is ascertained that the bandages of the mummies are of that substance. Cotton was indeed in after-times cultivated in Egypt, and the dresses of the priests made of it; but, when Herodotus speaks of cotton, he calls it *εἰρων* ἀπὸ ξύλου (iii. 47. 106), and in the latter passage he speaks of the tree as growing in India, and does not mention it in a way to induce the belief that he saw it either in

Egypt or elsewhere. Perhaps it was introduced into Egypt from India after the conquests of Alexander. The substance of which he here speaks is (I believe) a linen made from an imported flax (*bys-sus*). The Elean *bysus* was, according to PAUSANIAS (v. 5. 2), of a pale yellow colour (somewhat perhaps resembling raw silk). Pausanias notices that Elis is the only place in Hellas where this grows; and on this coast there was in very early times a town *Samos*, which undoubtedly was a settlement for commercial purposes, and probably made from the island of the same name. It existed apparently in the time of Stesichorus, and its name survived in the *Σαμικὸν πεδίον* to that of Pausanias (PAUSANIAS, l. c., and STRABO, viii. 3, pp. 160, 1). It seems to me likely that the commodity began to be brought to Egypt in Psammetichus' reign from Elis by Samians; and that previously it came from Syro-Phoenicia. See notes on § 154, below. Pausanias compares the colour of the "Hebrew" *bysus* with that of the Elean.

<sup>220</sup> ἐν οἰκήματι . . . νεκρούς. These words are omitted from the manuscripts S, V, d. They can hardly have dropped out; but on the other hand there is no reason to suppose them an interpolation. I look upon this as another evidence of a twofold recension.

<sup>221</sup> τοὺς δὲ τὰ μέσα . . . σκευάζουσι ὧδε. This is rather a loose expression at

- τοὺς κλυστήρας<sup>223</sup> πλήσωνται τοῦ ἀπὸ κέδρου ἀλείφατος γινομένου, ἐν ᾧν ἐπλησαν τοῦ νεκροῦ τὴν κοιλίην, οὔτε ἀνατμόντες αὐτὸν οὔτε ἐξελόντες τὴν νηδὺν, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἔδρην<sup>224</sup> ἐσηθήσαντες· καὶ ἐπιλαβόντες τὸ κλύσμα τῆς ὀπίσω ὁδοῦ<sup>225</sup>, ταριχεύουσι τὰς προκειμένας ἡμέρας· τῇ δὲ τελευταίῃ ἐξίεισι ἐκ τῆς κοιλίης τὴν κεδρίην, τὴν ἐσήκαν πρότερον· ἡ δὲ ἔχει τοσαύτην δύναμιν, ὥστε ἅμα ἐωυτῇ τὴν νηδὺν καὶ τὰ σπλάγχνα κατατετηκότα ἐξάγει· τὰς δὲ σάρκας τὸ λίτρον κατατῆκει· καὶ δὴλείπεται τοῦ νεκροῦ τὸ δέρμα μόνον καὶ τὰ ὀστέα· ἐπεὰν δὲ ταῦτα ποιήσωσι, ἀπ' ᾧν ἔδωκαν οὕτω τὸν νεκρὸν οὐδὲν ἔτι πρηγματευθέντες<sup>226</sup>. Ἡ δὲ τρίτη ταρίχευσις ἐστὶ ἥδε, ἣ τοὺς χρήμασι ἀσθενεστέρους σκευάζει· συρμαίῃ διηθήσαντες τὴν κοιλίην, ταριχεύουσι τὰς ἐβδομήκοντα ἡμέρας, καὶ ἔπειτα ἀπ' ᾧν ἔδωκαν ἀποφέρεσθαι. Τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας τῶν ἐπιφανέων ἀνδρῶν, ἐπεὰν τελευτήσωσι, οὐ παραντῖκα διδοῦσι ταριχεύειν, οὐδὲ ὅσαι ἂν ὦσι εὐειδέες κάρτα καὶ λόγου πλεῖνος γυναῖκες· ἀλλ' ἐπεὰν τριταῖαι ἢ τεταρταῖαι γένωνται, οὕτω παραδιδούσι τοῖσι ταριχεύουσι. τοῦτο δὲ ποιέουσι οὕτω τοῦδε εἵνεκεν, ἵνα μὴ σφί οἱ ταριχευταὶ μίσγονται τῇσι γυναξί· λαμβθῆναι γάρ τινά φασι μισγόμενον νεκρῷ προσφάτῃ γυναικός· κατέπειτα δὲ τὸν ὁμότεχον. Ὅς δ' ἂν ἢ αὐτῶν Διγυπτίων ἢ ξείνων ὁμοίως ὑπὸ κροκοδείλου ἀρπαχθεῖς ἢ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ ποταμοῦ φαίνεται τεθνηώς, κατ' ἣν ἂν πόλιν ἐξενηχθῇ, τοῦ-
- 88
- 89
- 90

Women of distinction are not immediately embalmed.

Bodies of persons

first sight, but it really admits of a most satisfactory explanation. There is, in fact, no accusative case after the verb; for, if τοὺς βουλομένους, &c., were to be taken with σκευάζουσι, it would be implied that every person determined beforehand for himself how he should be embalmed. On the other hand, if the dative had been used, together with such a phrase as τὸν προσήκοντα νεκρὸν for the object of σκευάζουσι, that case (which doubtless often happened) would be excluded. The existing expression includes both cases, and τὸν νεκρὸν in the next sentence is equally applicable to the one and the other.

<sup>223</sup> τοὺς κλυστήρας, "their injecting instruments." The article is used as if the reader were familiar with the fact that such things were employed,—a feature which indicates that the writer took down the exact words of a native authority, or

of one who habitually saw the proceeding described.

<sup>224</sup> κατὰ τὴν ἔδρην, "in situ," "in its natural position."

<sup>225</sup> ἐπιλαβόντες τὸ κλύσμα τῆς ὀπίσω ὁδοῦ, "after keeping the injection from returning by the vent behind." This was no doubt effected by means of a plug, and I should almost be inclined to adopt a proposed conjecture, ἐπιβαλόντες τὸ κλύσμα, if there were any authority for the use of the last word. But the text will undoubtedly give a good sense.

<sup>226</sup> οὐδὲν ἔτι πρηγματευθέντες. This expression, if it is to be taken literally, implies that the corpse was not even swathed in linen, but left in the state in which the aboriginal races of the island of Madeira (of which a specimen exists at Cambridge, in Trinity College Library) were piled up in caves.



τους πᾶσα ἀνάγκη ἐστὶ ταριχεύσαντας αὐτὸν καὶ περιστείλαντας  
ὥς κάλλιστα θάψαι ἐν ἱρήσι θήκησιν οὐδὲ ψαῦσαι ἕξεστι αὐτοῦ  
ἄλλον οὐδένα, οὔτε τῶν προσσηκόντων οὔτε τῶν φίλων ἀλλὰ μιν  
οἱ ἱρέες αὐτοὶ οἱ τοῦ Νείλου, ἅτε πλεόν τι ἢ ἀνθρώπου νεκρὸν,  
χειραπτάζοντες θάπτουσι.

drowned or  
destroyed  
by crocodiles  
are buried  
at the cost  
of the town-  
ship where  
they are  
found.

Ἑλληνικοῖσι δὲ νομαίοισι φεύγουσι χρᾶσθαι, τὸ δὲ σύμπαν  
εἰπεῖν, μὴδ' ἄλλων μηδαμὰ μηδαμῶν ἀνθρώπων νομαίοισι.<sup>226</sup> (οἱ 91

μέν νυν ἄλλοι Αἰγύπτιοι οὕτω τοῦτο φυλάσσουσιν· ἔστι δὲ Χέμμης  
πόλις μεγάλη νομοῦ τοῦ Θηβαϊκοῦ<sup>227</sup>, ἐγγὺς Νέης πόλιος ἐν  
ταύτῃ τῇ πόλει ἐστὶ Περσέος τοῦ Δανάης ἱδὸν τετράγωνον περίξ

Chemmis,  
in the The-  
baic nome,  
is the haunt  
of Perseus.

δὲ αὐτοῦ φοῖνικες πεφύκασιν· τὰ δὲ πρόπυλα τοῦ ἱοῦ λίθινά ἐστι,  
κάρτα μεγάλα· ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτοῖσι ἀνδριάντες δύο ἐστᾶσι λίθιναι  
μεγάλοι· ἐν δὲ τῷ περιβεβλημένῳ τούτῳ νηὸς τε ἔνι, καὶ  
ἄγαλμα ἐν αὐτῷ ἐνέστηκε τοῦ Περσέος. οὗτοι οἱ Χεμμῖται  
λέγουσι τὸν Περσέα πολλάκι μὲν ἀνὰ τὴν γῆν φαίνεσθαι  
σφι, πολλάκι δὲ ἔσω τοῦ ἱοῦ· σανδάλιον<sup>228</sup> τε αὐτοῦ πεφορη-  
μένον εὐρίσκεσθαι, ἔον τὸ μέγαθος δίπηχυν· τὸ ἐπεὰν φανῇ, εὐθνή-  
ειν ἅπασαν Αἴγυπτον. ταῦτα μὲν λέγουσιν· ποιεῖσι δὲ τάδε Ἑλ-  
ληνικὰ τῷ Περσεί· ἄγωνα γυμνικὸν τιθεῖσι διὰ πάσης ἀγωνίης  
ἔχοντα, παρέχοντες ἄεθλα κτήνεα καὶ χλαίνας καὶ δέρματα. εἰρο-  
μένου δέ μιν<sup>229</sup> ὃ τι σφι μούνουσι ἔωθε ὁ Περσεὺς ἐπιφαίνεσθαι,  
καὶ ὃ τι κεχωριδεται Αἰγυπτίων τῶν ἄλλων ἀγὼνα γυμνικόν

A gigantic  
sandal is  
sometimes  
found.

<sup>226</sup> Ἑλληνικοῖσι... ἀνθρώπων νομαίοισι. This sentence is unintelligible as it stands. It is not to be explained on the hypothesis that φεύγουσι χρᾶσθαι is equivalent to εὐ χρᾶσθαι, for in that case we should have οὐδὲ... οὐδαμὰ... οὐδαμῶν in the following clause of the sentence. And the manuscripts S and V leave out the words φεύγουσι and μηδαμὰ. I am disposed to think a deep corruption exists, arising probably from the combination of two different recensions. The words are as incoherent as those contained in S and V in some places where there is a great deficiency in them compared with the other MSS. See note 136 on i. 45.

<sup>227</sup> Χέμμης πόλις μεγάλη νομοῦ τοῦ Θηβαϊκοῦ. Besides the city in the Thebaic nome, there was an island named Chemmis (of which Herodotus speaks below, § 156) in a lake near the city Buto, and also a Χεμμίτης νομός (§ 165). The root of the word is probably Cham

(= Ham), which in Coptic is said to denote the name of the country. Dionysius (i. 18) says that Χέμμης is the name of the city, and that its meaning is Πανὸς πόλις. If it be identical with the modern *Akhmim*, it is on the eastern branch of the Nile, in lat. 26° 40'.

<sup>228</sup> σανδάλιον. It is a curious circumstance that one of the colleges of derisives at Cairo shows the shoe of their founder, which is of immense size. (WILKINSON, *Modern Egyptians*, i. p. 287.) Probably here is an instance of an old Coptic superstition mahometanized. The footstep of Hercules, of similar dimensions, was shown in Scythia (see iv. 82), and a sculptured impression of a human foot, about sixteen inches long, found in front of the Sphinx, is in the British Museum.

<sup>229</sup> εἰρομένου δέ μιν. See above, note 84.

τιθέντες, ἔφασαν "τὸν Περσέα ἐκ τῆς ἐωυτῶν πόλιος γεγυῖναι· τὸν γὰρ Δαναὸν καὶ τὸν Δυγκέα, ἔοντας Χερμμίτας, ἐκπλῶσαι ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα;" ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων γενεηλογέοντες, κατέβαινον ἐς τὸν Περσέα· "ἀπικόμενον δὲ αὐτὸν ἐς Αἴγυπτον, κατ' αἰτίην τὴν καὶ "Ἕλληνες λέγουσι, οἰσούντ' ἐκ Διβύης τὴν Γοργοῦς κεφαλὴν, ἔφασαν ἐλθεῖν καὶ παρὰ σφέας καὶ ἀναγνῶναι τοὺς συγγενέας πάντας· ἐκμεμαθηκότα δὲ μιν ἀπικέσθαι ἐς Αἴγυπτον τὸ τῆς Χέμμιος οὐνομα, πεπυσμένον παρὰ τῆς μητρός· ἀγῶνα δὲ οἱ γυμνικόν, αὐτοῦ κελεύσαντος, ἐπιτελέειν.")

92

Habits of  
the dwellers  
in the  
marshes.  
Their monogamy.

Their diet.  
The lotus.

The lily.

Ταῦτα μὲν πάντα<sup>220</sup> οἱ κατύπερθε τῶν ἐλέων οἰκούντες Αἰγύπτιοι νομίζουσι· οἱ δὲ δὴ ἐν τοῖσι ἔλεσι κατοικημένοι τοῖσι μὲν αὐτοῖσι νόμοισι χρώνται τοῖσι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Αἰγύπτιοι, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα καὶ γυναικὶ μὴ ἕκαστος αὐτῶν συνοικεῖ<sup>221</sup>, κατὰπερ Ἕλληνες. ἀτὰρ πρὸς εὐτελέην τῶν σιτίων τάδε σφί' ἄλλα ἐξεύρηται· ἐπεὰν πλήρης γένηται ὁ ποταμὸς καὶ τὰ πεδία πελαγίσῃ, φύεται ἐν τῷ ὕδατι κρίνεα πολλὰ, τὰ Αἰγύπτιοι καλέουσι λωτόν· ταῦτα ἐπεὰν δρέψωσι, αὐαίνουσι πρὸς ἥλιον, καὶ ἔπειτα τὸ ἐκ μέσου τοῦ λωτοῦ τῇ μήκωνι<sup>222</sup> ἔον ἐμφερὲς πτίσαντες, ποιεῦνται ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἄρτους ὀπτούς πυρὶ. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἡ ῥίζα τοῦ λωτοῦ τούτου ἐδωδύμη, καὶ ἐγγλύσσει<sup>223</sup> ἐπιεικέως, ἔον στρογγύλον, μέγας κατὰ μῆλον. ἔστι δὲ

<sup>220</sup> ταῦτα μὲν πάντα. It is not easy to say to what these words exactly refer, but it seems plain that they *do not* to what has immediately preceded. I should be inclined to think that once they stood next to the word *θάπτουσι*, which closes the ninetyeth section. Οἱ κατύπερθε τῶν ἐλέων as opposed to οἱ ἐν τοῖσι ἔλεσι are not the inhabitants of Upper Egypt exclusively, but include the dwellers in the Delta, with the exception of those who lived about the region of the Sebennytic mouth, and the two false channels derived from that branch (see note 61, above), and, perhaps, also of those who inhabited the islands in the lake of Buto, if WILKINSON is right in assigning *Elbo* (the refuge of Amyrteus and the blind Anysis) to that locality. See note on § 140.

<sup>221</sup> καὶ τὰ ἄλλα καὶ γυναικὶ μὴ ἕκαστος αὐτῶν συνοικεῖ. This has been supposed equivalent to the English "in all other respects, *except that* each man cohabits with only one wife." But no slovenliness of style will warrant the supposition that

a specially *copulative* conjunction is used in a specially *disjunctive* sense. The difficulty arises mainly from the circumstance of DIODORUS affirming that polygamy, except for the priests, was customary in Egypt (l. 80), and the consequent theory that Herodotus here wishes to note the difference in this respect among the marshmen. But it does not seem at all certain that Herodotus took the same view as Diodorus of this very point. If his notion of Egyptians was derived mainly from naturalized Ionians and Carians, the case might well be quite otherwise. If the two authorities are to be reconciled with one another, the least violent method would be to erase the word *Αἰγύπτιοι* after ἄλλοι, considering it to be a gloss of the latter word misunderstood.

<sup>222</sup> τῇ μήκωνι. The article is used from the notoriety of the *μήκων* or poppy-head. See notes 206 and 222, above.

<sup>223</sup> ἐγγλύσσει, "gives a sweet taste." The word is explained in HESYCHIUS by the phrase *ἐγγλυκίζει*.

καὶ ἄλλα κρίνεα ῥόδοισι ἐμφερέα, ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ γινόμενα καὶ ταῦτα, ἐξ ὧν ὁ καρπὸς ἐν ἄλλῃ κάλυκι<sup>224</sup> παραφυομένη ἐκ τῆς ῥίζης γίνεται, κηρίῳ σφηκῶν ἰδέην ὁμοιότατον<sup>225</sup>. ἐν τούτῳ τρωκτὰ ὅσον τε πυρὴν ἐλαίης ἐγγίνεται συχνά· τρώγεται δὲ καὶ ἀπαλὰ ταῦτα καὶ αἶδα. τὴν δὲ βύβλον τὴν ἐπέτειον γινομένην, ἐπεὰν ἀνασπά- The *byblus*. σωσι ἐκ τῶν ἐλέων, τὰ μὲν ἄνω αὐτῆς ἀποτάμνοντες ἐς ἄλλο τι τράπουσι<sup>226</sup>, τὸ δὲ κάτω λελειμμένον ὅσον τε ἐπὶ πῆχυν τρώγουσι, καὶ πωλέουσι· οἱ δὲ ἂν καὶ κάρτα βούλωνται χρηστῇ τῇ βύβλῳ χρᾶσθαι, ἐν κλιβάνῳ διαφανεῖ πνίξαντες οὔτω τρώγουσι<sup>227</sup>. οἱ δὲ τινες αὐτῶν ζῶσι ἀπὸ τῶν ἰχθύων μούνων<sup>228</sup>. τοὺς ἐπεὰν λάβωσι Dried fish. καὶ ἐξέλωσι τὴν κοιλίην, αἰαίνουσι πρὸς ἥλιον καὶ ἔπειτα αὖτος ἐόντας σιτέονται.

Οἱ δὲ ἰχθύες οἱ ἀγελαῖοι ἐν μὲν τοῖσι ποταμοῖσι οὐ μάλα 93 γίνονται<sup>229</sup>. τρεφόμενοι δὲ ἐν τῇσι λίμνησι, τοιάδε ποιεῦσι· ἐπεὰν The fish of Egypt only σφεας ἐσίῃ οἷστρος κυτσκεσθαι, ἀγεληδὸν ἐκπλάουσι ἐς τὴν<sup>230</sup> gregarious in their θάλασσαν ἡγήονται δὲ οἱ ἔρσενες ἀπορραίνοντες τοῦ θοροῦ αἱ δὲ transit to the sea, ἐπόμεναι ἀνακάπτουσι<sup>231</sup>, καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ κυτσκονται· ἐπεὰν δὲ πλη- and in their course up

<sup>224</sup> ἐν ἄλλῃ κάλυκι. The plant described by Herodotus is doubtless the *Nelumbium speciosum*, a kind of water-lily growing in all the ditches and rivers of the warmer parts of Asia, as well as in the Nile. The peculiarity of it is that the male flowers float on the surface of the water, while the female organs take the form of seeds buried in the cavities of a large fleshy receptacle, something like a pomegranate cut in half, which grows from a separate stem below the surface. This, when impregnated with the pollen from the stamens, ultimately assumes the appearance of a hard bed filled with holes, each of which contains a nut. The plant is figured in the *Penns Cyclopædia*, vol. xvi. p. 141.

<sup>225</sup> ὁμοίωτον. The change of gender here is observable: "a thing very like a wasp's comb." It is not the *καρπὸς*, but the fleshy receptacle described in the last note, which presents this appearance.

<sup>226</sup> ἐς ἄλλο τι τράπουσι. See § 96.

<sup>227</sup> οἱ δὲ ἂν . . . τρώγουσι, "but those who wish to have the byblus in thorough perfection stop till they have baked it in a piping-hot oven, and then eat it." The word *διαφανῆς*, perhaps, was originally applied in this sense to stones, which with increase of heat appeared bright to

the eye (see iv. 73). But from such a case the transition is easy to other bodies where no such test of heat is applicable. This seems a more natural explanation than to suppose that ἐν κλιβάνῳ διαφανεῖ means "in a pipkin made red-hot." For the force which the word *οὔτω* exerts, see note 22 on i. 5.

<sup>228</sup> ἀπὸ τῶν ἰχθύων μούνων. In i. 200, three tribes are mentioned among the Babylonians who live entirely on fish. Probably, like these Egyptians, they were the inhabitants of marshes, those on the lower part of the Tigris.

<sup>229</sup> ὅτι οἱ δὲ ἰχθύες ἀγελαῖοι . . . οὐ μάλα γίνονται, τρεφόμενοι δὲ, κ.τ.λ., a reading which cannot have been derived from that of the other MSS (which Gaisford follows) by accident, the sense being entirely different. Neither does it seem likely to have been altered by accident into that other. See note 220, above. The expression ἐν τοῖσι ποταμοῖσι is inappropriate to Egypt, where there is only a single ποταμός, i. e. the Nile.

<sup>230</sup> τῇ. Gaisford includes this word between brackets as probably corrupt. It is not found in S, a, or F, but exists in the great majority of MSS, and there seems no obvious objection to it.

<sup>231</sup> ἀνακάπτουσι. ARISTOTLE (*De ge-*

the river  
to their  
haunts in  
the marshes.  
Strange  
mode of  
generation.

ρες γένωνται ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ, ἀναπλῶνσι ὀπίσω ἐς ἥθεα τὰ ἐωυτῶν ἕκαστοι. ἡγέονται μέντοι γε οὐκέτι οἱ αὐτοὶ, ἀλλὰ τῶν θηλέων γίνεται ἡ ἡγεμονίη ἡγεύμεναι δὲ ἀγελήδων, ποιεῖσι οἶον περ ἐπολεῦν οἱ ἔρσενες· τῶν γὰρ ὧν ἀπορραίνουσι κατ' ὀλίγους τῶν κέγχρων<sup>242</sup>, οἱ δὲ ἔρσενες καταπίνουσι ἐπόμενοι· εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ κέγχροι οὗτοι ἰχθύες· ἐκ δὲ τῶν περυγνομένων καὶ μὴ καταπινομένων κέγχρων οἱ τρεφόμενοι ἰχθύες γίνονται. οἱ δ' ἂν αὐτῶν ἀλῶσι ἐκπλῶντες ἐς θάλασσαν, φαίνονται τετριμμένοι τὰ ἐπαριστερὰ τῶν κεφαλῶν· οἱ δ' ἂν ὀπίσω ἀναπλῶντες, τὰ ἐπιδεξιὰ τετρίφεται· πάσχουσι δὲ ταῦτα διὰ τὸδε ἐχόμενοι τῆς γῆς ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ καταπλῶνσι ἐς θάλασσαν καὶ ἀναπλῶντες ὀπίσω, τῆς αὐτῆς ἀντέχονται ἐγχριπτόμενοι καὶ ψαύοντες ὥς μάλιστα, ἵνα δὴ μὴ ἀμάρτιεν τῆς ὁδοῦ διὰ τὸν ῥόον. ἐπεὰν δὲ πληθύνεσθαι<sup>243</sup> ἄρχηται ὁ Νεῖλος, τά τε κοῖλα τῆς γῆς καὶ τὰ τέλματα τὰ παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν πρῶτα ἄρχεται πίπλασθαι, διηθέοντος τοῦ ὕδατος ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ<sup>244</sup>. καὶ αὐτίκα τε πλέα γίνεται ταῦτα καὶ παραχρῆμα ἰχθύων σμικρῶν πίπλαται πάντα. κόθεν δὲ οἶκος αὐτοὺς γίνεσθαι, ἐγὼ μοι δοκέω κατανοέειν τοῦτο· τοῦ προτέρου ἔτεος ἐπεὰν ἀπολίπη ὁ Νεῖλος, οἱ ἰχθύες ἐντεκόντες<sup>245</sup> ὡς ἐς τὴν ἰλὺν ἅμα τῷ ἐσχάτῳ ὕδατι ἀπαλλάσσονται· ἐπεὰν δὲ περιελθόντος τοῦ χρόνου πάλιν ἐπέλθῃ τὸ ὕδωρ, ἐκ τῶν ὧν τούτων παραπτικά γίνονται οἱ ἰχθύες. καὶ περὶ μὲν τοὺς ἰχθύς οὕτω ἔχει.

94

Oil in use  
drawn from

Ἀλείφατι δὲ χρέωνται Αἰγυπτίων οἱ περὶ τὰ ἔλαια οἰκέοντες ἀπὸ τῶν σιλλικυπρίων τοῦ καρποῦ, τὸ καλεῦσι μὲν Αἰγύπτιοι

neratione animalium, iii. p. 756) terms this story, τὸν εὐθέη λόγον, related by 'Herodotus ὁ μυθολόγος.

<sup>242</sup> τῶν γὰρ ὧν ἀπορραίνουσι κατ' ὀλίγους τῶν κέγχρων. Much difficulty has been occasioned by this expression, and I am not satisfied with any explanation which has been given, or any emendation which has been proposed. If the passage be not corrupt, τὰ ὡς must be taken to mean "the roe" in the aggregate, and οἱ κέγχροι the individual eggs of which it is composed; and the passage must be translated "they keep spawning their roe by a few eggs at a time." But ὧν in the singular is so habitual an expression that it is difficult to conceive that Herodotus would have thus used the plural to denote a composite unit; and

I should be rather inclined to believe the text made up of two separate readings, each of them independent of the other:

1. τῶν γὰρ ὧν ἀπορραίνουσι, οἱ δὲ ἔρσενες,
2. ἀπορραίνουσι κατ' ὀλίγους τῶν κέγχρων, κ.τ.λ.

<sup>243</sup> πληθύνεσθαι. S and V have πλεθ-εσθαι.

<sup>244</sup> διηθέοντος τοῦ ὕδατος ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ, "the water percolating through [the ground] from the river," not overflowing the banks in the first instance, but filtering through the soil on which the alluvium rests. See note on § 126, below.

<sup>245</sup> ἐντεκόντες. S and V have οἱ τεκόντες.

κίκι<sup>246</sup>. ποιεῦσι δὲ ὧδε παρὰ τὰ χεῖλα τῶν τε ποταμῶν καὶ τῶν  
 λιμνῶν σπεύρουσι τὰ σιλλικύπρια ταῦτα, τὰ ἐν Ἑλλάσι<sup>247</sup> αὐτό-  
 ματα ἄγρια φύεται· ταῦτα ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ σπειρόμενα, καρπὸν  
 φέρεי πολλὸν μὲν δυσώδεα<sup>248</sup> δὲ τοῦτον ἐπεὰν συλλέξωνται, οἱ  
 μὲν κόφαντες ἀπιποῦσι<sup>249</sup>. οἱ δὲ καὶ φρύξαντες ἀπέψουσι, καὶ τὸ  
 ἀπορρέον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ συγκομίζονται. ἔστι δὲ πῖον καὶ οὐδὲν ἥσσον  
 τοῦ ἐλαίου τῷ λύχνῳ προσήνες, ὁδμὴν δὲ βαρέαν παρέχεται.  
 Πρὸς δὲ τοὺς κώνωπας ἀφθόβους ἔοντας τάδε σφί ἐστι μεμηχανη-  
 μένα· τοὺς μὲν τὰ ἄνω τῶν ἐλέων οἰκέοντας οἱ πύργοι ὠφελέουσι,  
 ἐς οὓς ἀναβαίνοντες κοιμέονται· οἱ γὰρ κώνωπες ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνέμων  
 οὐκ οἴοι τε εἰσι ὑψοῦ πέτεσθαι· τοῖσι δὲ περὶ τὰ ἔλα οἰκέουσι  
 τάδε ἀντὶ τῶν πύργων ἄλλα μεμηχάνηται· πᾶς ἀνὴρ αὐτῶν ἀμφί-  
 βληστρον ἔκτηται, τῷ τῆς μὲν ἡμέρης ἰχθύς ἀγρεύει<sup>250</sup>, τὴν δὲ  
 νύκτα τάδε αὐτῷ χράται· ἐν τῇ ἀναπαύεται κολίτῃ περὶ ταύτην  
 ἴστησι τὸ ἀμφίβληστρον, καὶ ἔπειτα ἐνδὺς ὑπ' αὐτῷ καθεύδει· οἱ  
 δὲ κώνωπες, ἦν μὲν ἐν ἱματίῳ ἐνελιζόμενος εὖδῃ ἢ σινδόνι, διὰ  
 τούτων δάκνουσι· διὰ δὲ τοῦ δικτύου οὐδὲ πειρῶνται ἀρχῇν<sup>251</sup>.

the seeds  
of the  
kiki, a wild  
water-plant  
improved  
by culti-  
vation.

95  
Protection  
from mos-  
quitoes,  
how ob-  
tained.

Τὰ δὲ δὴ πλοῖα σφί, τοῖσι φορτηγέουσι, ἔστι· ἐκ τῆς ἀκάνθης 96  
 ποιούμενα· τῆς ἡ μορφή μὲν ἐστὶ ὁμοιοτάτῃ τῷ Κυρηναίῳ λωτῷ<sup>252</sup>,

Description  
of the river-  
craft.

<sup>246</sup> κίκι. The Hellenic name of this plant was, according to HIERONYMUS, *κρόταν*, it being in fact that from the seeds of which the modern "Croton oil" is derived. It is the same which, in the English version of JONAH iv. 6, is called "a gourd," the old ante-hieronymian Latin versions having rendered the *καλοκύνθος* of the LXX by "cucurbita." A very curious dispute, not unaccompanied with bitterness, took place between S. Jerome and S. Augustine on occasion of the former having adopted the word "hedera" in his new translation from the Hebrew as a more analogous plant to the *kiki*. A tumult was occasioned in one of the African churches by the change, and to allay it a compromise had to be made. See AUGUSTINE, *Ep.* lxxv.

<sup>247</sup> Ἑλλάσι. S has *ἐλεσι*, which is, perhaps, the true reading.

<sup>248</sup> δυσώδεα. On this account the *kiki* ointment was used chiefly by the lower classes, and the olive oil fetched a high price.

<sup>249</sup> ἀπιποῦσι, "squeeze out the juice." ARISTOPHANES makes *Cleon* use this

word in threatening the *Sausage-seller* that he will "drain him dry as hay" with property-taxes:

δόσεις ἐμοὶ καλὴν δίκην  
 ἰπούμενος ταῖς εἰσφοραῖς.

(*Eqvit.* 923.)

<sup>250</sup> τῷ τῆς μὲν ἡμέρης ἰχθύς ἀγρεύει. Possibly the same word in Egyptian might be used for a mosquito-net (*κωνοπίον*) and a fishing-net (*δίκτυον*), and thus occasion furnished for this story; and afterwards, to solve the difficulty of supposing that a mosquito could not pass the meshes of the latter, a further fiction invented (*οὐδὲ περὶ τῶν ἀρχῇν*). But two points appear from the story; one, that the author is *not* speaking here from his personal knowledge; the other, that the manufactures of thread must have reached a great perfection in Egypt to allow of the fine gauze which is requisite for a mosquito curtain.

<sup>251</sup> ἀρχῇν. See note 42 on i. 9.

<sup>252</sup> ὁμοιοτάτῃ τῷ Κυρηναίῳ λωτῷ, "the Cyrenman lotus," i. e. that which is called "the lotus" at Cyrene. The epi-

τὸ δὲ δάκρυον κόμμι ἐστί· ἐκ ταύτης ὧν τῆς ἀκάνθης κοιφάμενοι ξύλα ὅσον τε διπήχεα πλινθηδὸν συντιθεῖσι, ναυπηγεύμενοι τρόπον τοιόνδε<sup>253</sup>. περὶ γόμφους πυκνοὺς καὶ μακροὺς περιείρουσι τὰ διπήχεα ξύλα· ἐπεὰν δὲ τῷ τρόπῳ τούτῳ ναυπηγήσωνται, ζυγὰ ἐπιπολῆς τέλνουσι αὐτῶν νομεῦσι δὲ οὐδὲν χρέωνται· ἔσωθεν δὲ τὰς ἀρμονίας<sup>254</sup> ἐν ὧν ἐπάκτωσαν τῇ βύβλῳ· πηδάλιον δὲ ἐν ποιεῖνται, καὶ τοῦτο διὰ τῆς τρόπιος<sup>255</sup> διαβύνεται<sup>256</sup>. ἰστῶ δὲ ἀκανθίνῳ χρέωνται, ἰστίοισι δὲ βυβλίνοισι. ταῦτα τὰ πλοῖα ἀνὰ μὲν τὸν ποταμὸν οὐ δύνανται πλέειν ἢν μὴ λαμπρὸς ἀνεμὸς ἐπέχῃ,

that is used distinctively, because the author has just before been speaking of the Egyptian *lotus* (§ 92) without any distinctive epithet. The two plants were of totally different kinds, the Egyptian *lotus* being a bulbous water-plant, the Cyrenean a kind of thorn (*Zizyphus napaea*). The tree is called in Arabic *sidr*, and its fruit *nabk*, whence the botanical "*napaea*." This latter is said to be a kind of berry about the size of a wild plum, containing a nut of a sweetish taste like that of a date. In Barbary it is sold in the markets, and a liquor analogous to date wine made from it. Cattle, too, are fed with it. There can be no doubt that this is the food of the Loto-phagi (iv. 177), and probably the foundation for the story in the *Odyssey* (ix. 94).

<sup>253</sup> ναυπηγεύμενοι τρόπον τοιόνδε. The great distinction between the ordinary ship-building and that of the Egyptian river-craft seems to have arisen from the circumstance that the latter were flat-bottomed, with vertical sides, and the former built with a framework, of which the several pieces were curved ribs (*νομεῖς*), set in a keel. The first step in making the Nile boats apparently was to set up a number of long vertical stakes near to each other, thus tracing out the outline of the sides of the barge. These are the γόμφοι of the text. Round them were carried strings of acacia plank, one course above the other (πλινθηδόν), thus producing a kind of thin bulwark. When this had been carried up a sufficient height, cross-beams (ζυγὰ) were laid on to preserve it in shape; and, this being completed for the whole length, the result was a rude flat-bottomed lighter lying bottom upwards. It does not appear to me necessary to suppose that the passing

the courses of acacia plank inside and out of the stakes is involved in the word *περιείρουσι*. It may be observed that, in navigation like that of the Nile, no inconvenience would follow from the want of a keel, and no convexity of the sides would be required to resist a sea, while for a given draft of water a larger freight could be carried in such a build than in an ordinary vessel.

<sup>254</sup> τὰς ἀρμονίας, "the seams." Lat. *commisuras*. These were caulked from the inside with tow made of the byblus plant,—an operation which must have been effected after the barge was turned by the help of levers from the position in which it had been built.

<sup>255</sup> διὰ τῆς τρόπιος, "through the cut-water." The LEXICON GUDIANUM interprets this word *τρόπις* by τὸ κατώτατον μέρος τῆς νηὸς περὶ ὃ σκίζεται τὸ κύμα. Where the vessel was built with a keel, the *τρόπις* would be continued all along it, and hence the word might be applicable to the whole extent. But the word *δρόσυχον* seems (see POLLUX, i. 85) to be the specially appropriate term for the keel, properly so called, i.e. the backbone (as it were) in which the ribs of the vessel are set. The point which Herodotus puts prominently forward in his description is, not that the rudder is carried through the *keel*, but that, instead of being lashed by the side of the cut-water, it pierces it. Vessels such as the *βάρης* would have stem and stern alike, and would, when floating down the stream, be steered forward, the stone towing aft. See note 259.

<sup>256</sup> διαβύνεται. This is the reading of the majority of the MSS. But S and V have *διαδύνεται*. The form *διαβύνονται* is found, however, in all the copies in iv. 71: διὰ τῆς ἀριστερῆς χειρὸς ὁστοῦς διαβύνονται.

ἐκ γῆς δὲ παρέλκεται· κατὰ ῥόον δὲ κομίζεται ὧδε· ἔστι ἐκ μυρικής πεποιημένη θύρη κατερραμμένη ῥίπτει καλάμων<sup>257</sup>, καὶ λίθος τετρημένος<sup>258</sup> διτάλαντος μάλιστα κη σταθμόν· τούτων τὴν μὲν θύρην δεδεμένην κάλῃ ἔμπροσθε τοῦ πλοίου ἀπικί ἐπιφέρεισθαι, τὸν δὲ λίθον ἄλλῃ κάλῃ ὀπισθε· ἡ μὲν δὴ θύρη, τοῦ ῥόου ἐμπήπτοντος, χωρεῖ ταχέως καὶ ἔλκει τὴν βάρην (τοῦτο γὰρ δὴ οὖνομά ἐστι τοῖσι πλοίοισι τούτοις)· ὁ δὲ λίθος ὀπισθε ἐπελκόμενος καὶ ἐὼν ἐν βυσσὶ κατιθύνει τὸν πλόον<sup>259</sup>. ἔστι δὲ σφί τὰ πλοῖα ταῦτα πλήθει πολλὰ, καὶ ἄγει ἔνια πολλὰς χιλιάδας ταλάντων. Ἐπεὰν 97 δὲ ἐπέλθῃ ὁ Νεῖλος τὴν χώραν, αἱ πόλεις μούναι φαίνονται ὑπερέχουσαι, μάλιστα κη ἐμπερές τῇσι ἐν τῇ Αἰγυπτῷ πόντῳ νήσοις<sup>260</sup>. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλα τῆς Αἰγυπτῶν πέλαγος γίνεσθαι, αἱ δὲ πόλεις μούναι ὑπερέχουσαι· πορθμεύονται ὅν, ἐπεὰν τοῦτο γένηται, οὐκέτι κατὰ τὰ ῥέεθρα τοῦ ποταμοῦ, ἀλλὰ διὰ μέσου τοῦ πεδίου. ἐς μὲν γε Μέμφιν ἐκ Ναυκράτιος ἀναπλώονται, παρ' αὐτὰς τὰς πυραμίδας γίνεσθαι ὁ πλόος· [ἔστι δὲ οὐκ οὗτος<sup>261</sup>, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τὸ ὄξυ τοῦ

At the time of the inundation, the face of Egypt is like a sea studded with islands. Boats sail from Naucratis to

<sup>257</sup> θύρη κατερραμμένη ῥίπτει καλάμων, "a door-shaped board lashed to a crate of reeds." I conceive the machine to have acted on the principle of a ship's log, and when in operation to have presented the same appearance that the log would if thrown out from a vessel at anchor in a stream. It was probably a considerable surface of wattled work, strengthened by the parallelogram of tamarisk wood in the middle. From the centre of the whole a rope would proceed, made fast to the cut-water of the barge, and probably under water. When the barge dropped down with the stream, this machine would assume a vertical position in the water, and would be acted upon over its whole surface by the stream at a velocity equal to the difference between the velocity of the Nile current and that of the artificially retarded barge. This in some cases would be very considerable, and would be most so where an additional force would be most requisite. See note 259.

<sup>258</sup> τετρημένος. S and F have τετρημένος, which would mean (if genuine) a rubbed stone or boulder, a kind very likely to be employed. But τετρημένος is more likely to be the true reading.

<sup>259</sup> κατιθύνει τὸν πλόον. If the barge had floated freely in the stream, she

would of course not have answered the helm. But the friction of the stone towing astern on the bottom of the river would cause her velocity to be slightly less than that of the stream, and thereby allow her to be steered. In this way, therefore, the weight may be said "to guide the course," although it did not really do so, but merely supplied the necessary conditions for enabling the helm to do it. Captain Basil Hall, in descending the river Guayaquil in South America by the force of the stream, found the same method employed for the same object. Occasionally this stone might lodge in the weeds, and the force of the stream upon the barge scarcely be sufficient to overcome the obstacle, and it seems to be for this case that the pilot-crate was intended. If it were floating in front of the barge, any sudden check received by the latter would be partially counteracted by the momentum of the stream upon the flat surface of the machine.

<sup>260</sup> τῇσι ἐν τῇ Αἰγυπτῷ πόντῳ νήσοις. A very likely object of comparison to occur to a Samian trader.

<sup>261</sup> [ἔστι δὲ οὐκ οὗτος . . . παρὰ Κερκασσων πόλιν.] I have inclosed these words in brackets, because they appear to me to proceed from some one—perhaps an ancient editor—who wished to correct the

Memphis  
by the side  
of the pyra-

98

mids, and  
from Cano-  
lus to Nau-  
cratis, com-  
ing off An-  
thylla and  
Archandro-  
polis.

99

Stories re-  
lated by the  
Egyptians  
for which  
the writer  
does not  
vouch.  
Men the  
first king.

Δέλτα, καὶ παρὰ Κερκάσῳρον πόλιν<sup>263</sup>.] ἐς δὲ Ναύκρατιν<sup>263</sup> ἀπὸ θαλάσσης καὶ Κανώβου διὰ πεδίου πλέων, ἤξεις κατ' Ἀνθυλλάν τε πόλιν, καὶ τὴν Ἀρχάνδρου καλευμένην<sup>264</sup>. Τούτων δὲ ἡ μὲν Ἀνθυλλα, ἐούσα λογίμη πόλις, ἐς ἵποδήματα ἐξαιρετος δίδοται τοῦ αἰεὶ βασιλεύοντος Αἰγύπτου τῇ γυναικί. (τοῦτο δὲ γίνεται ἐξ ὅσου ὑπὸ Πέρσῃσι ἐστὶ Αἴγυπτος.) ἡ δὲ ἑτέρα πόλις δοκεῖ μοι τὸ οὖνομα ἔχειν ἀπὸ τοῦ Δαναοῦ γαμβροῦ, Ἀρχάνδρου τοῦ Φθίου, τοῦ Ἀχαιοῦ· καλέσεται γὰρ δὴ Ἀρχάνδρου πόλις. εἴη δ' ἂν καὶ ἄλλος τις Ἀρχανδρος· οὐ μέντοι γε Αἰγύπτῳ τὸ οὖνομα.

Μέχρι μὲν τούτου ὄψις τε ἐμῇ<sup>265</sup> καὶ γνώμη καὶ ἱστορίῃ ταῦτα λέγουσά ἐστι· τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούδε, Αἰγυπτίους ἐρχομαι λόγους ἐρέων<sup>266</sup> κατὰ τὰ ἔκουν<sup>267</sup>. προσέσται δὲ αὐτοῖσι τι καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς ὄψιος. τὸν Μῆνα τὸν πρῶτον βασιλεύσαντα Αἰγύπτου, οἱ ἱρέες ἐλεγον τοῦτο μὲν<sup>268</sup> ἀπογεφυρῶσαι<sup>269</sup> καὶ τὴν Μέμφιν—τὸν γὰρ ποταμὸν

writer's statement. To take ἔστι δὲ οὐκ (or οὐδ') οὗτος to mean "this is not the usual course," which Schweighäuser unscrupulously does, appears to me quite unwarranted.

<sup>263</sup> παρὰ Κερκάσῳρον πόλιν. See above, § 15. 17.

<sup>263</sup> ἐς δὲ Ναύκρατιν. Just below a town called *e' Rameneeh*, the bed of an old canal is visible, which formerly ran into the Nile there; and this is supposed by some to be the proper emplacement of *Naucratis*, and the canal taken to be the representative of the Canobic branch of the Nile. (WILKINSON, *Modern Egyptians*, p. 181.) But in Wilkinson's map *e' Rameneeh* is placed on the western bank, whereas it is clear from STRABO (quoted in note on ii. 163) that *Naucratis* was on the eastern. The site of *e' Rameneeh* corresponds far better with the *Momemphis* of Strabo. (See note on ii. 163.) Wilkinson does not give its distance from *Atfeh*, but from the map one may judge it is only four or five miles higher up the Nile. *Atfeh* is from *Rosetta* by the river 22½ miles, and from *Cairo* 123. From *Atfeh* to *Alexandria* by the canals is about 49 miles.

<sup>264</sup> ἤξεις κατ' Ἀνθυλλάν τε πόλιν, καὶ τὴν Ἀρχάνδρου καλευμένην, "you will come off the city Anthylla and what is called Archandrus's town." (See note 195, above.) It will appear in the *Excursions* on § 149, that at the time Herodotus, or his authority, visited the Labyrinth,

the water of the Nile was in all probability out. This state of things synchronized with the prevalence of the Etesian winds, which allowed of a southward course under sail. See note 59, above. STRABO, on the other hand, seems to have visited Egypt when the waters were confined to their bed. Hence *Anthylla* is less likely to be his *Gynæcopolis*, as has been thought.

<sup>265</sup> ὄψις τε ἐμῇ. These words must be taken as considerably qualified by the word γνώμη which follows them. It is impossible to suppose that the author *saw* any one covering himself when asleep with a fishing-net (§ 94) to keep out the mosquitoes, or live winged snakes (§ 76), or a river-horse with cloven hooves (§ 71), or a crocodile with tusks (§ 68). It is difficult to conceive that he was at Elephantine (see note 84, above), or saw swine employed in threshing (see note 52, above), or even was at Thebes *itself* (see note 10, above).

<sup>266</sup> Αἰγυπτίους ἐρχομαι λόγους ἐρέων. What follows until § 147, must be regarded as pure Egyptian legends, in the shape retailed by the ἐξήγηται (especially at Memphis) to those who visited the temples.

<sup>267</sup> κατὰ τὰ ἔκουν. See note on iv. 76, κατὰ τὰ ὄρα.

<sup>268</sup> τοῦτο μὲν. See note 276, below.

<sup>269</sup> ἀπογεφυρῶσαι. This word properly means to "dyke off," i. e. by means of



πάντα ῥέειν παρὰ τὸ ὄρος τὸ ψάμμινον πρὸς Λιβύης<sup>270</sup>, τὸν δὲ Μῆνα ἀνωθεν, ὅσον τε ἑκατὸν σταδίους ἀπὸ Μέμφιος, τὸν πρὸς μεσαμβρίας ἀγκῶνα προσχῶσαντα, τὸ μὲν ἀρχαῖον ῥέεθρον ἀποξηράναι<sup>271</sup> τὸν δὲ ποταμὸν ὀχετεύσαι<sup>272</sup>, τὸ μέσον τῶν οὐρέων ῥέειν<sup>273</sup>. ἔτι δὲ καὶ νῦν ὑπὸ Περσέων ὁ ἀγκῶν οὗτος τοῦ Νείλου ὃς ἀπεργμένος ῥέει<sup>274</sup> ἐν φυλακῇσι μεγάλῃσι ἔχεται, φρασσόμενος ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος· εἰ γὰρ ἐθελήσει ῥήξας ὑπερβῆναι ὁ ποταμὸς ταύτην, κίνδυνος πάσῃ Μέμφι κατακλυσθῆναι ἐστὶ—ὥς δὲ τῷ Μῆνι τούτῳ τῷ πρώτῳ γενομένῳ βασιλεῖ χέρσον γεινομένην τὸ ἀπεργμένον<sup>275</sup>, τοῦτο μὲν<sup>276</sup> ἐν αὐτῷ πόλιν κτίσαι ταύτην, ἥτις νῦν

a dam to recover land which would be otherwise overflowed, like the *polders* of Holland. But, as the phrase ἀπογεφυρώσαι τὴν Μέμφιν is rather vague, the writer interposes a description of the operation which was effected.

<sup>270</sup> πρὸς Λιβύης, "on the Libyan side [of its present course]." τὸν πρὸς μεσαμβρίας ἀγκῶνα is "the reach southward [of Memphis]".

<sup>271</sup> τὸ μὲν ἀρχαῖον ῥέεθρον ἀποξηράναι. RENNELL (*Geography of Herodotus*, p. 501) considers that the operation here described consisted in assisting the natural tendency of the river to change its bed by filling up the existing one. He supposes that this process had gone on so long while the stream ran under the ridge which extends on the western bank of the river in a parallel direction to it, that a considerable portion of the water must have deviated into another channel, and that by the dam Herodotus mentions this secondary channel was made the primary one. If the operation really was such as this, the old bed of the river might be converted into a canal for the purpose of receiving the overflow of the Nile at the time of inundation, and husbanding it for use in the dry season; and it is not improbable that this was a use it was put to by the aid of sluices, and that it formed a portion of a canal-system communicating with the lake Moeris. See note on § 149.

<sup>272</sup> τὸν ποταμὸν ὀχετεύσαι, "conveyed the river through a made channel."

<sup>273</sup> τὸ μέσον τῶν οὐρέων ῥέειν, "so as to flow midway between the mountains," i. e. the Libyan and the Arabian. See above, § 8.

<sup>274</sup> ὁ ἀγκῶν οὗτος τοῦ Νείλου ὃς ἀπεργμένος ῥέει. This phrase is a very re-

markable one. If the words ὃς ἀπεργμένος ῥέει be applied to the single substantive Νείλου, they are a mere platitude, "a river which flows in a made channel." If they be applied to the composite substantive ἀγκῶν τοῦ Νείλου, it seems unusual that the word ἀγκῶν, which is appropriate to the windings of a *land-valley*, should have the term ῥέει coupled with it. Nevertheless I believe this to be the true way of pointing and constructing the passage. The rivers of European Hellas, with very few exceptions, were mere brooks, no where presenting that appearance of one long "reach" after another which is so striking in a large navigable river. When, therefore, this phenomenon first came under notice in the Nile, a new term had to be invented; and analogy could certainly suggest nothing more appropriate than ἀγκῶν. I would therefore translate this passage: "This *reach* of the Nile which runs in a made channel." Memphis being situated in the narrow part of the Nile valley, a spectator from thence would see two distinct lines of river, according as he looked upwards or downwards, their continuity being broken to the eye by the city and its traffic, even if there was no obvious change of direction. Nothing would under such circumstances be more natural than to call the one "the southern reach" (ὁ πρὸς μεσαμβρίας ἀγκῶν) and the other "the northern one."

<sup>275</sup> τὸ ἀπεργμένον, "the space gained by damming."

<sup>276</sup> τοῦτο μὲν. These words, which had been used before the parenthetical account of the diversion of the Nile channel, are again repeated upon the recurrence to the primary matter of the story. The length

100

After *Mes* came a series of 330 names all recorded in a roll. Eighteen of them were Ethiopians, one a native queen, *Nitocris*, and the rest Egyptians. Story of *Nitocris*, her revenge and her death.

Μέμφις καλέσται· ἔστι γὰρ καὶ ἡ Μέμφις ἐν τῷ στενωφὶ τῆς Αἰγύπτου· ἔξωθεν δὲ αὐτῆς περιορύξαι λίμνην ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ πρὸς βορρῆν τε καὶ πρὸς ἐσπέρην· τὸ γὰρ πρὸς τὴν ἡδ' αὐτὸς ὁ Νεῖλος ἀπέργει· τοῦτο δὲ, τοῦ Ἑφαιστου τὸ ἱὸν ἰδρύνασθαι ἐν αὐτῇ, ἐὼν μέγα τε καὶ ἀξιαπηγητότατον. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον, κατέλεγον οἱ ἱερεῖς ἐκ βύβλου<sup>277</sup> ἄλλων βασιλέων τριηκοσίων τε καὶ τριήκοντα οὐνόματα· ἐν τοσαύτῃσι γενεῇσι ἀνθρώπων ὀκτωκαίδεκα μὲν Αἰθίοπες ἦσαν, μία δὲ γυνὴ ἐπιχωρή<sup>278</sup>. οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι, ἄνδρες Αἰγύπτιοι· τῇ δὲ γυναικὶ οὐνομα ἦν ἥτις ἐβασίλευσε τόπερ τῇ Βαβυλωνίῃ, Νίτωκρις· τὴν ἔλεγον τιμωρέουσιν ἀδελφεῷ, — τὸν Αἰγύπτιοι βασιλεύοντα σφέων ἀπέκτειναν, ἀποκτείναντες δὲ οὕτω ἐκείνη ἀπέδωκεν τὴν βασιλιήτην, — τοῦτ' ἐ τιμωρέουσιν πολλοὺς Αἰγυπτίων διαφθεῖραι δόλῳ· ποιησαμένην γὰρ μιν οἰκημα περιμῆκες ὑπόγειον καινοῦν τῷ λόγῳ<sup>279</sup>, νόφ δὲ ἄλλα μηχανᾶσθαι καλέσασαν δὲ μιν Αἰγυπτίων τοὺς μάλιστα μεταίτιους τοῦ φόνου ᾗδε<sup>280</sup>, πολλοὺς ἐστὶν δαυνυμένοισι δὲ ἐπείναι τὸν ποταμὸν δι'

of the parenthetical narrative is the cause of this; and on the same principle are repeated τῷ πρώτῳ γενόμενῳ βασιλεῖ.

<sup>277</sup> ἐκ βύβλου. This papyrus document was probably a kind of genealogical table, connecting in one system all the various historical or legendary data at the command of the priests of the Hephæsteum. It may have been analogous to the West Saxon pedigree preserved at Cambridge on a roll in the library of Trinity College, which proceeds from Adam to Japheth according to the Scriptural account, but connects this point with the royal family of England (Henry VII. being the last link in the chain) by a farrago of traditions partly classical, partly Scandinavian, partly British, and partly Anglo-Saxon. To attach value to such a production of a kind to allow it to enter into a chronological system, is indirectly to destroy all confidence in genuine history.

<sup>278</sup> μία δὲ γυνὴ ἐπιχωρή. That the patriotism of the Egyptians should not allow them to consider *Nitocris* a foreigner is not to be wondered at. They laid claim to *Cambyases* in the face (according to Herodotus) of facts of which they could not possibly be ignorant. See iii. 2. The name *Nitocris* is only the hellenized form of *Neit-okr*, a name which, according to Champollion and others, appears on the

monuments, and is equivalent to 'Αθήνη Νίκη, an interpretation which was actually given to the word by *Kratosthenes*. The identity of the Egyptian *Nyit* with the Hellenic 'Αθήνη had been remarked by *PLATO* (*Timæus*, p. 21). And the etymological connexion of *Neit* with *Anaitis* is the same as that of *Derceto* with *Atergatis*, *Cyphas* with *Acyphas*, *στάχυς* with *ἄσταχυς*, *λατίζω* with *ἀλατίζω*, *ταῖω* with *ἀτρέτης*; or of *νήσσα* with the Latin *anas*, *ποτὶ* with *αἰνὴ*, *τραχύς* and *τρῦς* with *ατρός*, *ράχος* with *ἀράχη* and *αραπία*, *λάχη* and *λάχανον* with *αἰλα*, and probably *κελαυνός* with *aquila* and *aquilo*. The interchange of the elementary structure *an-ih* with *aīh-a* may be illustrated by the pairs *ἀκίδνός* and *κίναδος*, *δοναῖος* and *νοθεῖος*, *ἐρηδός* and *σκαρρδός*, and the English *ask* and its archaic but now vulgar form *are*. It may be observed that the Egyptian name remained at Thebes of *Bœotia* in the *Νηῖται πόλιν* (*ÆSCHYLUS*, *Theb.* 460).

<sup>279</sup> καινοῦν τῷ λόγῳ, "pretended to hansom it." The more usual term would be *καυλίζω* or *ἐγκαυλίζω*. *CALLIMACHUS* says of *Perillus*, the inventor of Phalaris's brazen bull, whom the tyrant shut up in it as the first victim, *πρώτος ἐπεὶ τὸν ταῦρον ἐκαίνισε* (*fr.* 119).

<sup>280</sup> ᾗδε. S has *ἥδε*.

αὐλῶνος<sup>221</sup> κρυπτοῦ μεγάλου. ταύτης μὲν περί τοσαῦτα ἔλεγον πλὴν ὅτι αὐτήν μιν, ὡς τοῦτο ἐξέργαστο, ῥίψαι ἐς οἶκημα σποδοῦ πλέον ὅκως ἀτιμώρητος γένηται. Τῶν δὲ ἄλλων βασιλέων οὐ γὰρ 101 ἔλεγον οὐδεμίαν ἔργων ἀποδέξειν, κατ' οὐδὲν εἶναι λαμπρότητος<sup>222</sup>, The last king *Meris* the only one of note. His works. πλὴν ἐνὸς τοῦ ἐσχάτου αὐτῶν Μοίριος· τοῦτον δὲ ἀποδέξασθαι μνημόσυνα<sup>223</sup> τοῦ Ἡφαίστου τὰ πρὸς βορρῇ ἀνεμον τετραμμένα προπύλαια· λίμνην τε ὀρύξαι τῆς ἡ περιόδου ὅσων ἐστὶ σταδίων ὕστερον δηλώσω<sup>224</sup>. πυραμίδας τε ἐν αὐτῇ οἰκοδομήσαι τῶν τοῦ μεγάλους περί ὁμοῦ αὐτῇ τῇ λίμνῃ ἐπιμνήσομαι. τοῦτον μὲν τοσαῦτα ἀποδέξασθαι, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων οὐδένα οὐδέν.

Παραμεινφάμενος ὦν τούτους, τοῦ ἐπὶ τούτοις γενομένου βασι- 102 λέος, τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Σέσωστρις, τούτου μνήμην ποιήσομαι. τὸν ἔλεγον οἱ ἱεεὶς πρῶτον μὲν πλοίοισι μακροῖσι ὁρμηθέντα ἐκ τοῦ Ἀραβίου κόλπου<sup>225</sup>, τοὺς παρὰ τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν κατοικη- To *Meris* succeeded *Sesostris*, who made a warlike expedition with a fleet μένους<sup>226</sup> καταστρέφειν ἐς ὃ πλέοντά μιν πρόσω ἀπικέσθαι ἐς

<sup>221</sup> εἶπαι τὸν ποταμὸν δι' αὐλῶνος. See note 621 on i. 184.

<sup>222</sup> κατ' οὐδὲν εἶναι λαμπρότητος, "[I gather that] they were of no consideration in the matter of distinction." The expression κατ' οὐδὲν is analogous to κατὰ τὸν Νεῖλον (§ 10), κατὰ σукήν (iv. 23), and the common expressions κατ' ἑνὸς, κατ' ἑνός. The infinitive is to be taken after αὐτοῖς, gathered inferentially from the preceding clause. If Herodotus had written πάντας (which would seem most natural), he would have implied that the Egyptians actually told him that these sovereigns were mere nobodies, which, probably, was not the case. Translate, "But of the other kings, as they did not mention any works to show, it would appear they were," &c. See note 192 on i. 59.

<sup>223</sup> τοῦτον δὲ ἀποδέξασθαι μνημόσυνα. See note 52 on i. 13.

<sup>224</sup> ὕστερον δηλώσω. See below, § 149.

<sup>225</sup> πλοίοισι μακροῖσι ὁρμηθέντα ἐκ τοῦ Ἀραβίου κόλπου. Perhaps it was this circumstance, combined with the belief of it having been Sesostris to whom the internal water communication of Egypt was due (see § 108), that gave birth to the tradition (which STRABO mentions as if resting on as high authority as any other), that he was the commender of the canal which was intended to connect the

Nile with the Red Sea (xvii. c. i. p. 443). It is the assertion of the author of the Aristotelian *Meteorologica* (i. p. 352) who does not mention any one repeating the attempt between him and Darius. It seems probable also that the ὄλκοι ἐν-ἑληοι, of which Herodotus speaks below (§ 159) were the nucleus of traditions orally transmitted, and varying in the names of the personages to whom they were attributed. See notes on §§ 158 and 159.

<sup>226</sup> τοὺς παρὰ τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν κατοικημένους. STRABO (in a passage where he professes to be following Eratosthenes) gives an account of the traditions relative to Sesostris's wide conquests, which plainly shows the origin of them. Just on the Asiatic side of the strait which forms the mouth of the Arabian gulf, there was said to be a stele of Sesostris recording in hieroglyphics the fact of his passage over: φαίνεται γὰρ τὴν Αἰθιοπίδα καὶ τὴν Τρωαδοτυκὴν πρῶτος καταστρεφάμενος οὗτος, εἰτα διαβάς εἰς τὴν Ἀραβίαν, κἀν-τεῦθεν τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐπελθὼν τὴν σύμψασαν διδὼν καὶ πολλοῦ Σέσωστριος χάρακες προσγορεύοντα, καὶ ἀφιδρόματα εἶναι Αἰγυπτίων θεῶν ἱερῶν (xvi. p. 386). In the same way, the expedition of Jason to Colchis was said to have been extended through Albania and Iberia (i. e. the modern Georgia), and even as far as Ar-

out of the Arabian gulf, and afterwards overran the continent of Asia with an army.

θάλασσαν οὐκέτι πλωτὴν ὑπὸ βραχέων ἐνθεύτεν δὲ ὡς ὀπίσω ἀπίκετο ἐς Αἴγυπτον, κατὰ τῶν ἱρέων τὴν φάτιν, στρατιὴν πολλὴν λαβὼν ἤλαυνε διὰ τῆς ἡπείρου, πᾶν ἔθνος τὸ ἐμποδὼν καταστρεφόμενος. ὁτέοισι μὲν νυν αὐτῶν ἀλλήμοισι ἐνετύγχανε καὶ δεινῶς γλιχομένοισι περὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας, τοῦτοισι μὲν στήλας ἐνίστη<sup>297</sup> ἐς τὰς χώρας, διὰ γραμμάτων λεγούσας τό τε ἔωντοῦ οὐνομα καὶ τῆς πάτρης, καὶ ὡς δυνάμι<sup>298</sup> τῇ ἔωντοῦ κατεστρέφασθαι σφεας· ὁτέων δὲ ἀμαχητὶ καὶ εὐπετέως παρέλαβε τὰς πόλεις, τοῦτοισι δὲ ἐνέγραφε ἐν τῇσι στήλησι κατὰ ταῦτα καὶ τοῖσι ἀνδρητοῖσι τῶν ἔθνέων γενομένοισι· καὶ δὴ καὶ αἰδοῖα γυναικὸς προσενέγραφε, δῆλα βουλόμενος ποιέειν ὡς εἶψαν ἀνάλκιδες<sup>299</sup>. Ταῦτα δὲ ποιέων διεξήγε τὴν ἡπειρον, ἐς δ' ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην διαβὰς τοὺς τε Σκύθας κατεστρέφασθαι καὶ τοὺς Θρήικας· ἐς τούτους δέ μοι δοκέει καὶ οὐ προσώτατα<sup>300</sup> ἀπικέσθαι ὁ Αἰγύπτιος στρατός· ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῇ τούτων χώρῃ φαίνονται σταθεῖσαι αἱ στήλαι<sup>301</sup>, τὸ δὲ προσωτέρω τούτων οὐκέτι ἐνθεύτεν δὲ ἐπιστρέψας ὀπίσω ἦεν· καὶ ἐπεὶ τε ἐγένετο ἐπὶ Φάσι ποταμῷ, οὐκ

103

Passing over into Europe he subdued the Scythians and Thracians, which constitute the limit of his expedition.

menia and Media, from the circumstance of a number of temples existing in which a cognate ritual prevailed: ὡς μαρτυρεῖ τὰ τε ἱερῶνα καὶ ἄλλα θεομνήματα πλεῖον (xi. p. 417; compare p. 463). In the time of Alexander this hypothesis became converted into history by the fiction of one *Armenus* from *Armenium*, a Thessalian town situated between Pheræ and Larissa, who was said to have accompanied Jason as an ally in his expedition. See notes 621 and 628 on Book I.

<sup>297</sup> ἐνίστη. The MSS vary between this and ἀνίστη, but in vi. 43 they are as unanimous for καρίστα. In § 106, below, they vary between ἴστα and ἴστη, with a preponderance for the former.

<sup>298</sup> δυνάμι. See note 132 on i. 41.

<sup>299</sup> δῆλα βουλόμενος ποιέειν ὡς εἶψαν ἀνάλκιδες. In the time of Diodorus a feature was supplied to the story of Sesostris, which, as Herodotus does not mention it, we may suppose did not exist in his days, viz. that the monuments on which the conquest of brave nations was recorded were distinguished by the analogous symbol of virility. His conquests, too, were extended beyond the main, even to the including some of the Cyclades (i. 55), doubtless from the symbolism appropriate

to the orgiastic worship of Dionysus which would be found at Naxos and elsewhere. Subsequently to the rise of the Greek dynasty at Alexandria, the habit of considering the mythical narratives of the early times as a merely poetical garb thrown around historical facts grew rapidly, and the identification of Dionysus and Sesostris as great conquerors would be a generally received explanation of their several stories. There can be no question that the figure spoken of in the text had nothing to do either with Sesostris the Egyptian historical king, or with the idea of effeminacy. It was a symbol belonging to the system of religion of which the *Theismophoria* was a festival. See HERACLIDES the Syracusan, *ap. Athenæum*, xiv. p. 647, and AUGUSTINE, *De Civ. D.* vi. 9.

<sup>300</sup> οὐ προσώτατα. This is the reading of the majority of MSS. Gaisford, on the authority of P and F, omits οὐ. But a very good sense may be given if that particle be retained. Translate, "But I conceive the Egyptian army to have reached [only] these, and not the extreme parts of the earth."

<sup>301</sup> αἱ στήλαι. See note 286, above.

ἔχω τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ἀτρεκέως εἰπεῖν, εἴτε αὐτὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς Σέσωστρις ἀποδοσάμενος τῆς ἑωυτοῦ στρατιῆς μόνιον ὅσον δὴ αὐτοῦ κατέλιπε τῆς χώρας οἰκήτορας, εἴτε τῶν τινὲς στρατιωτῶν τῇ πλάνῃ αὐτοῦ ἀχθεσθέντες, περὶ Φάσιιν ποταμὸν κατέμειναν.

On his return he left a part of his army on the Phasis.

Φαίνονται μὲν γὰρ ἔόντες οἱ Κόλχοι Αἰγύπτιοι· νήσας δὲ πρό- 104  
τερον αὐτὸς ἢ ἀκούσας ἄλλων, λέγω· ὥς δέ μοι ἐν φροντιδί ἐγένετο, εἰρόμην ἀμφοτέρους<sup>293</sup>. καὶ μᾶλλον οἱ Κόλχοι ἐμενέατο τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἢ οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι τῶν Κόλχων νομίζεν δ' ἔφασαν οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι τῆς Σέσωστριος στρατιῆς εἶναι τοὺς Κόλχους. αὐτὸς δὲ εἴκασα τῇδε, καὶ ὅτι μελάνχροές εἰσι καὶ οὐλότριχες<sup>294</sup>. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἐς οὐδὲν ἀνήκει· εἰσὶ γὰρ καὶ ἕτεροι τοιοῦτοι· ἀλλὰ τοισίδε καὶ μᾶλλον, ὅτι μῦνοι πάντων ἀνθρώπων Κόλχοι καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ Αἰθίοπες περιτάμνονται ἀπ' ἀρχῆς τὰ αἰδοῖα· Φοίνικες δὲ καὶ Σύριοι οἱ ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ<sup>295</sup> καὶ αὐτοὶ ὁμολογέουσι παρ' Αἰγυπτίων μεμαθηκέναι, Σύριοι δὲ οἱ περὶ Θερμώδοντα καὶ Παρθένιον ποταμὸν, καὶ Μάκρωνες οἱ τούτοις ἀστυγείτονες ἔόντες, ἀπὸ Κόλχων φασὶ νεωστὶ μεμαθηκέναι· οὗτοι γὰρ εἰσι οἱ περιταμνόμενοι ἀνθρώπων μῦνοι<sup>296</sup>. καὶ οὗτοι Αἰγυπτίοις φαίνονται

Evidence that these Colchians are Egyptian. Circumcision is a native custom with both, but not with the Phœnicians and Syrians either of Palestine or Pontus.

<sup>293</sup> εἰρόμην ἀμφοτέρους. This expression goes to prove the fact of the author, or the individual whom he impersonates, having been on the Phasis; and indeed it seems certain that some of his statements must be derived from Phasian merchants. Yet it is very strange that in this case he should not ever mention the name of the town (which was the same as that of the river), nor give any of the curious particulars relating to the trade there (see note 363 on i. 104). It is even stranger that he should say nothing of *Dioscurias*, which was in the actual *μυχὸς* of the Euxine. (See note on vi. 9.)

<sup>294</sup> μελάνχροες καὶ οὐλότριχες. The mummies have always been found to possess straight hair, and an *European*, not *African*, configuration of skull. And in the paintings the Egyptians are represented as *red*, not *black*. Is it possible that the Egyptians here alluded to are the same race as those pirates (apparently the relic of an *African* tribe) which haunted the marshes of the *Bucolic* branch of the Nile? See above, note 61 on § 17. They are described as *φοβεροὶ καὶ ἄγριοι ἄνθρωποι, μεγάλοι μὲν πάντες, μέλαρες δὲ τὴν χροίαν οὐ κατὰ τὴν Ἰνδῶν*

*τὴν ἄκρατον, ἀλλ' ὅσος ἂν γένοιτο νόθος Αἰθιοψ*. (ACHILLES TATIUS, iii. 9.) The novelist, however, goes on to say that they are *ψιλοὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς* and *λεπτοὶ τοὺς πόδας*, which are not negro characteristics.

<sup>295</sup> Σύριοι οἱ ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ. This phrase has occasioned some difficulty from Herodotus's notice being supposed to militate against the passages of the Old Testament (1 *Sam.* xviii. 25; 2 *Sam.* i. 20, &c.) in which the Philistines are distinguished as "the uncircumcised;" and occasion has been taken to argue that the interior of the country (the Holy Land) was regarded by him as part of Palestine. But it has been overlooked that subsequently to the time of Saul a great change took place in the population of the Philistine cities (see note on § 157, below), and that a considerable Egyptian element had probably been introduced. I do not believe that Herodotus has here any thing but the *coast* in his mind.

<sup>296</sup> οἱ περιταμνόμενοι ἀνθρώπων μῦνοι. It is remarkable that here no mention should be made of the Jews or the Arabians, as practising this same rite, and that the narrator should pass at once from

ποιεῦντες κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ<sup>296</sup>, αὐτῶν δὲ Αἰγυπτίων καὶ Αἰθιοπῶν οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν ὁκότεροι παρὰ τῶν ἐτέρων ἐξέμαθον ἄρχαιον γὰρ δὴ τι φαίνεται ἔόν ὡς δ' ἐπιμισγόμενοι Αἰγύπτῳ ἐξέμαθον, μέγα μοι καὶ τὸδε τεκμήριον γίνεται· Φοινίκων ὁκόσοι τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἐπιμίσγονται, οὐκέτι Αἰγυπτίους μιμέονται κατὰ τὰ αἰδοῖα, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐπιγινωμένων οὐ περιτάμνονσι τὰ αἰδοῖα. Φέρε νυν καὶ ἄλλο εἶπω περὶ τῶν Κόλχων, ὡς Αἰγυπτίοισι προσφερέες εἰσι. λίνον μόνον οὗτοί τε καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι ἐργάζονται κατὰ τὰ αὐτά. καὶ ἡ ζῶη πᾶσα καὶ ἡ γλῶσσα ἐμφερὴς ἐστὶ ἀλλήλοισι<sup>297</sup>. λίνον δὲ τὸ μὲν Κολχικόν, ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων Σαρδονικόν<sup>297</sup> κέκληται· τὸ μέντοι ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου ἀπικνεύμενον καλέεται Αἰγύπτιον.

105

The mode of manufacturing linen is similar, and so is the language, and the whole mode of life.

the seaboard of Palestine to that of Pontus. The Syrians of Pontus are the Cappadocians, i. e. the inhabitants of that large portion of Asia Minor which lies east of the Halys (see note 27 on i. 6). Is it to be supposed that only those who dwelt immediately in the neighbourhood of the Thermodon had the custom he speaks of, or was he unacquainted with any others than these? If the latter be the true solution, it becomes easy to understand that his knowledge must have gained as a trader in the maritime ports, and that the information obtained was limited by this condition. See note 363 on i. 104, and note 26 on ii. 7.

<sup>296</sup> κατὰ τὰ αὐτά. See above, § 35. STRABO (xi. 2) mentions this circumstance of the similar manufacture as being the principal ground of the opinion held by some that the Colchians were of Egyptian origin, but he does not make any special reference to Herodotus.

<sup>297</sup> ἡ γλῶσσα ἐμφερὴς ἐστὶ ἀλλήλοισι. This expression probably refers to the effect produced on the ear of a traveller who understood neither language, and must not be regarded as in itself a proof of any near etymological affinity. Such a similarity may be remarked between Italian and Bohemian, especially by a person who has been for a considerable time accustomed to the sounds of any dialect of the German just before visiting Bohemia. There can be no doubt that Herodotus employed a Greek interpreter in Egypt, and probably also at Phasis. See note 338 on i. 95, and note 128, above.

<sup>297</sup> Σαρδονικόν. The manuscripts S, P, α have the variation Σαρδονικόν.

Whichever reading be adopted, the reference appears to be to the island Sardinia (Σαρδία); and it is not easy to say how a Colchian product should have acquired such a name. The island Sardinia itself was very little known to the Greeks (see note on v. 106), although its repute for abundant resources was very great. But its produce appears to have been simply agricultural. RITTER (*Vorhalle Europäische Völkergeschichten*, p. 48) supposes the word to have no connexion with Sardinia at all, but to be synonymous with Σαρδονικόν, and denote the muslins brought from the Σαρδοί. But unless the text be altered very violently, and without any external ground, this view seems utterly untenable. As a mere stop-gap, I am disposed to propose the following explanation. It is well known that the Carthaginians had manufactures of linen in the island of Malta, the produce of which was remarkable for its extreme fineness and softness (λεπτότητι καὶ μαλακότητι. DIODORUS, v. 12). The effeminate Verres kept the whole population of the town (Melita) employed for three years in supplying him with the article (CICERO in *Verr.* ii. 4. 46). From the deficient knowledge which the Greeks had of the places to which the Phœnicians and their colonies traded, it seems very possible that they should believe these manufactured articles to have come from Sardinia itself, just as the spices produced in the islands under the line may now be called Indian. If now the articles which came from India by way of the Colchians were similarly distinguished by their texture from the Egyptian linen (which was undoubtedly, for the most part,

Τὰς δὲ στήλας<sup>298</sup> τὰς ἴστας κατὰ τὰς χώρας ὁ Αἰγύπτου βασι- 106  
 λεὺς Σέσωστρις, αἱ μὲν πλεῖνες οὐκέτι φαίνονται περιεοῦσαι· ἐν δὲ  
 τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ Συρίῃ<sup>a</sup> αὐτὸς ὄρεον ἐοῦσας, καὶ τὰ γράμματα τὰ  
 εἰρημένα ἐνεόντα, καὶ γυναικὸς αἰδοῖα. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ περὶ Ἰωνίῃ  
 δύο τύποι<sup>299</sup> ἐν πέτρῃσι ἐγκεκολλημένοι τοῦτου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς, τῇ τε

There re-  
 main some  
 of Sesostris's  
 columns in  
 Palestine,  
 and two  
 other monu-

coarse in comparison: Βιττια, l. c. p. 45), possibly the term *Σαρδονικόν* came to be applied to them, with a reference not to any locality, but only to the quality of the manufacture. This secondary usage of a term originally denoting locality, may be illustrated by the use in our own time of the words *muslin*, *calicoes*, and *cashmeres*, to denote European fabrics of an analogous kind to those originally brought from the East.

<sup>298</sup> τὰς δὲ στήλας. Some MSS have αἱ δὲ στήλαι.

<sup>a</sup> ἐν δὲ τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ Συρίῃ. The worship of Derceto or Atargatis prevailed in the Philistine towns. See the note 366 on l. 105.

<sup>299</sup> δύο τύποι. The latter of these two reliefs was discovered in the year 1817 by the Rev. G. C. Renouard, chaplain at Smyrna, and has since been the subject of much discussion among the learned. A figure of it is given in the Classical Museum, vol. i. p. 232. It is on a rock called *Karabel* (the black hip), which has been cut almost perpendicular, and forms a smooth, almost square, wall somewhat broader than high. The rock is seen at a considerable distance, and on approaching it closer one perceives, if not the figure itself, at least the square cavity on the ground of which the figure is cut, in the same manner in which the reliefs are wrought on the monuments of Egypt. The inscription on the breast, if any ever existed, has been effaced by the effect of time, which has left very little more than the mere outline of the figure remaining. The dimensions of this agree pretty well with the account of Herodotus, but there is considerable variation in the details. The head-dress is a high tiara (such as that which Herodotus mentions as having been worn by the *Sacæ*: *κυρβατία ἐς δὲ ἀκρωτήρη ὀρθή*, vii. 64), very different from the Egyptian *pshent* or the Phrygian bonnet. The shoes are turned up at the toes, and the clumsiness and rudeness in the proportions of the body and the whole execution do not agree with other well-

known Egyptian monuments of the time of Sesostris, or with Egyptian art in general. The only circumstance favourable to the hypothesis of an Egyptian origin is a bird in a kind of ornamented frame before the face of the warrior,—a feature which has hitherto not been seen on any other than Egyptian monuments. On the other hand, the omission of the name of Sesostris is remarked by Lepsius himself (who is otherwise favourable to Herodotus's view) as being contrary to the Egyptian custom.

The rock on which the figure is cut is represented as being near *Nymphi* (the ancient *Nymphæum*), close to which one of the great roads from Mysia to Lydia ran. Professor Welcker says that an attentive traveller cannot fail to perceive the monument. But its distance from the road is such that no details can have been discernible; and these it seems likely that Herodotus obtained at second-hand. (See notes 329 and 331 on l. 93.) The figure really has a lance in its *left* hand, and in its *right* the string of a bow which hangs over its back. The bird in the frame is far too important an object to have been overlooked by an eyewitness. It is remarkable too, that although the writer speaks of having *himself* seen the Sesostris monuments in Palestine, he alters the form of his expression in describing these Ionian reliefs. If we suppose that in passing along the road his attention was caught by the remarkable appearance of the rock, and that his informant as to the details was a fellow-traveller, or one of the country-people at the next halting-place, we shall have no occasion either to question his accuracy or to fetter our judgment as to the origin of the existing monument by what he says respecting it. Taking into account all circumstances connected with it, the costume, the rudeness of workmanship, and the similarity to some rock reliefs found near the ruins of an ancient town east of the Halys, which are undoubtedly neither Persian, Lydian, Phrygian, Egyptian, nor Hellenic, the most plausible hypothesis

ments by  
the road-  
side in Asia  
Minor.

ἐκ τῆς Ἐφεσίδης ἐς Φώκαιαν ἔρχονται, καὶ τῇ ἐκ Σαρδίων ἐς Σμύρνην ἑκατέρωθι δὲ ἀνὴρ ἐγγέλλυται, μέγας πένμπτης σπιθαμῆς<sup>300</sup>, τῇ μὲν δεξιῇ χερὶ ἔχων αἰχμὴν τῇ δὲ ἀριστερῇ τόξα, καὶ τὴν ἄλλην σκευὴν ὡσαύτως· καὶ γὰρ Αἰγυπτίην καὶ Αἰθιοπίδα ἔχει· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ὤμου ἐς τὸν ἕτερον ὤμον διὰ τῶν στηθῶν γράμματα ἱρὰ Αἰγύπτια διήκει ἐγκεκολαμμένα, λέγοντα τάδε ΕΓΩ ΤΗΝΔΕ ΤΗΝ ΧΩΡΗΝ ΩΜΟΙΣΙ ΤΟΙΣΙ ΕΜΟΙΣΙ ΕΚΤΗΣΑΜΗΝ. ὅστις δὲ καὶ ὁκόθεν ἐστὶ, ἐνθαῦτα μὲν οὐ δηλοῖ, ἐτέρωθι δὲ δεδήλωκε· τὰ δὲ καὶ μετεξέτεροι τῶν θεσηαμένων Μέμνονος εἰκόνα εἰκάζουσι μὲν εἶναι, πολὺ τῆς ἀληθείης ἀπολελειμμένοι.

107

On the  
return of  
Sesostris  
he narrowly  
escapes  
death by  
fire at the  
hands of  
his brother  
at Daphnæ,  
near Pelu-  
sium.

Τούτον δὲ τὸν Αἰγύπτιον Σέσωστριν ἀναχωρέοντα καὶ ἀνάγοντα πολλοὺς ἀνθρώπους τῶν ἐθνῶν τῶν τὰς χώρας κατεστρέψατο, ἔλεγον οἱ ἱερεῖς, ἐπεὶ τε ἐγένετο ἀνακομιζόμενος ἐν Δάφνησι τῆσι Πηλουσίησι, τὸν ἀδελφεὸν ἑαυτοῦ τῷ ἐπέτρεψε Σέσωστρις τὴν Αἴγυπτον, τοῦτον ἐπὶ ξελία αὐτὸν καλέσαντα καὶ πρὸς αὐτῷ τοὺς παῖδας, περινηῆσαι ἔξωθεν τὴν οἰκὴν ὕλη περινηῆσαντα δὲ ὑποπρῆσαι· τὸν δὲ, ὡς μαθεῖν τοῦτο, αὐτίκα συμβουλευέσθαι τῇ γυναικί· καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτὸν ἅμα ἄγεσθαι· τὴν δὲ οἱ συμβουλευέσαι, τῶν παιδῶν ἐόντων ἕξ, τοὺς δύο ἐπὶ τὴν πυρὴν ἐκτείναντα<sup>301</sup> γεφυρῶσαι τὸ καίόμενον, αὐτοὺς δ' ἐπ' ἐκείνων ἐπιβαίνοντας ἐκσώζεσθαι· ταῦτα ποιῆσαι τὸν Σέσωστριν, καὶ δύο μὲν τῶν παιδῶν κατακαῆναι τρόφῳ τοιούτῳ, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἀποσωθῆναι ἅμα τῷ πατρί. Νοστήσας δὲ ὁ Σέσωστρις ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον καὶ τισάμενος τὸν ἀδελφεόν, τῷ μὲν ὀμίλῃ τὸν ἐπηγάγετο, τῶν τὰς χώρας κατεστρέψατο, τοῦτ' μὲν τάδε ἐχρήσατο· τοὺς τέ οἱ λίθους, τοὺς ἐπὶ τούτου τοῦ βασιλέως κομισθέντας ἐς τοῦ Ἡφαίστου τὸ

108

After pu-  
nishing his  
brother, he  
employs the

seems to be that the monument described in the text comes down from the time of some Cimmerian or Scythian conquest, and was the work of a barbarous race.

<sup>300</sup> μέγας πένμπτης σπιθαμῆς, "of the size of four cubits and a half," the σπιθαμή, or "span," being considered equal to half the cubit. The idiom therefore is in fact the same as ἐναυτον ἡμιτάλαντον (i. 51), a well-known form of expression.

<sup>301</sup> τοὺς δύο ἐπὶ τὴν πυρὴν ἐκτείναντα. Wesseling calls this narrative "an old wives' tale," and praises Diodorus, who tells the same story in a way which strips it of its marvellous features. According

to him (i. 57) Sesostris, after offering up a prayer to Hephestus, dashes through the fire and escapes. He also accounts for the fire not being extinguished by the king's retinue. They were unable to exert themselves effectually from the quantity of wine they had drunk at the banquet! But this toning down of the story to make it harmonize with ordinary history really destroys the historical value which it intrinsically possesses, viz. as an indication of the Moloch-worship (in which parents "made their children pass through the fire") having formerly existed at Daphnæ. See note on iii. 11, ἐς θῦν τοῦ πατρός.



ἱρὸν, ἔοντας μεγάλῃ περιμήκειας, οὗτοι ἦσαν οἱ ἐλεύσαντες καὶ captives brought with him in drawing the blocks for the Herkulesium at Memphis, and forming the canal system of Egypt.

τὰς διώρυχας τὰς νῦν ἐούσας ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ πάσας οὗτοι ἀναγκαζόμενοι ὠρυσσαν ἐπόλευν τε οὐκ ἐκόντες Αἴγυπτον τὸ πρὶν ἐοῦσαν ἱππασίμην καὶ ἀμαξιομένην πᾶσαν ἐνδεᾶ τούτων<sup>302</sup>. ἀπὸ γὰρ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου Αἴγυπτος, ἐοῦσα πεδιάς πᾶσα, ἀνιππος καὶ ἀναμάξευτος γέγονε· αἴτιαι δὲ τούτων αἱ διώρυχες γεγόνασι, ἐοῦσαι πολλὰ καὶ παντοίους τρόπους ἔχουσαι. κατέταμνε δὲ τοῦδε εἵνεκα τὴν χώραν ὁ βασιλεὺς ὅσοι τῶν Αἰγυπτίων μὴ ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ ἔκτηντο τὰς πόλεις, ἀλλ' ἀναμέσους, οὗτοι, ὅκως τε ἀπλοῖο ὁ ποταμός, σπανίζοντες ὑδάτων πλατυτέροις<sup>303</sup> ἔχρουντο τοῖσι πόμασι, ἐκ φρεάτων χρεόμενοι τούτων μὲν δὴ εἵνεκα κατετμήθη ἡ Αἴγυπτος. Κατανεῖμαι δὲ τὴν χώραν<sup>304</sup> Αἰγυπτίοισι ἅπασιν τούτον ἔλεγον τὸν βασιλεῖα, κλήρον ἴσον ἐκάστῳ τετράγωνον δίδοντα· καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τὰς προσόδους ποιήσασθαι, ἐπιτάξαντα ἀποφορὴν<sup>305</sup> ἐπιτελεῖν κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν. εἰ δέ τις τοῦ κλήρου ὁ ποταμός τι παρέλοιτο, ἐλθὼν ἀνὰ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐσήμαινε τὸ γεγεννημένον ὁ δὲ ἔπεμπε τοὺς ἐπισκεφεμένους καὶ ἀναμετρήσοντας ὅσῳ ἐλάσσωσιν ὁ χώρος γέγονε, ὅκως τοῦ λοιποῦ κατὰ λόγον τῆς τεταγμένης ἀποφορῆς τελεί.

109

He assigns the land of Egypt in square plots, for which a rent is paid, equitably assessed by commissioners.

<sup>302</sup> τούτων, i.e. τοῦ ἱππεύεσθαι καὶ ἀμαξιοῦσθαι.

<sup>303</sup> πλατυτέροις. HESYCHIUS explains the word πλατὺ by ἄλμυρον, and it is used in that sense by ARISTOTLE (*Meteorologica*, ii. p. 368, A, line 28). It is not, however, easy to trace any connexion between the meanings. That the water obtained by sinking wells in Egypt should be brackish is not unlikely. The rock of which the desert is composed and on which the alluvium from the river rests is considerably impregnated with salt, and the water in the wells would really be the Nile water filtered through this stratum. THEOPHRASTUS, in his treatise *περὶ ὕδατος*, spoke of the Nile water itself as being a gentle laxative from holding salts in solution (*op. Athen.* ii. p. 42).

<sup>304</sup> κατανεῖμαι τὴν χώραν. This appears to be a description of the settlement of the land on a principle which commonly prevails in the East. The theory of the system is that the sovereign is regarded as the actual owner of the soil, and only the usufruct is granted by him to the occupier, he himself retaining the power of resuming this grant at pleasure. The

land-tax, which usually consists of a certain proportion of the produce, is considered to be the acknowledgment of this right. The narrative in *Genesis* (c. xlvii.) gives the circumstances under which it was acquired in Egypt. According to the account followed by Herodotus, Sesostris is represented as parcelling out the land, and as exercising a discretionary power in exacting the tax under peculiar circumstances. But there is nothing to indicate an actual census of the available property, to serve as a basis for the commutation of the produce-rents; something like which seems afterwards to have been effected by Amasis. See note on § 177, below.

<sup>305</sup> ἀποφορὴν. This is explained by the Herodotean glossographer as τὸ ὑπὸ τῶν δηκῶν τοῖς ἀρχουσιν ὑποτελούμενον. This is true if by the δηκοὶ are meant the subjects of an absolute prince; but it would be inapplicable to the tribute rendered by foreign states, for which the term φόρος is the appropriate one. The ἀποφορὴ is a rent paid out of the fruits of the holding.

## 110

Ethiopia was under his dominion. He erected six colossal figures in front of the Hephaestaeum, which occasion a rebuke of Darius by the priest of the deity.

δοκέει δέ μοι ἐνθεῦτεν γεωμετρὴν εὐρεθεῖσα, ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπανελθεῖν. πόλον μὲν γὰρ καὶ γνώμονα, καὶ τὰ δυνάδεκα μέρη τῆς ἡμέρης, παρὰ Βαβυλωνίων ἔμαθον<sup>306</sup> οἱ Ἕλληνες. Βασιλεὺς μὲν δὴ οὗτος μούνος Αἰγύπτιος Αἰθιοπίας ἤρξε. μηνιόσυνα δὲ ἐλήπετο πρὸ τοῦ Ἡφαιστείου ἀνδριάντας λιθίνους, δύο μὲν τριήκοντα πήχεων, ἑκοντὺν τε καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα, τοὺς δὲ παῖδας ἕοντας τέσσερας, ἑκοσι πήχεων ἕκαστον. τῶν δὴ ὁ ἱεὺς τοῦ Ἡφαίστου χρόνῳ μετέπειτα πολλῷ Δαρεῖον τὸν Πέρσην οὐ περιεῖδε ἰστάντα ἔμπροσθεν ἀνδριάντα, φὰς “οὐ οἱ πεποιῆσθαι ἔργα οἷά περ Σεσώστρι τῷ Αἰγυπτίῳ Σεσώστριν μὲν γὰρ ἄλλα τε καταστρέφασθαι ἔθνεα οὐκ ἐλάσσω ἐκείνου, καὶ δὴ καὶ Σκύθας<sup>307</sup>. Δαρεῖον δὲ οὐ δυνασθῆναι Σκύθας ἐλεῖν<sup>308</sup>. οὐκ ἔστιν δίκαιον εἶναι ἰσθάναι ἔμπροσθε

<sup>306</sup> παρὰ Βαβυλωνίων ἔμαθον. It does not seem necessary so to press these words as to make them mean that the Hellenic race got this knowledge direct from Babylon, but only that it was from that quarter, and not from Egypt, that it was originally derived. Still it is far from impossible that it came with the worship of the *Sun-god* from Babylon to Patara in Lycia, and from thence to the coast of Asia Minor and Delos. See I. 182.

As for the instrument which is here described, it is an error to suppose that Herodotus meant the *τόλος* and the *γνώμων* to be regarded as different instruments. They were originally parts of the same instrument, which was, in fact, a kind of model of the path of the sun in the heavens, by which not only his daily, but his annual motions might be explained. The *τόλος* was a hemispherical basin of any material (but most naturally of brass), from the centre of which a vertical pin (the *γνώμων*) was carried up to a level with the rim of the basin. It is obvious that the extremity of the gnomon would trace, by the shadow falling upon the side of the basin, the variation of the sun's position in the heavens, and thus serve as a dial. Then if the locus of the extremity of the shadow were marked (by a piece of chalk for instance) upon the *τόλος*, and the instrument reversed, the mark remaining would show the *actual path* of the sun in the heavens (on the hypothesis of the declination being constant through the day), and the basin in fact become a re-

presentative of the hemisphere. This was the cause of both being called by the same name. Both the term and the instrument were probably introduced at Athens in the time of Pericles's administration, when every branch of art and science received so strong an impulse. At the time the *Birds* of ARISTOPHANES was acted, the nomenclature had become sufficiently familiar to the public to furnish material for comedy. Peisthetaerus gives the *Ἔρως* a lesson on the use of the celestial sphere (175—183), as Meton in the sequel lectures him on civil engineering:—

ΠΕΙΣ. βλέπων κάτω; ΕΠ. καὶ δὴ βλέπω. ΠΕΙΣ. βλέπε νῦν ἄνω.

ΕΠ. βλέπω. ΠΕΙΣ. περιλαβὲ τὸν τράχηλον. ΕΠ. νῆ Δία,

ἀπολαύσομαι τί ὅ, εἰ διαστραφῆσομαι;

ΠΕΙΣ. εἶδες τι. ΕΠ. τὰς νεφέλας γε καὶ τὸν οὐρανόν.

ΠΕΙΣ. οὐχ οὕτως οὐδὲν δέηον ὅτιν ἐρ- νίθων τόλος;

ΕΠ. τόλος; τίνα τρέπον; ΠΕΙΣ. ὅσπερ εἶποι τις τόπος.

ὅτι δὲ πολεῖται τοῦτο καὶ διέρχεται ἅπαντα, διὰ τοῦτό γε καλεῖται νῦν τόλος.

<sup>307</sup> καὶ δὴ καὶ Σκύθας. The manuscripts S and V add the word ἐλεῖν, leaving out the words Δαρεῖον δὲ οὐ δυνασθῆναι.

<sup>308</sup> οὐ δυνασθῆναι Σκύθας ἐλεῖν. This feature in the anecdote occasions some difficulty, if the anecdote itself belongs to the same historical cycle which Herodotus follows in the continuous narrative

τῶν ἐκείνου ἀναθημάτων, μὴ οὐκ ὑπερβαλλόμενον τοῖσι ἔργοισι." Δαρεῖον μὲν νυν λέγουσι πρὸς ταῦτα συγγνώμην ποιήσασθαι<sup>300</sup>.

Σεσωστριος δὲ τελευτήσας, ἐκδέξασθαι ἔλεγον τὴν βασιλὴν τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ Φερῶν<sup>310</sup>. τὸν ἀποδέξασθαι μὲν αὐδεμίαν στρατηγὴν, συνενευχθῆναι δὲ οἱ τυφλὸν γενέσθαι διὰ τοιόνδε πρήγμα· τοῦ ποταμοῦ κατελθόντος μέγιστα δὴ τότε ἐπ' ὀκτωκαίδεκα πήχεας, ὡς ὑπερέβαλε τὰς ἀρούρας, πνεύματος ἐμπεσόντος, κυματῆς ὁ ποταμὸς ἐγένετο· τὸν δὲ βασιλέα λέγουσι τοῦτον ἀτασθαλίῃ χρησάμενον, λαβόντα αἰχμὴν βαλέειν ἐς μέσας τὰς δύνας τοῦ ποταμοῦ· μετὰ δὲ, αὐτίκα καμόντα αὐτὸν τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τυφλῶσθαι· δέκα μὲν δὴ ἔτεα εἶναι μιν τυφλὸν ἐνδεκάτῳ δὲ ἔτει ἀπικέσθαι οἱ μαντήϊον ἐκ Βουτοῦς πόλιος<sup>311</sup>, ὡς "ἐξήκει τέ οἱ ὁ χρόνος τῆς ζημίας, καὶ ἀναβλέψει, γυναικὸς οὐρῇ νιφάμενος τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἦτις παρὰ τὸν ἐωυτῆς ἄνδρα μόνον πεφοίτηκε, ἄλλων ἀνδρῶν ἐούσα ἄπειρος;" καὶ τὸν πρώτης τῆς ἐωυτοῦ γυναικὸς πεiràσθαι· μετὰ δὲ, ὡς οὐκ ἀνέβλεπε, ἐπέξῃ πασῶν πεiràσθαι· ἀναβλέψαντα δὲ συναγαγεῖν τὰς γυναῖκας τῶν ἐπειρήθη, πλὴν ἣ τῆς τῷ οὐρῇ νιφάμενος ἀνέβλεψε, ἐς μίαν πόλιν ἣ νῦν καλεῖται Ἐρυθρὴ βῶλος ἐς ταύτην συναλίσαντα, ὑποπρῆσαι πάσας σὺν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει· τῆς δὲ νιφάμενος τῷ οὐρῇ ἀνέβλεψε, ταύτην δὲ εἶχε αὐτὸς γυναῖκα. ἀναθήματα δὲ, ἀποφυγὼν τὴν πάθην τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν, ἄλλα τε ἀνὰ τὰ ἱρὰ πάντα τὰ λόγῳ ἀνέθηκε, καὶ, τοῦ γε λόγον μάλιστα ἀξίον ἐστὶ ἔχειν, ἐς τοῦ Ἥλιου τὸ ἱρὸν ἀξιοθέητα ἀνέθηκε ἔργα ὀβελούς δύο λιθίνους, ἐξ ἑνὸς εἶντα ἐκάτε-

111

He was succeeded by his son Pheros, who brought a judgment of blindness upon himself by an act of blasphemous arrogance. After ten years he recovered, by following the advice of the oracle at Buto; which leads to his making a holocaust of unfaithful wives.

After recovery, he set up, among other offerings, two monolith obelisks at

of Darius; for there is no time subsequent to the return from Scythia in that narrative in which he can be supposed to have visited Egypt. He seems to have intended to go in person to quell the revolt which broke out there in the fourth year after the battle of Marathon, but his intentions were defeated by death (see vii. 1—3). ARISTOTLE, however, followed an account which made Darius conquer Egypt antecedently to the expedition being sent against Hellas (*Rhet.* ii. 20, p. 1363). This would not be the only instance of heterogeneous materials being made use of by Herodotus. See note 517 on i. 183.

<sup>300</sup> συγγνώμην ποιήσασθαι. By the time of Diodorus some additional features appeared in this narrative. The

wish of Darius to set up his statue is discussed in a sanhedrin of the priests, and their decision is that "he has not yet equalled the feats of Sesostria." Darius replies, that by the time he has lived as long as Sesostria did he trusts he shall have done so, and he requests the priests to compare him with Sesostria at the same age (i. 58). This view of the proceeding seems to regard Darius as a young man.

<sup>310</sup> Φερῶν. It is scarcely possible to doubt that here Herodotus (or his authority) mistook an appellative for a proper name, the word Pharaoh denoting merely "king." See note 243 on i. 72.

<sup>311</sup> ἐκ Βουτοῦς πόλιος. See § 155, below.

the temple  
of the sun.

ρον λίθου, μήκος μὲν ἑκάτερον πηχέων ἑκατὸν εὖρος δὲ ὀκτὼ πηχέων.

112

He was succeeded by *Proteus*, a Memphite, who now possesses a sanctuary south of the Hephæstæum, in which stands a temple of Aphrodite Xeine, a deity probably iden-

Τούτου δὲ ἐκδέξασθαι τὴν βασιλιήν ἔλεγον ἄνδρα Μεμφίτην, τῷ κατὰ τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων γλῶσσαν οὖνομα Πρωτέα εἶναι τοῦ νῦν τέμενός ἐστι ἐν Μέμφι κάρτα καλὸν τε καὶ εὖ ἐσκευασμένον, τοῦ Ἑφαιστηίου πρὸς νότον ἄνεμον κείμενον (περιοικέουσι δὲ τὸ τέμενος τοῦτο Φοίνικες Τύριοι, καλέσεται δὲ ὁ χώρος οὗτος ὁ συναπας Τυρίων στρατόπεδον) ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῷ τέμενεϊ τοῦ Πρωτέος ἱρὸν τὸ καλέσεται Ξείνης Ἀφροδίτης· συμβάλλομαι δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἱρὸν εἶναι Ἑλένης τῆς Τυνδάρεω<sup>112</sup>, καὶ τὸν λόγον ἀκηκοὺς ὡς διατήθη Ἑλένη παρὰ Πρωτεί, καὶ δὴ καὶ ὅτι Ξείνης Ἀφροδίτης<sup>113</sup> ἐπωνύμιόν ἐστι· ὅσα γὰρ ἄλλα Ἀφροδίτης ἱρά ἐστι, οὐδαμῶς Ξείνης ἐπικαλέσεται. Ἔλεγον δὲ μοι οἱ ἱρέες ἱστοροῦντι τὰ περὶ Ἑλένην, γενέσθαι ὧδε Ἀλέξανδρον ἀρπάσαντα Ἑλένην ἐκ Σπάρτης ἀποπλέειν ἐς τὴν ἐωυτοῦ καὶ μιν, ὡς ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ Αἰγαίῳ, ἐξῶσται ἄνεμοι<sup>114</sup> ἐκβάλλουσι ἐς τὸ Αἰγύπτιον πέλαγος· ἐνθεύτην δὲ (οὐ γὰρ ἀνίει<sup>115</sup> τὰ πνεύματα) ἀπικνέεται ἐς Αἴγυπτον, καὶ Αἰγύπτου ἐς τὸ νῦν Κανωβικὸν καλούμενον στόμα τοῦ Νείλου, καὶ ἐς Ταριχεῖας<sup>116</sup>. ἦν δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς ἡϊόνος (ὃ καὶ νῦν ἐστι) Ἑρακλέος ἱρὸν<sup>117</sup>, ἐς τὸ ἦν καταφυγὼν οἰκέτης ὅτεφ ἀνθρώπων<sup>118</sup> ἐπι-

113

tical with Helen. Round about the sanctuary is the Tyrian quarter, and the whole district is called "the Tyrians' camp."

τὰ περὶ Ἑλένην, γενέσθαι ὧδε Ἀλέξανδρον ἀρπάσαντα Ἑλένην ἐκ Σπάρτης ἀποπλέειν ἐς τὴν ἐωυτοῦ καὶ μιν, ὡς ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ Αἰγαίῳ, ἐξῶσται ἄνεμοι<sup>114</sup> ἐκβάλλουσι ἐς τὸ Αἰγύπτιον πέλαγος· ἐνθεύτην δὲ (οὐ γὰρ ἀνίει<sup>115</sup> τὰ πνεύματα) ἀπικνέεται ἐς Αἴγυπτον, καὶ Αἰγύπτου ἐς τὸ νῦν Κανωβικὸν καλούμενον στόμα τοῦ Νείλου, καὶ ἐς Ταριχεῖας<sup>116</sup>. ἦν δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς ἡϊόνος (ὃ καὶ νῦν ἐστι) Ἑρακλέος ἱρὸν<sup>117</sup>, ἐς τὸ ἦν καταφυγὼν οἰκέτης ὅτεφ ἀνθρώπων<sup>118</sup> ἐπι-

<sup>112</sup> συμβάλλομαι δὲ . . . . Ἑλένης τῆς Τυνδάρεω. In the same way in which the author here identifies the Tyrio-Egyptian deity with the *Helen* of the Hellenic mythology, he had before identified the Lydian *Candaules* with the Hellenic *Myrsilus* (i. 7).

<sup>113</sup> Ἀφροδίτης. This word is omitted in F. For ἐπωνύμιον, S, V, δ, and c have ἐπώνυμον. The form ἐπώνυμιος is used for ἐπώνυμος by PINDAR (*Olympt.* x. 96, ἐπώνυμιαν χάριν νίκας ἀγερῶχου, and *Pyth.* i. 58, τοῦ μὲν ἐπώνυμιαν κλεινὸς οἰκιστὴρ ἐκόθωνεν πόλιν γέλιονα).

<sup>114</sup> ἐξῶσται ἄνεμοι. An apparently technical phrase for gales which force a vessel out of the course on which she has been laid. Compare EURIPIDES, *Cyclop.* 278:

πνεύμασιν θαλασσίοις  
σὴν γαῖαν ἐξώσθεντες ἤκομεν, Κόκλωφ.

<sup>115</sup> ἀνίει. See note on iv. 125.

<sup>116</sup> Ταριχεῖας. See note 54, above.

<sup>117</sup> Ἑρακλέος ἱρὸν. In the time of

TACITUS, the city Canobus was said to have been founded by the Spartans returning from Troy with Menelaus, and so called after his pilot, who was there buried (*Annal.* ii. 60). This is a precise parallel to Virgil's story of Palinurus.

<sup>118</sup> οἰκέτης ὅτεφ ἀνθρώπων, "a slave belonging to any man whatever." The preference of the dative to the more common genitive does not, in my opinion, arise from any connexion of ἐπιβάλλεται with ὅτεφ ἀνθρώπων, but rather from the fact that the master's interests are affected by the loss of the slave. Thus, if the form of the sentence be changed, the sense would be adequately given by the English, "If any man whatever should have a slave take sanctuary," &c. The genitive ὅτεφ ἀνθρώπων would merely express that the rank of the slave's master did not affect the question, but would not imply (as the dative does) that the rights of property were affected. The so-called pleonastic use of the dative case of the personal pronouns is derived

βάληται στίγματα ἰρὰ<sup>310</sup> ἑωυτὸν διδούς τῷ θεῷ, οὐκ ἔξεστι τούτου Memphitic  
 ἀφασθαι. (ὁ νόμος οὗτος διατελέει ἕως ὁμοίως μέχρι ἐμεῦ τῷ ἀπ' story of  
 ἀρχῆς.) τοῦ ὧν δὴ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀπιστεύεται θεράποντες πυθόμενοι Helen's  
 τὸν περὶ τὸ ἱρὸν ἔχοντα νόμον, ἰκέται δὲ ἰζόμενοι τοῦ θεοῦ, κατηγο- arrival in  
 ρεον τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου βουλόμενοι βλάπτειν αὐτὸν, πάντα λόγον Egyp<sup>t</sup>.  
 ἐξηγούμενοι ὥς εἶχε περὶ τὴν Ἑλένην τε καὶ τὴν ἐς Μενέλεων  
 ἀδικήν· κατηγορεῖν δὲ ταῦτα πρὸς τε τοὺς ἱρέας καὶ τὸν τοῦ στο-  
 ματος τούτου φύλακον, τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Θῶνις<sup>311</sup>. Ἀκούσας δὲ τού- 114  
 των ὁ Θῶνις πέμπει τὴν ταχίστην ἐς Μέμφιν παρὰ Πρωτέα ἀγγελ-  
 λήν, λέγουσαν τάδε· “ἦκει ξεῖνος, γένος μὲν Τευκρὸς, ἔργον δὲ  
 ἀνόσιον ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἐξεργασμένος· ξείνου γὰρ τοῦ ἑωυτοῦ ἑξα-  
 πατήσας τὴν γυναῖκα, αὐτὴν τε ταύτην ἄγων ἦκει καὶ πολλὰ κάρτα  
 χρήματα, ὑπὸ ἀνέμων ἐς γῆν τὴν σὴν ἀπενειχθεῖς. κότερα δῆτα  
 τούτου ἐῷμεν ἀσινέα ἐκπλέειν, ἢ ἀφελώμεθα<sup>321</sup> τὰ ἔχων ἦλθε;”  
 ἀντιπέμπει πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Πρωτεὺς λέγοντα τάδε· “ἄνδρα τούτου,  
 ὅστις κοτὲ ἔστι ἀνόσια ἐργασμένος ξεῖνον τὸν ἑωυτοῦ, συλλαβόντες 115  
 ἀπάγετε παρ’ ἐμέ, ἵνα εἰδῶ ὃ τι κοτὲ καὶ λέξει.” Ἀκούσας δὲ  
 ταῦτα ὁ Θῶνις συλλαμβάνει τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, καὶ τὰς νέας αὐτοῦ  
 κατίσχει· μετὰ δὲ αὐτὸν τε τούτον ἀνήγαγε ἐς Μέμφιν καὶ τὴν  
 Ἑλένην τε καὶ τὰ χρήματα, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἰκέτας· ἀνακομισθέν-

from a similar usage. See note 120 on i. 34, and that on iv. 162, ἡ δὲ μήτηρ οἱ ἐς Σαλαμῖνα ἔφυγε. No doubt this delicate shade of meaning continually disappeared, and the pronouns became strictly pleonastic. Where *Petruchio* says,

“Knock me at this gate,  
 And rap me well, or I’ll knock your  
 knave’s pate,”

the original use of the pronoun is plain. It is less so, when he bids the tailor,

“Go hop me over every kennel home:  
 For you shall hop without my custom,  
 Sir;”

and the merely pleonastic usage appears in *Shylock’s* account of Jacob’s artifice:

“The skilful shepherd peeled me certain  
 wanda.”

<sup>310</sup> στίγματα ἰρὰ, “sacred tattoo-marks.” See below, vii. 233, τοὺς πλεῖ-  
 νας αὐτῶν ἔστιζον στίγματα βασιλῆα.

This practice of escaping from the oppression of a master by means of a religious dedication, is beautifully applied by St. PAUL to his own escape from the bondage of the law to that service which was perfect freedom: τοῦ λοιποῦ κότους μοι μηδεὶς παρεχέτω· ἐγὼ γὰρ τὰ στίγματα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἐν τῷ σώματί μου βαστάζω (*Gal.* vi. 17).

<sup>320</sup> τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Θῶνις. In the *Odysey* (iv. 238) *Thon* is the husband of Polydamna, from whom Helen is represented as receiving a present of drugs. Herodotus does not, any more than Homer, mention the city *Thonis* on the Canobic branch of the Nile, or the place called *Heleneus*, then existing in the same region. (*HECATÆUS*, ap. *Steph. Byzant.* sub v.)

<sup>321</sup> κότερα . . . ἔωμεν, ἢ ἀφελώμεθα; “Which must we do, let him sail away unharmed, or strip him of the wealth he brought with him?” This is the direct form, corresponding to the oblique *ei* with the subjunctive. See note 170 on i. 53.

των δὲ πάντων, εἰρώτα τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ὁ Πρωτεύς τίς εἴη καὶ ὁκόθεν πλέοι ; ὁ δὲ οἱ καὶ τὸ γένος κατέλεξε καὶ τῆς πάτρης εἶπε τὸ οὔνομα· καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸν πλὸν ἀπηγήσατο ὁκόθεν πλέοι· μετὰ δὲ, ὁ Πρωτεύς εἰρώτα αὐτὸν ὁκόθεν τὴν Ἑλένην λάβει ; πλανωμένου δὲ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐν τῷ λόγῳ καὶ οὐ λέγοντος τὴν ἀληθινήν, ἤλεγχον οἱ γενόμενοι ἰκέται ἐξηγούμενοι πάντα λόγον τοῦ ἀδικήματος· τέλος δὲ δὴ σφί λόγον τούδε ἐκφαίνει ὁ Πρωτεύς, λέγων ὅτι “ἐγὼ εἰ μὴ περὶ πολλοῦ ἡγεύμην μηδένα ξείνων κτείνειν”<sup>322</sup>, ὅσοι ὑπ’ ἀνέμων ἤδη ἀπολαμφθέντες ἦλθον ἐς χώραν τὴν ἐμὴν, ἐγὼ ἂν σε ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἑλλήνος ἐτίσάμην· ὅς, ὦ κάκιστε ἀνδρῶν, ξείνων τυχὼν ἔργον ἀνοσιώτατον ἐργάσαιο, παρὰ τοῦ σεαυτοῦ ξείνου τὴν γυναῖκα ἤλθες”<sup>323</sup>. καὶ μάλα ταῦτά τοι οὐκ ἤρκεσε, ἀλλὰ ἀναπτερώσας αὐτήν<sup>324</sup> οἴχεαι ἔχων ἐκκλέψας· καὶ οὐδὲ ταῦτά τοι μούνα ἤρκεσε, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ οἰκία τοῦ ξείνου κερατῶσας ἤκεις. νῦν ὦν, ἐπεὶ περὶ πολλοῦ ἔγγημαι μὴ ξεινοκτονέειν, γυναῖκα μὲν ταύτην καὶ τὰ χρήματα οὐ τοι προήσω ἀπάγεσθαι, ἀλλὰ αὐτὰ ἐγὼ τῷ Ἑλλήνι ξείνῳ φυλάξω, ἐς δ’ ἂν αὐτὸς ἐλθὼν ἐκείνος ἀπαγαγέσθαι ἐθέλῃ· αὐτὸν δὲ σὲ καὶ τοὺς σοὺς συμπλόους τριῶν ἡμερέων προαγορεύω ἐκ τῆς ἐμῆς γῆς ἐς ἄλλην τιμὰ μετορμίζεσθαι· εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἄτε πολεμίους περιέψεσθαι.”

116

This legend Herodotus believes to have been

Ἑλένης μὲν ταύτην ἀπιξιν παρὰ Πρωτέα ἔλεγον οἱ ἱρέες γενέσθαι· δοκέει δέ μοι καὶ Ὅμηρος τὸν λόγον τοῦτον πυθέσθαι· ἀλλ’ οὐ γὰρ ὁμοίως ἐς τὴν ἐποποιήν εὐπρεπὴς ἦν τῷ ἐτέρῳ τῷ περ

<sup>322</sup> εἰ μὴ περὶ πολλοῦ ἡγεύμην μηδένα ξείνων κτείνειν. In the narrative of the Egyptians the charge of human sacrifices is made against the Greeks. See § 119. In the Hellenic legends the blame was shifted on to the other side. “Quis illandati necsit Busiridis aras?” (VINGIL, Georg. iii. 6.) It can scarcely be doubted that at one time the practice prevailed with both.

<sup>323</sup> παρὰ τοῦ σεαυτοῦ ξείνου τὴν γυναῖκα ἤλθες. Compare above, § 86, φοιτέουσι παρὰ τοῖς ἑρσενας. § 111, παρὰ τὸν ἐωντῆς ἄνδρα μόνον πεφοίτηκε.

<sup>324</sup> ἀναπτερώσας αὐτήν. The use of the word in this passage where the seducer is represented as turning the head of his victim so as to make her forgetful of all the bonds which held her, is excellently illustrated by Αἰστωρῆα in the dia-

logue between Peisithetetus and the Informer, who had wanted a pair of actual wings for his own purposes (An. 1436):

ΣΤΚ. ὦ δαμόνιε, μὴ νοθεύει μ’ ἀλλὰ πτέρω.

ΠΕΙΣ. σὺν τοι λέγων πτέρω σε. ΣΤΚ. καὶ πῶς ἂν λόγοις ἄνδρα πτερώσεις σὺ; ΠΕΙΣ. πάντες τοῖς λόγοις

ἀναπτεροῦνται. ΣΤΚ. πάντες; ΠΕΙΣ. οὐκ ἀπ’ ἡκούας;

ὅταν λέγωσιν οἱ πατέρες ἐκάστοτε τοῖς μαιρακίοις ἐν τοῖσι κουρείοις ταδί· δεινὸς γὰρ μὲν τὸ μαιράκιον Διτρέφης λέγων ἀναπτερόεικεν ὅσθ’ ἱππυλατεῖν.

ὅπῃ γὰρ λέγων ὁ νοῦς τε μετεωρίζεται ἐπαίρεται τ’ ἄνθρωπος.

ἐχρήσατο, ἐς δ' <sup>326</sup> μετήκε αὐτὸν δηλώσας ὡς καὶ τοῦτον ἐπίσταιτο τὸν λόγον. δῆλον δὲ κατὰ γὰρ ἐποίησε ἐν Ἰλιάδι (καὶ οὐδαμῇ ἄλλη ἀνεπόδισε ἑωυτὸν) πλάνην τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου <sup>328</sup>, ὡς ἀπνηνείχθη ἄγων Ἑλένην τῇ τε δὴ ἄλλῃ πλαζόμενος καὶ ὡς ἐς Σιδῶνα τῆς Φοινίκης ἀπύκετο <sup>327</sup>.

Ἐπιμέμνηται δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐν Διομήδεος ἀριστείῃ <sup>329</sup>. λέγει δὲ τὰ ἔπεα οὕτω·

Ἔνθ' ἦσαν οἱ πέπλοι παμπούκιλοι, ἔργα γυναικῶν  
Σιδονίων, τὰς αὐτὰς Ἀλέξανδρος θεοειδὴς  
ἤγαγε Σιδονίην, ἐπεπλῶς εὐρέα πόντον,  
τὴν δδὼν ἦν Ἑλένην περ ἀνήγαγεν εὐπατέρειαν.

<sup>326</sup> ἐς δ. These words are included between brackets by Bekker, and they certainly appear entirely superfluous. But no conceivable cause seems assignable for their introduction; and therefore the corruption probably lies deeper, and would not be removed by simply striking them out, although by this means a good sense would result.

<sup>328</sup> κατὰ γὰρ ἐποίησε . . . πλάνην τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου. The word κατὰ is not the Ionic form of καθά, as has been supposed, but is the preposition separated from the last part of the compound verb καταποιεῖν. It is very true that this compound is never found; but it is regularly formed, and the reason of its not elsewhere appearing is that the simple verb very rarely has a sense admitting of that modification which results from the prefixing the preposition κατὰ. But in this passage the original meaning of "create" (from which the word ποιητής is derived) is entirely lost sight of in the secondary sense "to embody in language;" and the preposition κατὰ admits of composition with a word denoting this, just as appropriately as one signifying "to speak" or "to write." καταποιεῖν therefore would mean "to notice in the course of making a poem," as καταλέγειν is "to notice in an oral narrative," καταγράφειν "to set down in a draught." Hence the expression κατὰ γὰρ ἐποίησε ἐν Ἰλιάδι is to be rendered "for he notices in his poem, the Iliad." But, as the passage alluded to is somewhat vague, it was natural that a reader should look for some other in which the poet might return to the subject,—in which case something might be said to modify the inference that otherwise would be drawn from the mention made of Alexandrus, viz. that the poet recognized the account which took

him to Egypt. But this, Herodotus observes, is not the case; in no other passage does Homer return to the subject (ἀνερόδισε ἑωυτὸν, "bring himself back on his own track:" see note on v. 92). Hence, Herodotus argues, as Homer alludes to Alexandrus in a way which seems to point to the Egyptian legend, and, as he no where else qualifies this allusion, we may presume that the Egyptian legend was known to him, and that he only rejected it because it was less manageable for his purpose.

<sup>327</sup> καὶ ἐς Σιδῶνα τῆς Φοινίκης ἀπύκετο. The normal structure of the sentence would require καὶ ἐς Σιδῶνα ἀπύκετο. But if Herodotus had terminated it in this manner he would have connected the clause with ἀπνηνείχθη, and thus have implied that the arrival of Alexandrus at Sidon was an involuntary act, he being carried thither, as Odysseus was to Phæacia, by the winds and waves. This, however, would be a glaring misrepresentation of the Homeric passage, and accordingly he modifies the form of his sentence as in the text.

<sup>329</sup> ἐν Διομήδεος ἀριστείῃ. This name is given by the Alexandrine grammarians to the fifth book of the Iliad, whereas the passage quoted in the text is in vi. 289, seqq. In defence of the accuracy of the citation it has been rightly observed that there is no reason to suppose the present division into twenty-four books to be so ancient as the time of Herodotus; and it has been argued, that under these circumstances the Διομήδεος ἀριστείῃ may have included this passage. But it seems scarcely possible to believe that, if that subject extended into Book VI., which is far from improbable, it went beyond v. 236. After this the scene changes to the interior of Troy, and Diomedes is no more mentioned.

known to Homer, but to have been rejected by him, as being ill adapted for the epic. Traces of it in *Iliad* vi. 289, and *Odys.* iv. 227. 351.

[ἐπιμέμνηται<sup>329</sup> δὲ καὶ ἐν Ὀδυσσείῃ, ἐν τοῖσιδε τοῖσι ἔπεσι·

Τοῖα Διὸς θυγάτηρ ἔχε φάρμακα μητίεοντα,  
ἔσθλα, τὰ οἱ Πολύδαμνα πόρεν, Θῶνος παρὰκοιτις  
Αἰγυπτίῃ τῇ πλεῖστα φέρει ζεῖδωρος ἔρουρα  
φάρμακα, πολλὰ μὲν ἔσθλα μεμυγμένα, πολλὰ δὲ λυγρά.

καὶ τὰδε ἕτερα πρὸς Τηλέμαχον Μενέλεως λέγει·

Αἰγύπτῃ μ' ἔτι δεῦρο θεοὶ μεμᾶτα νέεσθαι  
ἔσχον, ὅπει οὐ σφιν ἔρεξα τεληέσσας ἐκατόμβας.]

ἐν τούτοισι τοῖσι ἔπεσι δηλοῖ ὅτι ἡπίστατο τὴν ἐς Αἰγυπτὸν  
Ἀλεξάνδρου πλάνην ὁμοῦρῃ γὰρ ἡ Συρίῃ Αἰγύπτῳ, οἱ δὲ Φοί-  
νικες, τῶν ἐστὶ ἡ Σιδῶν, ἐν τῇ Συρίῃ οἰκοῦσι. Κατὰ ταῦτα δὲ τὰ  
ἔπεα καὶ τόδε τὸ χωρίον<sup>330</sup> οὐκ ἦκιστα ἀλλὰ μάλιστα, δηλοῖ ὅτι  
οὐκ Ὀμήρου τὰ Κύπρια ἔπεά ἐστι ἀλλ' ἄλλου τινός. ἐν μὲν γὰρ  
τοῖσι Κυπρίοις εἰρηται, ὡς τριταῖος ἐκ Σπάρτης Ἀλέξανδρος  
ἀπῆκετο ἐς τὸ Ἴλιον ἄγων τὴν Ἑλένην, εὐαεῖ τε πνεύματι χρῆσά-  
μενος καὶ θαλάσῃ λείῃ· ἐν δὲ Ἰλιάδι λέγει ὡς ἐπλάζετο ἄγων  
αὐτήν<sup>331</sup>. Ὀμηρος μὲν νυν καὶ τὰ Κύπρια ἔπεα χαιρέτω.

Εἰρομένου δὲ μεν τοὺς ἱρέας, εἰ μάταιον λόγον λέγουσι οἱ  
Ἕλληες τὰ περὶ Ἴλιον γενέσθαι, ἢ οὐ; ἔφασαν πρὸς ταῦτα  
τὰδε, ἱστορήσιν φάμενοι εἰδέναι παρ' αὐτοῦ Μενέλεω· ἐλθεῖν μὲν  
γὰρ μετὰ τὴν Ἑλένης ἀρπαγὴν ἐς τὴν Τευκρίδα γῆν<sup>332</sup> Ἑλλήνων

117  
Hence it is  
plain that  
the Cypria  
are not  
Homer's.

118  
Egyptian  
view of the  
circum-  
stances at-  
tending the  
siege of  
Troy.

<sup>329</sup> ἐπιμέμνηται. Schaefer includes the text from this word to the end of the second quotation from the Odyssey between brackets as a later addition. The quotations certainly do not bear on the question at issue, for they relate to Menelaus's return from Troy.

<sup>330</sup> τόδε τὸ χωρίον. This expression for "a passage" in a writing is unparalleled, and has excited great suspicion of the whole section, which is, however, found in all the MSS.

<sup>331</sup> ἐν δὲ Ἰλιάδι λέγει ὡς ἐπλάζετο ἄγων αὐτήν. The present text has not this phrase. Perhaps all that the writer means is that such a description of the transit of Alexander may be inferred from what is said in the Iliad: ἐπιπλᾶς εὐρέα πόντον. But such a deduction is scarcely warranted. In the description of the passage from the Κύπρια the poetical phraseology of the original can hardly be

missed, and an attempt has been made to restore the actual lines:

Σπάρτηθεν δὲ τριταῖος Ἀλέξανδρος [θεοει-  
δής]

Ἴλιον εἰσαφίκαεν ἄγων Ἑλένην [Ἀρ-  
γείην]

Εὐαεῖ τ' ἀνέμων πνοῇ λείῃ τε θαλάσῃ.

But it may be remarked that, if Ptolemy (quoted by Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, i. p. 353, note 2) is to be depended upon, this passage does not give a true account of the way in which Alexander was, in the Cypria, made to come from Sparta to Ilium; for he is said to have captured Tyre on his voyage thither.

<sup>332</sup> ἐς τὴν Τευκρίδα γῆν. This is obviously, in the view of the writer, the same as the Troad of the Homeric poems. But the first poet who brought the *Teucri* to Asia was CALLINUS (ap. Strabon. xiii. p. 117). He made them come from Crete,



στρατιὴν πολλήν, βοηθεύσαν Μενέλεω· ἐκβάσαν δὲ ἐς γῆν καὶ ἰδρυθεύσαν τὴν στρατιὴν πέμπειν ἐς τὸ Ἴλιον ἀγγέλους· σὺν δὲ σφι ἵεναι καὶ αὐτὸν Μενέλεω· τοὺς δ' ἐπεὶ τε ἐσελθεῖν ἐς τὸ τεῖχος, ἀπαιτεῖν Ἑλένην τε καὶ τὰ χρήματα τὰ οἱ οἴχετο κλέψας Ἀλέξανδρος, τῶν τε ἀδικημάτων δίκας αἰτέειν τοὺς δὲ Τευκροὺς τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον λέγειν τότε καὶ μετέπειτα, καὶ ὁμνύντας καὶ ἀνωμοτὶ, μὴ μὲν ἔχειν Ἑλένην<sup>333</sup> μηδὲ τὰ ἐπικαλούμενα χρήματα, ἀλλ' εἶναι αὐτὰ πάντα ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ οὐκ ἂν δικαίως αὐτοὶ δίκας ὑπέχειν<sup>334</sup> ἃ Πρωτεύς ὁ Αἰγύπτιος βασιλεὺς ἔχει· οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες καταγελαῖσθαι δοκούντες ὑπ' αὐτῶν, οὕτω δὴ<sup>335</sup> ἐπολιόρκεον ἐς δ' ἐξεῖλον· ἐλοῦσι δὲ τὸ τεῖχος ὡς οὐκ ἐφαίνετο ἡ Ἑλένη, ἀλλὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον τῷ προτέρῳ ἐπυνθάνοντο, οὕτω δὴ πιστεύσαντες τῷ λόγῳ τῷ πρώτῳ οἱ Ἕλληνες αὐτὸν Μενέλεω ἀποστέλλουσι παρὰ Πρωτέα. Ἀπικόμενος δὲ ὁ Μενέλεως ἐς τὴν Αἰγύπτου καὶ ἀνα- 119 πλώσας ἐς τὴν Μέμφιν, εἵπας τὴν ἀληθινήν τῶν πρηγμάτων, καὶ ξεινῶν ἤρτησε μεγάλων καὶ Ἑλένην ἀπαθέα κακῶν ἀπέλαβε, πρὸς δὲ, καὶ τὰ ἐαυτοῦ χρήματα πάντα. τυχὼν μέντοι τούτων, ἐγένετο Μενέλεως ἀνὴρ ἄδικος ἐς Αἰγυπτίους· ἀποπλέειν γὰρ ὠρμημένον αὐτὸν ἴσχον ἄπλοιοι· ἐπειδὴ δὲ τοῦτο ἐπὶ πολλὸν τοιοῦτο ἦν, ἐπιτεχνᾶται πρήγμα οὐκ ὅσιον λαβὼν γὰρ δύο παιδία ἀνδρῶν ἐπιχωρίων, ἔντομά σφρα ἐποίησε· μετὰ δὲ, ὡς ἐπάϊστος ἐγένετο τοῦτο ἐργασμένος, μισηθεὶς τε καὶ διωκόμενος, οἴχετο φεύγων τῆσι νηυσὶ ἐπὶ Λιβύης<sup>336</sup>. τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ὅκου ἐτράπετο, 119

Menelaus was hospitably received in Egypt, and recovered his wife and property, but afterwards incurred hatred by sacrificing two children of the country, and was forced to

and made them call Ida by that name after the Cretan mountain. Strabo says that, though the first who adopted this tradition, he was followed by many. If Callinus really did originate the legend, it follows that his time furnishes the superior limit (chronologically) to all stories in which the Teucri appear as located in Mysia; for instance to that in the text, and to the expedition into Europe spoken of in vii. 20, notwithstanding that is assigned to a time before the Trojan war.

<sup>333</sup> μὴ μὲν ἔχειν Ἑλένην. This passage is quoted by GREGORIUS, *De dialectis*, as an example of the rule he lays down, that where the common dialect employs *μὴν* the Ionic has *μὲν*. But in the case of Herodotus the MSS vary so arbitrarily between *ἢ μὴν* and *ἢ μὲν*, *οὐ μὴν* and *οὐ μὲν*, that it is impossible to lay down any

such definite rule for his usage from existing data.

<sup>334</sup> δίκας ὑπέχειν, "to be sued." The accusative *ἃ* which follows is governed by these words, which are nearly equivalent to *ἀπατεῖσθαι*, and therefore used in the same regimen.

<sup>335</sup> οὕτω δὴ. See note 22 on i. 5.

<sup>336</sup> ἐπὶ Λιβύης. This is the reading of all the MSS. PLUTARCH, who quotes the passage (*De Malign. Herod.* p. 867), seems to have found *ἐπὶ ἐπὶ Λιβύης*. This would probably be a combination of two readings, *ἐπὶ Λιβύης* and *ἐπὶ Λιβύης*, and some of the editors have wished to substitute the former of these in the text here. But there seems no reason for setting aside the testimony of the MSS. As for the particular direction of the course which Menelaus was stated to

fly towards  
Libya.

οὐκέτι εἶχον εἰπεῖν Αἰγύπτιοι· τούτων δὲ τὰ μὲν ἱστορίῃσι ἔφασαν ἐπίστασθαι, τὰ δὲ παρ' ἐωυτοῖσι γενόμενα ἀτρεκέως ἐπιστάμενοι λέγειν.

120

Herodotus  
agrees with  
the Egypt-  
ian legend  
of Helen,  
and gives  
his reasons.

Ταῦτα μὲν Αἰγυπτίων οἱ ἱρέες ἔλεγον ἐγὼ δὲ τῷ λόγῳ τῷ περὶ 'Ελένης λεχθέντι καὶ αὐτὸς προστίθεμαι, τάδε ἐπιλεγόμενος· εἰ ἦν 'Ελένη ἐν 'Ιλίῳ, ἀποδοθῆναι ἂν αὐτὴν τοῖσι 'Ελλησι, ἥτοι ἐκόντος γε ἢ ἄκοντος 'Αλεξάνδρου οὐ γὰρ δὴ οὕτω γε φρενοβλαβῆς ἦν ὁ Πρίαμος, οὐδὲ οἱ ἄλλοι προσήκοντες αὐτῷ, ὥστε τοῖσι σφετέροισι σώμασι καὶ τοῖσι τέκνοισι καὶ τῇ· πόλι κινδυνεύειν ἐβούλοντο<sup>337</sup>, ὅκως 'Αλέξανδρος 'Ελένη συνοικῇ· εἰ δέ τοι καὶ ἐν τοῖσι πρώτοισι χρόνοις ταῦτα ἐγίνωσκον, ἐπεὶ πολλοὶ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων Τρώων ὁκοτε συμμίσγοιεν τοῖσι 'Ελλησι ἀπώλλυντο, αὐτοῦ δὲ Πριάμου οὐκ ἔστι ὅτε οὐ δύο ἢ τρεῖς ἢ καὶ ἔτι πλείους τῶν παίδων μάχης γινομένης ἀπέθνησκον, (εἰ χρή τι τοῖσι ἐσποιοῖσι χρεώμενον λέγειν,) τούτων δὲ τοιούτων συμβαινόντων, ἐγὼ μὲν ἔλπομαι, εἰ καὶ αὐτὸς Πρίαμος συνοικεε 'Ελένη, ἀποδοῦναι ἂν

have taken, it seems to have been determined by the existence of the *Μενελάος λιμὴν* very near the site of the first settlement of the colonists of Cyrene. See iv. 169.

<sup>337</sup> ἐβούλοντο. This use of the word ἐβούλοντο after ὅτε is not a mere substitution of the indicative for the infinitive, which the normal form of construction would require. It implies more than would be meant by the infinitive, viz. that Priam and the rest of Alexander's relatives *did* choose to risk their lives. It is, in fact, a compression of two clauses (each involving a distinct proposition) into one. The sense is the same as if Herodotus, instead of ἐβούλοντο, had written βούλεσθαι (ὃ καὶ ἐποίησαν). Very analogous to it is an expression in *Iliad* x. 244:

ὣα εἶδομεν εἰ κεν 'Αχιλλεύς  
νῶϊ κατακτείνῃας, ἔναρα βορρὸντα φέρηται  
νῆας ἐπὶ γλαφυράς, ἢ κεν σφ' ἑοῦρὶ δα-  
μείῃ,

where the optative δαμείῃ is not an arbitrary substitution for the normal subjunctive, but contains the wish of the speaker for the contemplated result, *over and above* the sense which would follow from the subjunctive; "or fall (as the gods grant he may!) under

thy spear." This peculiar idiom is one remarkably common in THEOCRITUS. Thus:

"Ἄδιν, ὦ ποιμᾶν, τὸ τέδν μέλος ἢ τὸ  
καταχῆς  
τῇν' ἀπὸ τὰς πετρᾶς καταλείβεται  
ὀψόθεν ὄδωρ.

(*Idyll*. i. 8.)

See also *Idyll*. ii. 45; iii. 54; vii. 154. In the same way ÆSCHYLUS makes Clytemnestra say of her husband on his return:

καὶ τραυμάτων μὲν εἰ τόσων ἐνέγχανεν  
ἄνθρωπος, ὥς πρὸς οἶκον ὥχεται ἔπειτα  
φάτις, τέτρωται δυκτὸν πλέω λέγειν  
(*Agam.* 866),

where the sense is ὥς ἔφερε φάτις πρὸς οἶκον ὀχeteυομένη. And on the same principle may be explained a passage in SOPHOCLES which has given a great deal of trouble to commentators:

τί δ' ἐνέλλακται τῆς ἀμερίας [scil. ὄρας]  
νῶξ ἥδε βάρος;

(*Aj.* 207.)

This expression is, in fact, equivalent to τί δὲ βάρος ἦνεγκε νῶξ ἢ ἐνέλλακται τῆς ἀμερίας ὄρας, the two ideas being implied in the compressed proposition.

αὐτὴν τοῖσι Ἀχαιοῖσι μέλλοντά γε δὴ τῶν παρέοντων κακῶν ἀπαλλαγῆσθαι. οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ ἡ βασιλιτὴ ἐς Ἀλέξανδρον περι-  
 ήιε<sup>338</sup>, ὥστε γέροντος Πριάμου ἑόντος, ἐπ' ἐκεῖνῳ τὰ πρήγματα  
 εἶναι· ἀλλὰ Ἐκτωρ, καὶ πρεσβύτερος καὶ ἀνὴρ ἐκεῖνου μᾶλλον  
 ἑὼν, ἔμελλε αὐτὴν Πριάμου ἀποθανόντος παραλάμψεσθαι· τὸν οὐ  
 προσήκε ἀδικέοντι τῷ ἀδελφεῷ ἐπιτρέπειν, καὶ ταῦτα μεγάλων  
 κακῶν δι' αὐτὸν συμβαινόντων ἰδίῃ τε καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖσι ἄλλοις  
 πᾶσι Τρωσὶ. ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ εἶχον Ἑλένην ἀποδοῦναι, οὐδὲ λέγουσι  
 αὐτοῖσι τὴν ἀληθινήν ἐπίστευον οἱ Ἕλληνες, ὥς μὲν ἐγὼ γινώμην  
 ἀποφαίνομαι, τοῦ δαιμονίου παρασκευάζοντος<sup>339</sup> δίκας πανωλεθρίῃ  
 ἀπολόμενοι καταφανὲς τοῦτο τοῖσι ἀνθρώποις ποιήσωσι, ὥς τῶν  
 μεγάλων ἀδικημάτων μεγάλαί εἰσι καὶ αἱ τιμωρίαι παρὰ τῶν θεῶν.  
 καὶ ταῦτα μὲν, τῇ ἐμοὶ δοκέει, εἴρηται.

Πρωτεύς δὲ ἐκδέξασθαι τὴν βασιλιτὴν Ῥαμψίνιτον ἔλεγον δὲ 121  
 μνημόσυνα ἐλπίετο τὰ προπύλαια τὰ πρὸς ἐσπέρην τετραμμένα  
 τοῦ Ἡφαιστείου, ἀντίους δὲ τῶν προπυλαίων ἔστησε ἀνδριάντας  
 δύο ἑόντας τὸ μέγαθος πέντε καὶ ἑξέκοσι πηχέων τῶν Αἰγύπτιοι  
 τὸν μὲν πρὸς βορρῶ ἑσπεῶτα καλέουσι θέρος, τὸν δὲ πρὸς νότον  
 χειμῶνα· καὶ τὸν μὲν καλέουσι θέρος<sup>340</sup>, τοῦτον μὲν προσκυνέουσιν  
 τε καὶ εὖ ποιεῖουσιν τὸν δὲ χειμῶνα<sup>341</sup> καλεῖμενον τὰ ἔμπαλιν  
 τούτων ἔρδουσιν. πλοῦτον δὲ τούτῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ γενέσθαι ἀργύρου  
 μέγαν, τὸν οὐδένα τῶν ὑστερον ἐπιτραφέντων βασιλέων δύνασθαι  
 ὑπερβαλέσθαι, οὐδ' ἐγγὺς ἐλθεῖν βουλόμενον δὲ αὐτὸν ἐν ἀσφα-  
 λῇ τὰ χρήματα θησαυρίζειν, οἰκοδομέσθαι οἶκον λίθινον τοῦ

Proteus is  
 succeeded  
 by Rampsi-  
 nis, who  
 built the  
 western pro-  
 pylaea of the  
 Hephaes-  
 teum, and  
 set up two  
 colossal sta-  
 tues oppo-  
 site to it.  
 His enor-  
 mous  
 wealth.  
 His trea-  
 sury is art-  
 fully robbed

<sup>338</sup> περιήιε. This expression is equiva-  
 lent to ἔμελλε περιελύσσεσθαι, which  
 shows that it must be considered as  
 having the force of an imperfect. It is  
 conjoined with the imperfect ἀπελαύνετο  
 in iii. 51.

<sup>339</sup> τοῦ δαιμονίου παρασκευάζοντος. By  
 the way in which Herodotus argues in  
 this section, it would appear that he was  
 not disposed to recognize the legend  
 (STRABON, *op. Plat. Repub.* ix.  
 p. 586) in which Paris was made to carry  
 off a phantom of Helen and take her to  
 Troy with him in mistake for the real  
 queen of Lacedæmon, who in the mean-  
 time was detained in Egypt. This legend  
 is the foundation of the play of EURI-  
 PIDES. It is itself a poetic fiction to re-  
 concile two independent accounts (that of

the Homeric poems and that of the  
 Egyptian traditions) with one another.  
 Herodotus connects them in a more  
 matter-of-fact manner, by the scepticism of  
 the Hellenic army as to the protestations  
 of the Trojans.

<sup>340</sup> τὸν δὲ . . . θέρος. These words  
 are omitted in the manuscripts *a* and *c*.  
 Also *S* and *V*, which contain them, con-  
 tinue the text τὸν δὲ πρὸς νότον χειμῶνα  
 καλεῖμενον, leaving out a line and a half,  
 obviously from an error of the eye.

<sup>341</sup> τὸν δὲ χειμῶνα. The manuscripts  
 which omit τὸν δὲ . . . θέρος, just above,  
 here have τὸν δὲ πρὸς νότον χειμῶνα,  
 which shows that the omission did not  
 arise from an error of the eye, like the  
 variation of *S* and *V*, mentioned in the  
 last note.

by a most  
cunning  
thief,

τῶν τοίχων ἓνα ἐς τὸ ἔξω μέρος τῆς οἰκίης ἔχεν<sup>343</sup>. τὸν δὲ ἐργαζόμενον, ἐπιβουλεύοντα, τάδε μηχανάσθαι· τῶν λίθων παρασκευάσασθαι ἓνα ἐξαίρετον εἶναι ἐκ τοῦ τοίχου ῥηιδίως καὶ ὑπὸ δύο ἀνδρῶν καὶ ὑπὸ ἐνός· ὡς δὲ ἐπετελέσθη τὸ οἰκεῖον, τὸν μὲν βασιλέα θησαυρίσαι τὰ χρήματα ἐν αὐτῷ χρόνῳ δὲ περιύοντος, τὸν οἰκοδόμον περὶ τελευτὴν τοῦ βίου ἔοντα ἀνακαλέσασθαι τοὺς παῖδας, (εἶναι γὰρ αὐτῷ δύο,) τοῖτοισι δὲ ἀπηγγέσθαι ὡς ἐκεῖνων προορέων δικῶς βίον ἀφθονοῦ ἔχουσι, τεχνάσατο οἰκοδομέων τὸν θησαυρὸν τοῦ βασιλέως<sup>344</sup>. σαφέως δὲ αὐτοῖσι πάντα ἐξηγησάμενον τὰ περὶ τὴν ἐξάρεσιν τοῦ λίθου, δοῦναι τὰ μέτρα αὐτοῦ, λέγοντα ὡς ταῦτα διαφυλάσσουσιν ταμίαι τῶν βασιλέως χρημάτων ἔσονται. καὶ τὸν μὲν τελευτῆσαι τὸν βίον, τοὺς δὲ παῖδας αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἐς μακρὴν<sup>344</sup> ἔργου ἔχεσθαι, ἐπελθόντας δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ βασιλεῖα νυκτὸς

<sup>343</sup> τοῦ τῶν τοίχων ἓνα . . . ἔχεν, "one of the walls of which communicated with the outside of the house." For the use of the word *ἐτέχειν*, see note on § 138.

<sup>344</sup> τεχνάσατο οἰκοδομῶν τὸν θησαυρὸν τοῦ βασιλέως. MÜLLER (*Orchomenus*, pp. 98, seqq.) endeavours to show that the story of the two brothers robbing the treasury of the king, and the escape of one of the two by the bold expedient of decapitating the other who was caught, is an ancient Minyean tradition, which was carried (he conceives) like many others to Egypt, and afterwards reproduced by the *ἑλλήνται* as a native Egyptian story. The grounds of this opinion consist mainly in the existence of a story, almost identical in its circumstances, in which the two brothers are Agamedes and Trophonius. PAUSANIAS found it current at *Orchomenus* in Boeotia, where Hyrieus (the eponymous founder of Hyrea) was made the owner of the robbed treasure-house (ix. 37. 3). CHARAX of Pergamus related a similar adventure in the treasure-house of Augeas at *Elis*. He made Agamedes king of Styμφαλις in Arcadia, and Trophonius his son; and the victim who lost his head *Cercyon*, another son of Agamedes; and he added the further circumstance that *Dædalus*, who happened to be at the court of Augeas, both devised the snare in which *Cercyon* was taken and put Augeas on the track of the fugitives (*ap. Schol. ad Aristoph. Nub.* 508). But, although an ethnical connexion between the Minyæans and the Epeans (Augeas's subjects) may be al-

lowed, and the names of the masonic brothers may well have been familiar in any locality where there were remarkable domical buildings like those at *Orchomenus*, it can hardly be doubted that the tradition found by Pausanias at that place was formed upon the model of this very story in the text. His mention just before of the pyramids, and the undue interest attached by writers of reputation to foreign wonders, seems pointedly directed against Herodotus. The work of Charax, too, appears to have been constructed on the same principles as that of Apollodorus. Its object was to collect and arrange in a connected story the several local myths, so that it is no authority whatever for the genuineness of any given story in the form related. The mention of Augeas as king of "*Elis*" is a modern feature, for *Elis* did not exist before the Persian war (see note on viii. 73, below), and the introduction of *Dædalus* into the story is another. *Dædalus* was said at *Lebæda* to be the *sculptor* of an idol there, which was usually concealed, but exhibited to the votary of Trophonius for worship just before he descended into the cave (PAUSAN. ix. 39. 8). Charax is certainly not earlier than the time of Nero, and belongs to the class of mere book-makers. See note 162 on i. 51.

<sup>344</sup> ἐς μακρὴν. The manuscripts M, P, K, F have *ἐς μακρόν*. But in a similar expression, οὐκ ἐς μακρὴν βουλευσάμενοι (v. 108), all, with the exception of L, have the feminine form. The ellipse is of *ἔργον*.

καὶ τὸν λίθον ἐπὶ τῷ οἰκοδομήματι ἀνευρόντας, ῥηιδίως μεταχει-  
ρίσασθαι, καὶ τῶν χρημάτων πολλὰ ἐξενείκασθαι· ὥς δὲ τυχεῖν  
τὸν βασιλέα ἀνοίξαντα τὸ οἶκημα, θυνάμασαι ἰδόντα τῶν χρημάτων  
καταδεῶς τὰ ἀγγήϊα· οὐκ ἔχειν δὲ ὅν τινα ἐπαιτιᾶται, τῶν τε  
σημάντρων ἐόντων σώων καὶ τοῦ οἰκήματος κεκλειμένον· ὥς δὲ  
αὐτῷ καὶ δις καὶ τρίς ἀνοίξαντι αἰεὶ ἐλάσσω φαίνεσθαι τὰ χρή-  
ματα, (τοὺς γὰρ κλέπτας οὐκ ἀνιέναι κεραλῶντας,) ποιῆσαί μιν  
τάδε πάγας προστάξαι ἐργάσασθαι, καὶ ταύτας περὶ τὰ ἀγγήϊα  
ἐν τοῖσι τὰ χρήματα ἐνῆν στήσαι· τῶν δὲ φωρῶν ὥσπερ ἐν τῷ πρὸ  
τοῦ χρόνῳ ἐλθόντων, καὶ ἐνδύντος<sup>215</sup> τοῦ ἐτέρου αὐτῶν, ἐπεὶ πρὸς  
τὸ ἄγγος προσῆλθε, ἰθέως τῇ πάγῃ ἐνέχεσθαι· ὥς δὲ γινῶναι αὐτὸν who frus-  
trates all  
attempts  
to detect  
him,  
ἐν οἷφ' ἑκαστῷ ἦν, ἰθέως καλέειν τὸν ἀδελφεὸν καὶ δηλοῦν αὐτῷ τὰ  
παρέοντα, καὶ κελεύειν τὴν ταχίστην ἐσδύντα ἀποτάμνειν αὐτοῦ  
τὴν κεφαλὴν, ὅπως μὴ αὐτὸς ὀφθεῖς καὶ γνωρισθεῖς δὲ εἴη προσ-  
απολέσει καὶ ἐκείνῳ τῷ δὲ δόξαι εὖ λέγειν, καὶ ποιῆσαί μιν  
πεισθέντα ταῦτα· καὶ καταρμόσαντα τὸν λίθον ἀπέναι ἐπ' οἴκου,  
φέροντα τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ· ὥς δὲ ἡμέρῃ ἐγένετο, ἐσ-  
ελθόντα τὸν βασιλέα ἐς τὸ οἶκημα ἐκπεπλήχθαι, ὁρέοντα τὸ σῶμα  
τοῦ φωρὸς ἐν τῇ πάγῃ ἄνευ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐόν, τὸ δὲ οἶκημα ἄσινες,  
καὶ οὔτε ἔσοδον οὔτε ἔκδυσιν οὐδεμίαν ἔχον ἀπαρέυμενον δὲ μιν  
τάδε ποιῆσαι· τοῦ φωρὸς τὸν νέκυν κατὰ τοῦ τέλχεος κατακρεμάσαι·  
φυλάκους δὲ αὐτοῦ καταστήσαντα, ἐντεῖλσασθαι σφί τὸν ἂν ἴδωνται  
ἀποκλαύσαντα ἢ κατοικτισάμενον συλλαβόντας ἄγειν πρὸς ἑωυτὸν  
ἀνακρεμαμένον δὲ τοῦ νέκυνος, τὴν μητέρα δεινῶς φέρειν, λόγους δὲ  
πρὸς τὸν περιέοντα παῖδα ποιευμένην, προστάσσειν αὐτῷ ὅτεφ'  
τρόφῃ δύναται μηχανᾶσθαι ὅπως τὸ σῶμα τοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ κατα-  
λύσας κομῇ· εἰ δὲ τούτων ἀμελήσει, διαπειλῆειν αὐτήν, ὥς ἐλθούσα  
πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα μνηύσει αὐτὸν ἔχοντα τὰ χρήματα· ὥς δὲ χαλε-  
πῶς ἐλαμβάνετο ἢ μήτηρ τοῦ περιέοντος παιδός, καὶ πολλὰ πρὸς  
αὐτὴν λέγων οὐκ ἔπειθε, ἐπιτεχρήσασθαι τοιάδε μιν ὄνους κατα-  
σκευασάμενον καὶ ἄσκούς πλήσαντα οἶνου, ἐπιθεῖναι ἐπὶ τῶν ὄνων  
καὶ ἔπειτα ἐλαύνειν αὐτούς· ὥς δὲ κατὰ τοὺς φυλάσσοντας<sup>216</sup> ἦν  
τὸν κρεμαμένον νέκυν, ἐπισπάσαντα τῶν ἄσκων δύο ἢ τρεῖς πο-

<sup>215</sup> ἐσδύντος. S has ἐσδύντος.

<sup>216</sup> κατὰ τοὺς φυλάσσοντας. See note on iii. 14, κατὰ τοὺς πατέρας.

δεῶνας αὐτὸν λύνει ἀπαμμένους· ὥς δὲ ἔρρει ὁ οἶνος, τὴν κεφαλὴν μιν κόπτεσθαι μεγάλα βοῶντα, ὥς οὐκ ἔχοντα πρὸς ὁκοῖον τῶν ὄνων πρῶτον τράπηται· τοὺς δὲ φυλάκους ὥς ἰδεῖν πολλὴν ῥέοντα τὸν οἶνον, συντρέχειν ἐς τὴν ὁδὸν ἀγγήια ἔχοντας καὶ τὸν ἑκκεχυμένον οἶνον συγκομίζειν ἐν κέρδει ποιευμένους, τὸν δὲ διαλοιδόρεσθαι πᾶσι, ὀργὴν προσποιεῦμενον παραμυθευμένων δὲ αὐτὸν τῶν φυλάκων, χρόνῳ πρηῦνεσθαι προσποιέσθαι καὶ ὑπλέσθαι τῆς ὀργῆς· τέλος δὲ, ἐξελάσαι αὐτὸν τοὺς ὄνους ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ, καὶ κατασκευάζειν ὥς δὲ λόγους τε πλείους ἐγγίνεσθαι, καὶ τινα καὶ σκῶφαί μιν καὶ ἐς γέλωτα προαγαγέσθαι<sup>347</sup>, ἐπιδοῦναι αὐτοῖσι τῶν ἀσκῶν ἕνα· τοὺς δὲ αὐτοῦ, ὥσπερ εἶχον, κατακλιθέντας πίνειν διανοέεσθαι, καὶ ἐκεῖνον παραλαμβάνειν καὶ κελεύειν μετ' ἐωυτῶν μέλναντα συμπίνειν· τὸν δὲ πεισθῆναι τε δὴ καὶ καταμείναι· ὥς δὲ μιν παρὰ τὴν πόσιν φιλοφρόνως ἡσπάζοντο, ἐπιδοῦναι αὐτοῖσι καὶ ἄλλον τῶν ἀσκῶν δαφιλέει δὲ τῷ ποτῷ χρησαμένους τοὺς φυλάκους ὑπερμεθυσθῆναι, καὶ κρατηθέντας ὑπὸ τοῦ ὕπνου αὐτοῦ ἐνθάπερ ἔπινον κατακοιμηθῆναι· τὸν δὲ, ὥς πρόσω ἦν τῆς νυκτός, τό τε σῶμα τοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ καταλύσαι καὶ τῶν φυλάκων ἐπὶ λύμῃ πάντων ξυρῆσαι τὰς δεξιὰς παρηγίδας<sup>348</sup>. ἐπιθέντα δὲ τὸν νέκυν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὄνους ἀπελαύνειν ἐπ' οἶκου, ἐπιτελέσασα τῇ μητρὶ τὰ προσταχθέντα· τὸν δὲ βασιλέα, ὥς αὐτῷ ἀπηγγέλθη τοῦ φωρὸς ὁ νέκυσ ἑκκεκλεμμένος, δευνὰ ποιέειν πάντως δὲ βουλόμενον εὔρεθῆναι ὅστις κοτὲ εἴη ὁ ταῦτα μηχανώμενος, ποιῆσαι μιν τάδε, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιστά· τὴν [δὲ]<sup>349</sup> θυγατέρα τὴν ἐωυτοῦ κατίσαι ἐπ' οἰκῆματος<sup>350</sup>, ἐντειλάμενον πάντας τε ὁμοίως προσδέκεσθαι καὶ

although  
the king  
prostitutes  
his own  
daughter in  
the vain  
attempt.

<sup>347</sup> καὶ ἐς γέλωτα προαγαγέσθαι. This is not an instance of the use of the middle voice for the active, or indeed of the middle voice at all. The subject of the verb includes the brother, who feigned himself to be overcome by the sense of the ridiculous, stimulated by the jokes of some of the soldiers. Translate: "and as more talk sprang up and some went on to joke him, and they were brought into a merry mood."

<sup>348</sup> ξυρῆσαι τὰς δεξιὰς παρηγίδας. The same insult was put upon the envoys of David by Hanun the prince of Ammon (2 Sam. x. 4), and was the occasion of a war; and NIEBUHR the traveller (quoted by Rosenmüller, *Das alte u. neue Mor-*

*genland*, iii. p. 136) says that an exactly similar affront caused an important expedition to be made in the year 1765 by Kerim Khan against Mir Mahenna, an independent chief of Benderrigh, a small principality on the Persian gulf. So constant are the habits and feelings of Orientals.

<sup>349</sup> [δέ.] This word is found in all the MSS but S. Bekker omits it.

<sup>350</sup> ἐπ' οἰκῆματος. This expression recurs below, § 126, and in both cases what is meant is a "public brothel." The word had become almost appropriated to this use at Athens in the time of Socrates. XENOPHON (*Memorab.* ii. 2. 4) says: *ἐπὶ τοῦτου γε [τοῦ τῶν ἀφροδισίων ἐπιθυμῶν]*

πρὶν συγγενέσθαι ἀναγκάξω λέγειν αὐτῇ ὅ τι δὴ ἐν τῷ βίῳ ἔργασται αὐτῷ σοφώτατον καὶ ἀνοσιώτατον ; ὃς δ' ἂν ἀπηγγήσεται τὰ περὶ τὸν φῶρα γεγενημένα, τοῦτον συλλαμβάνειν καὶ μὴ ἀπιέναι ἔξω· ὡς δὲ τὴν παῖδα ποιεῖν τὰ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς προσταχθέντα, τὸν φῶρα πυθόμενον τῶν εἵνεκα ταῦτα ἐπρήσσετο, βουλευθέντα πολυτροπίῃ τοῦ βασιλέως περιγενέσθαι, ποιεῖν τάδε νεκροῦ προσφάτου ἀποταμόντα ἐν τῷ ὤμῳ τὴν χεῖρα<sup>351</sup>, ἵεναι αὐτὸν ἔχοντα αὐτὴν ὑπὸ τῷ ἱματίῳ· ἐσελθόντα δὲ ὡς τοῦ βασιλέως τὴν θυγατέρα<sup>352</sup> καὶ εἰρωτώμενον τάπερ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι, ἀπηγγήσασθαι ὡς ἀνοσιώτατον μὲν εἶη ἐργασμένος, ὅτε τοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ ἐν τῷ θησαυρῷ τοῦ βασιλέως ὑπὸ πάγης ἀλόντος ἀποτάμοι τὴν κεφαλὴν· σοφώτατον δὲ, ὅτι τοὺς φυλάκους καταμεθύσας καταλύσειε τοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ κρεμάμενον τὸν νέκυν τὴν δὲ, ὡς ἤκουσε, ἄπτεσθαι αὐτοῦ· τὸν δὲ φῶρα ἐν τῷ σκότειι προτείνειν αὐτῇ τοῦ νεκροῦ τὴν χεῖρα, τὴν δὲ ἐπιλαβομένην ἔχειν, νομίζουσιν αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου τῆς χειρὸς ἀντέχεσθαι, τὸν δὲ φῶρα προέμενον αὐτῇ οἴχεσθαι διὰ θυρέων φεύγοντα· ὡς δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἐς τὸν βασιλέα ἀνευεῖχθαι, ἔκπεπλήχθαι μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ πολυφροσύνῃ τε καὶ τόλμῃ τ' ἀνθρώπου τέλος δὲ, διαπέμποντα ἐς πάσας τὰς πόλεις ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι, ἀδειῖαν τε δίδοντα καὶ μεγάλα ὑποδεκόμενον ἐλθόντι ἐς ὄψιν τὴν ἐωυτοῦ· τὸν δὲ φῶρα πιστεύσαντα ἐλθεῖν πρὸς αὐτόν· Ῥαμφίνιτον δὲ μεγάλως θωυμάσαι, καὶ οἱ τὴν θυγατέρα ταύτην συνοικίσαι ὡς

At last he is offered a free pardon to discover himself, and rewarded by the hand of the king's daughter for his talents.

τῶν ἀπολαύσαντων μεσθαὶ μὲν αἱ ὀδοί, μεσθὰ δὲ τὰ οἰκήματα, and PLATO (*Charmid.* § 23) uses the expression ἐν οἰκήματος καθῆσθαι as equivalent to "corpore questum facere." In later times, says Valcknaer, the terms *στέγος* or *τέγος* were specially applied to the same thing. This allowed the bitter sarcasm (ascribed by Diogenes Laertius to Diogenes the Cynic, but probably of much later origin) to be passed upon a person of infamous character, on the enquiry being made "of what country was he?" *Τεγάτης ἐστὶ.*

<sup>351</sup> ἀποταμόντα ἐν τῷ ὤμῳ τὴν χεῖρα. The word *χεῖρ* is used for the whole of the arm from the shoulder to the tips of the fingers, as well as for the mere hand. This last HIPPOCRATES terms *ἄκρα χεῖρ* when distinguishing it from the *βραχίον* and *πῆχυς*, as being the last of the three parts which make up the arm. The term

*χειρονομεῖν*, applied to the pantomimic gestures of a dancer, must have been coined while the word *χεῖρ* suggested the notion of the whole member. Hence Herodotus says of the feat of Hippocleides (vi. 129), τοῖσι σκέλεσι [not ποσὶ] *ἐχειρονόμησε*. See too the note on iv. 62, *σὺν τῇσι χερσὶ*. Translate, "having cut off the arm at the shoulder."

<sup>352</sup> ὡς τοῦ βασιλέως τὴν θυγατέρα. This is the reading of Gaisford, following M, P, S, V, and K. Schweighäuser reads *ἐς* for *ὡς*, with R, F, a, and c. But there are no data for determining which form was used by the author, nothing being more inconstant than the practice of the transcribers. See notes on § 135, *ἐς* *Μυτιλήνην*, on § 147, *ἐς γὰρ δὴ . . . .* *συνελήγοντο*, and on iii. 140, *τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα*.

πλείστα ἐπισταμένῳ ἀνθρώπων Αἰγυπτίους μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἄλλων προκεκρίσθαι, ἐκείνους δὲ Αἰγυπτίῳ.

122

A subsequent descent of Rampsinus into Hades, and return therefrom, is commemorated by a festival.

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἔλεγον τοῦτον τὸν βασιλεῖα ζῶν καταβῆναι κάτω ἐς τὸν οἶον Ἕλληνας αἰδῆν νομίζουσι εἶναι, καὶ κείθι συγκυβεῖν τῇ Δήμητρι<sup>333</sup>. καὶ τὰ μὲν νικᾶν αὐτήν, τὰ δὲ ἐσσοῦσθαι ὑπ' αὐτῆς· καὶ μιν πάλιν ἄνω ἀπικέσθαι δῶρον ἔχοντα παρ' αὐτῆς χειρόμακτρον χρύσειον. ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Ῥαμψινίτου καταβάσιος, ὡς πάλιν ἀπικέτο, ὁρτὴν δὴ ἀνάγειν Αἰγυπτίους ἔφασαν τὴν καὶ ἐγὼ αἶδα ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἐπιτελέοντας αὐτοὺς, οὐ μέντοι εἴτε δι' ἄλλο τι εἴτε διὰ ταῦτα ὁρτάζουσι ἔχω λέγειν φᾶρος δὲ αὐτημερὸν ἐξυφῆναντες οἱ ἱερεῖς, κατ' ὧν ἔδησαν ἐνὸς αὐτῶν μέτρῃ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς· ἀγαγόντες δὲ μιν ἔχοντα τὸ φᾶρος ἐς ὁδὸν φέρουσιν ἐς ἱρὸν Δήμητρος, αὐτοὶ ἀπαλλάσσονται ὀπίσω· τὸν δὲ ἱερεῖα τοῦτον καταδεδεμένους τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς λέγουσι ὑπὸ δύο λύκων<sup>334</sup> ἄγεσθαι ἐς τὸ ἱρὸν τῆς Δήμητρος, ἀπέχον τῆς πόλιος ἑξήκοσι σταδίων, καὶ αὐτὸς ὀπίσω ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἀπάγειν μιν τοὺς λύκους ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ χωρίον.

123

The Egyptians consider that Dionysus and Demeter are the rulers of Hades.

Τοῖσι μὲν νυν ὑπ' Αἰγυπτίων λεγομένοισι χρᾶσθαι ὅτι ταῦτα πιθανά ἐστι· ἐμοὶ δὲ παρὰ πάντα τὸν λόγον<sup>335</sup> ὑπόκειται, ὅτι τὰ λεγόμενα ὑπὲρ ἐκάστων ἀκοῇ γράφω. ἀρχηγεῖν δὲ τῶν κάτω Αἰγύπτιοι λέγουσι Δήμητρα καὶ Διώνυσον<sup>336</sup>. πρῶτοι δὲ καὶ τὸνδε τὸν λόγον<sup>337</sup> Αἰγύπτιοι εἰσι οἱ εἰπόντες· ὡς ἀνθρώπου

<sup>333</sup> Rampsinus has been supposed to be a word made up of the two names *Rameses* and *Neit*, in which case it would intimate the union of a deity of each sex. From the story in the text, we may suppose that this pair was a Poseidon and Demeter, or a Hades and Cora.

<sup>334</sup> ὑπὸ δύο λύκων. The wolf is a conspicuous object in Egyptian representations of Amenthe, the Egyptian Hades. See the last note.

<sup>335</sup> παρὰ πάντα τὸν λόγον. It does not seem at all necessary to confine the application of these words to the author's account of Egypt. He appears to have had no special standard of belief in one part of his work differing from that in another. Where he expressly declares that he rests upon a distinct authority (as, for example, in § 99, and the beginning of § 142), the assertion seems called forth mainly by a sense of the impossibility of harmonizing the account with the commonly received legends of the Greeks.

See note 339, above.

<sup>336</sup> Δήμητρα καὶ Διώνυσον. The meaning of the writer doubtless is that those deities whom the Greeks understood by Dionysus and Demeter held sway, according to 'the Egyptians,' over the lower world. This is the religion of the Eleusinian mysteries. See the *Frogs* of Aristophanes, vv. 316-413, and notes 128, 134, above. It must be remembered that the Dionysus here meant is not the rural deity, the god of the vine-dressers. Neither is the Demeter the Roman Ceres. See below, note 429.

<sup>337</sup> πρῶτοι δὲ καὶ τόνδε τὸν λόγον. The meaning of the author appears to be, not that the Egyptians were the first who maintained the immortality of the soul, and added to that belief the theory of metempsychosis, but that they were the first who propounded the doctrine of the soul's immortality in the form of a theory of metempsychosis.



ψυχὴ ἀθάνατός ἐστι, τοῦ σώματος δὲ καταφθίνοντος ἐς ἄλλο ζῶον Dogma of metempsychosis, and cycle of 3000 years.  
 αἰεὶ γινόμενον ἐσδύεται· ἐπεὰν δὲ περιέλθῃ πάντα τὰ χερσαῖα καὶ  
 τὰ θαλάσσια καὶ τὰ πετεινὰ, αὐτὶς ἐς ἀνθρώπου σῶμα γινόμενον  
 ἐσδύνει· τὴν περιήλυσιν δὲ αὐτῇ γίνεσθαι ἐν τρισχιλίοις ἔτεσι.  
 τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ εἰσὶ οἱ Ἕλληες ἐχρήσαντο, οἱ μὲν πρότερον οἱ δὲ  
 ὕστερον, ὡς ἰδὲν ἐωυτῶν ἐόντι· τῶν ἐγὼ εἶδῶς τὰ οὐνόματα οὐ  
 γράφω.

Μέχρι μὲν νυν Ῥαμφινίτου βασιλεὺς εἶναι ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ πᾶσαν 124  
 εὐνομίην ἔλεγον, καὶ εὐθηνέειν Αἰγυπτου μεγάλως μετὰ δὲ The good times for Egypt end with Ram-  
 τοῦτον, βασιλεύσαντά σφεων Χέοπα ἐς πᾶσαν κακότητα ἐλάσαι. pinitus, who is suc-  
 κατακληῖσαντα γάρ μιν πάντα τὰ ἱρὰ, πρῶτα μὲν σφεας θυσιέων ceeded by  
 ἀπέρξαι· μετὰ δὲ, ἐργάζεσθαι ἐωυτῷ κελεύειν πάντας Αἰγυπτίους· Cheops, an  
 τοῖσι μὲν δὴ ἀποδεδέχθαι, ἐκ τῶν λιθοτομέων τῶν ἐν τῷ Ἀραβίῳ atheist and  
 οὐρεῖ <sup>328</sup>, ἐκ τουτέων ἔλκειν λίθους μέχρι τοῦ Νεῖλου· διαπεραιω- tyrant.  
 θέντας δὲ τὸν ποταμὸν πλοίοις τοὺς λίθους ἐτέροις ἔταξε ἐκ-  
 δέκεσθαι, καὶ πρὸς τὸ Λιβυκὸν καλούμενον ὄρος <sup>329</sup>, πρὸς τοῦτο  
 ἔλκειν ἐργάζοντο δὲ κατὰ δέκα μυριάδας ἀνθρώπων <sup>330</sup> αἰεὶ τὴν  
 τρίμηνον ἐκάστην· χρόνον δὲ ἐγγενέσθαι τριβομένῳ τῷ ἄλλῳ  
 λαῷ <sup>331</sup>, δέκα μὲν ἔτεα τῆς ὁδοῦ κατ' ἥν εἰλκον τοὺς λίθους, τὴν  
 ἔδειμαν, ἔργον ἐὼν οὐ πολλῷ τέφῳ ἔλασσον τῆς πυραμίδος, ὡς ἐμοὶ  
 δοκεῖν (τῆς γὰρ μῆκος μὲν εἰσι πέντε στάδιοι, εὖρος δὲ δέκα  
 ὀργυαί, ὕψος δὲ, τῇ ὑψηλοτάτῃ ἐστὶ αὕτη ἐωυτῆς, ὅκτῳ ὀργυαί <sup>332</sup>,

<sup>328</sup> ἐκ τῶν λιθοτομέων τῶν ἐν τῷ Ἀραβίῳ οὐρεῖ, "from the quarries in the Arabian hill." These are the stone-works mentioned above, § 8, in the range forming the eastern boundary of the valley of the Nile, "a calcareous formation." WILKINSON, *Modern Egyptians*, i. p. 300.

<sup>329</sup> τὸ Λιβυκὸν καλούμενον ὄρος. This is the low range on the western side of the Nile. The pyramids are built on a spur of this ὀρεινὴ ὄρεος, as STRABO calls it.

<sup>330</sup> κατὰ δέκα μυριάδας ἀνθρώπων, "by gangs of 100,000 men."

<sup>331</sup> τῷ ἄλλῳ λαῷ. This is the reading of the manuscripts P, M, C, K, F. But Gaisford, following S, V, and the rest, leaves out the word ἄλλῳ. The retention of the word implies some distinction between the labourers; and this, from the

nature of the case, is not improbable. The building up of the pyramids would be a more difficult task than the quarrying and removal of the stones and the erection of the causeway. It is conceivable that the services of the whole population were pressed in turn for the one, although they might be unavailable for the other.

<sup>332</sup> ὅκτῳ ὀργυαί. WILKINSON (i. p. 360) remarks that the numbers here must be at fault, as Herodotus himself (§ 127) makes the hill on which the pyramids stand 100 feet high. He describes a causeway which runs from the third pyramid for the length of about 1000 yards, and which is 85 feet high and 32 broad; but as the outer faces have fallen it must have been originally more. This causeway was used by the caliphs for carrying the stones, quarried from the pyramid, back to the

λίθου τε ξεστοῦ καὶ ζώων ἐγγεγλυμμένων) ταύτη τε δὴ<sup>353</sup> τὰ δέκα ἕτερα γενέσθαι, καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ λόφου, ἐπ' οὐ ἐστᾶσι αἱ πυραμίδες, τῶν ὑπὸ γῆν οἰκημάτων, τὰς ἐποίετο θήκας ἐνὶ τῷ ἐν νήσῳ διώρυχα τοῦ Νείλου ἐσαγαγόν<sup>354</sup>. τῇ δὲ πυραμίδι αὐτῇ χρόνον γενέσθαι εἰκοσι ἕτερα ποιευμένη· τῆς ἐστὶ πανταχῇ<sup>355</sup> μέτωπον ἕκαστον ὀκτὼ πλέθρα ἐούσης τετραγώνου, καὶ ὕψος ἴσον λίθου δὲ ξεστοῦ τε καὶ ἀρμυμένων τὰ μάλιστα· οὐδεὶς τῶν λίθων τριήκοντα ποδῶν ἐλάσ-  
 125 σων<sup>356</sup>. Ἐποιήθη δὲ ὧδε αὕτη ἡ πυραμὶς, ἀναβαθμῶν τρόπον τὰς

Arabian shore, where they were employed in constructing some of the finest buildings of Cairo.

<sup>353</sup> ταύτη τε δὴ. The MSS vary between ταύτη τε, ταύτη δὲ, ταύτη δὲ δὴ, and ταύτη τε δὴ. Bekker conjectures ταύτης τε δὴ, which certainly gives a more symmetrical construction. But the meaning of the author seems to be slightly different from what would be given by ταύτης. Ταύτη is "in this part of the operation," which is probably meant to include the preparation of the site for the base of the pyramid as well as the mere building of the causeway, and therefore is a correction of the τῆς ὁδοῦ used just before. When the rough miscellaneous preparations were completed the regular work began,—the raising of the pyramid and the construction of the subterraneous chambers.

<sup>354</sup> διώρυχα τοῦ Νείλου ἐσαγαγόν. It seems quite certain that this statement as it stands cannot be true. The base of the pyramid stands even now 100 feet above the level of the highest inundation; and, from the raising of the alluvium since the time of Herodotus, the difference of level must then have been even greater. But by digging to a considerable depth into the limestone rock which forms the nucleus of the pyramid—rising up in it, according to Colonel Vyse, to a height of 22 feet—water might possibly be found: for the Libyan mountain is said to rest upon a clay stratum, which would retain the percolating fluid. (WILKINSON, i. p. 338.) Now it appears that the rock has really been perforated diagonally, and a chamber in it exists 105 feet below the base of the pyramid, and on about the same level as the plain under the rock on which the pyramid stands. In the floor of this chamber is "a pit placed diagonally with regard to the walls, which was excavated by Colonel Vyse to the depth of 36 feet, without leading to any

result." (WILKINSON, i. p. 335.) It seems not impossible that further excavations may discover a termination of these passages in some chamber presenting an appearance like the pool and shrine described by Herodotus at Buto (§ 156). The water in such a pool (if it existed) would partially be Nile water filtered through from the river, rising as in a well, but the level would be far below the base of the pyramid. The error which the use of an interpreter naturally involves, might very well out of these facts produce such a statement as that in the text, and in § 127, below. And even if such a chamber should not be found to exist, yet, if it was contemplated, the description might be given. It may be added that such an arrangement would be in accordance with the theory that the pyramids are temples, and belong to the same religious system as the *Belus* of Babylon (see Strabo's expression Βήλου τῶνος in note 607 on i. 181) the *Apollo* of Delos and Patara (i. 182), the *Mithras* of Bactria, Media, and Persia, and the *Oesiris* of Egypt in Herodotus's time.

<sup>355</sup> πανταχῇ. So Gaisford reads with S, V, K, F. The others have πανταχῇ. In v. 78 all have πανταχῇ.

<sup>356</sup> οὐδεὶς τῶν λίθων . . . ἐλάσων. He means, no doubt, the outer tier: the inner stones are much less. The dimensions of the pyramid, when perfect, were the following, taking the mean between Colonel Vyse's and Sir G. Wilkinson's estimates. Length of side 760 feet; perpendicular height 481 feet. Vyse makes its former area 13 acres, 1 rood, 22 poles. Wilkinson's estimate would make it stand on nearly half an acre more of ground than the area of Lincoln's Inn Fields. Herodotus does not mention what is the fact, that its sides, as well as those of the other pyramids, exactly face the cardinal points.

μετεξέτεροι κρόσσας οἱ δὲ βωμίδας ὀνομάζουσι· τοιαύτην τὸ πρῶτον ἐπεὶ τε ἐποίησαν αὐτήν, ἥειρον τοὺς ἐπιλοίπους λίθους<sup>367</sup> μηχανῇσι ξύλων βραχέων πεποιημένῃσι, χαμάθεν μὲν ἐπὶ τὸν πρῶτον στοῖχον τῶν ἀναβαθμῶν ἀείροντες, ὅκως δὲ ἀνίοι ὁ λίθος ἐπ' αὐτὸν, εἰς ἐτέρην μηχανὴν ἐτίθετο ἐστεῶσαν ἐπὶ τοῦ πρώτου στοῖχου ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν δεύτερον ἔλκετο στοῖχον ἐπ' ἄλλης μηχανῆς· ὅσοι γὰρ δὴ στοῖχοι ἦσαν τῶν ἀναβαθμῶν τοσαῦται καὶ αἱ μηχαναὶ ἦσαν εἴ τε καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν μηχανὴν ἐούσαν μίαν τε καὶ εὐβάστακτον μετεφόρεον ἐπὶ στοῖχον ἕκαστον, ὅκως τὸν λίθον ἐξέλοιεν· λελέχθω γὰρ ἡμῖν ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα, κατὰπερ λέγεται. ἐξεποιήθη<sup>368</sup> δ' ὡν τὰ ἀνώτατα αὐτῆς πρῶτα· μετὰ δὲ, τὰ ἐπόμενα τούτων ἐξεποίησεν· τελευταῖα δὲ αὐτῆς τὰ ἐπίγεια καὶ τὰ κατωτάτω ἐξεποίησαν. σεσήμανται δὲ διὰ γραμμάτων Αἰγυπτίων ἐν τῇ πυραμίδι<sup>369</sup>, ὅσα ἔς τε συρμαίνην καὶ κρόμμυα καὶ σκόροδα<sup>370</sup> ἀναισιμώθῃ τοῖσι ἐργαζομένοισι· καὶ ὡς ἐμὲ εὖ μεμνήσθαι τὰ ὁ ἑρμηνεύς μοι ἐπιλεγόμενος<sup>371</sup> τὰ γράμματα ἔφη, ἐξακόσια καὶ

Mode in which the pyramid was built.

<sup>367</sup> τοὺς ἐπιλοίπους λίθους. These would be the stones intended for the outside tier. See the last note.

<sup>368</sup> ἐξεποιήθη, "were shaped off," i. e. by smoothing down the stones to the angle which the face of the pyramid was intended to make with the horizon. This is ascertained to be, in the great pyramid, 52°. (WILKINSON, i. p. 339.)

<sup>369</sup> ἐν τῇ πυραμίδι. This has been generally interpreted to mean "on the face of the pyramid;" and unless the violence of Cambyses led him to open the pyramids while in the country, it does not seem likely that access to the interior would have been allowed. But may not Herodotus have been shown something in the Hephæsteum at Memphis professing to be a copy of an inscription that had been hid in the recesses of the pyramid, just as we deposit medals in the foundations of our buildings? WILKINSON, who interprets ἐν τῇ πυραμίδι as above, finds much difficulty in it. "From the manner in which Herodotus speaks of the inscription, we might suppose it to have been in Hieratic or Enchorial hieroglyphics. But the latter was then [i. e. when the pyramid was built?] unknown, and the Hieratic was not used on monuments." (i. p. 333.) VRSZ found hieroglyphics containing the king's name (*Shesô* = *Sushis* =

*Chesps*) in a chamber inside. On the other hand an Arabian historian, *Abd-el-Azeez*, is said by Wilkinson to confirm Herodotus's statement as he understands it.

<sup>370</sup> συρμαίνην καὶ κρόμμυα καὶ σκόροδα. The *συρμαίνη* is said by WILKINSON to be the *figl*, now commonly eaten in Egypt by the lower classes. (i. p. 328.)

<sup>371</sup> μοι ἐπιλεγόμενος τὰ γρ., "while reading the inscription for me." The use of the phrase is such as to indicate an action like that of Cyrus (i. 125). The dragoman professed to read the inscription off to Herodotus; and nothing is more likely than that he gave the sum estimated in terms of *talents* without any sense of the incongruity. In estimating the value of the interpretation it should not be overlooked that the articles in question did not constitute the workmen's food, as has been erroneously assumed, but only the *dyon*, or condiment to the *avila*, or food. That persons who described the wonders of the country should be thought, or even profess, to "read off" the substance of the tradition they related, is very natural. When Germanicus visited Thebes, among the ruins there remained "*structis molibus literæ Ægyptiæ priorem opulentiam complexæ, jussusque e senioribus sacerdotum*

χίλια τάλαντα ἀργυρίου τετελέσθαι. εἰ δ' ἔστι οὕτως ἔχοντα ταῦτα, κόσα εἰκὸς ἄλλα δεδαπανῆσθαι ἔστι ἐς τε σίδηρον τῷ ἐργάζοντο, καὶ σιτία καὶ ἐσθῆτα τοῖσι ἐργαζομένοισι; ὁκοτε χρόνον μὲν οἰκοδόμεον τὰ ἔργα τὸν εἰρημένον, ἄλλον δέ, ὡς ἐγὼ δοκέω, ἐν τῷ τοὺς λίθους ἔταμνον καὶ ἄγον, καὶ τὸ ὑπὸ γῆν ὄρυγμα ἐργάζοντο, οὐκ ὀλίγον χρόνον. Ἐς τοῦτο δὲ ἐλθεῖν Χέσπα κακότητος,

126

Cheops's expedient to procure money.

His daughter raises a small pyramid with the profits of her prostitution.

ὥστε χρημάτων δεόμενον, τὴν θυγατέρα τὴν ἐωντοῦ κατίσαντα ἐπ' οἰκήματος προστάξαι πρήσσεσθαι ἀργύριον ὁκόσον δὴ τι· οὐ γὰρ δὴ τοῦτο γε ἔλεγον τὴν δὲ τὰ τε ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ταχθέντα πρήσσεσθαι, ἰδίῃ δὲ καὶ αὐτὴν διανοηθῆναι μνημῆιον καταλιπέσθαι, καὶ τοῦ ἐσιώντος πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐκάστου δέεσθαι ὅπως ἂν αὐτῇ ἓνα λίθον ἐν τοῖσι ἔργοισι δωρέοιτο<sup>372</sup>. ἐκ τούτων δὲ τῶν λίθων ἔφασαν τὴν πυραμίδα οἰκοδομηθῆναι τὴν ἐν μέσῳ τῶν τριῶν ἐστηκυῖαν<sup>373</sup>, ἔμπροσθε τῆς μεγάλης πυραμίδος· τῆς ἔστι τὸ κῶλον ἑκάστου

127

Cheops, after reigning fifty years, is succeeded by his brother Chephren, who builds a pyramid somewhat smaller, and reigns fifty-six years.

δλου καὶ ἡμίσεος πλέθρου<sup>374</sup>. Βασιλεύσαι δὲ τὸν Χέσπα τοῦτον Αἰγύπτῳ ἔλεγον πεντήκοντα ἔτεα· τελευτήσαντος δὲ τούτου, ἐκδέξασθαι τὴν βασιλῆην τὸν ἀδελφεὸν αὐτοῦ Χεφρήνα· καὶ τοῦτον δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ τρόπῳ διαχρᾶσθαι τῷ ἐτέρῳ, τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ πυραμίδα ποιῆσαι ἐς μὲν τὰ ἐκεῖνου μέτρα οὐκ ἀνήκουσαν· ταῦτα γὰρ ὦν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐμετρήσαμεν<sup>375</sup>. (οὔτε γὰρ ὑπεστί οἰκήματα ὑπὸ γῆν, οὔτε ἐκ τοῦ Νεῖλου διώρυξ ἦκει ἐς αὐτὴν ὥσπερ ἐς τὴν ἐτέρην ῥέουσα· διὰ οἰκοδομημένου δὲ αὐλῶνος ἔσω νήσον περιρρέει, ἐν τῇ αὐτὸν λέγουσι κεῖσθαι Χέσπα<sup>376</sup>.) ὑποδείμας δὲ τὸν πρῶτον δόμον λίθου Αἰθιο-

*patrium sermonem interpretari, referebat* 'habitasse quondam septinginta millia ætate militari; atque eo cum exercitu regem Rhamsen Libyâ. Æthiopiâ, Mediisque et Persis, et Bactriano ac Scythâ potitum; quasque terras Syri Armenique et contigui Cappadoce colunt inde Bithynum hinc Lycium ad mare imperio tenuisse.' (TACITUS, *Annal.* ii. 60.) No one will suppose that this is a translation of what was really inscribed in hieroglyphics.

<sup>372</sup> τὴν δὲ τὰ τε ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς . . . δωρεοίτο. It seems quite clear that this story as well as that of Rhodopis belong to the same type as the Sardin legend commented upon above (note 329 on i. 92). The fact furnishing the foundation would be the union of two religions,—a Belus-worship and a Mylitta-worship.

The smaller pyramid was regarded as peculiar to the goddess.

<sup>373</sup> τὴν ἐν μέσῳ τῶν τριῶν ἐστηκυῖαν, "standing in the middle of the three." There are three small pyramids opposite to the eastern face of the great pyramid. They are rather less than three others which are opposite to the southern face of Mycerinus's. (WILKINSON, i. p. 361.)

<sup>374</sup> δλου καὶ ἡμίσεος πλέθρου. WILKINSON says that this edifice is only 122 feet square, but considers that the difference may be accounted for by its ruined condition. (i. p. 361.)

<sup>375</sup> ταῦτα γὰρ ὦν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐμετρήσαμεν. VYSE gives as the dimensions of this pyramid when complete: length of side 708 feet; perpendicular height 454·3; area 11 acres, 1 rood, 38 poles.

<sup>376</sup> οὔτε γὰρ . . . κεῖσθαι Χέσπα. I sus-

πικου ποικίλου<sup>377</sup>, τεσσεράκοντα πόδας ὑποβάς τῆς ἐτέρης τῶντο  
 μέγας<sup>378</sup>, ἔχόμενῃ τῆς μεγάλης οἰκοδόμῃσε. ἐστᾶσι δὲ ἐπὶ  
 λόφου τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀμφότεραι, μάλιστα ἐς ἑκατὸν πόδας<sup>379</sup> ὑψηλοῦ.  
 βασιλεῦσαι δὲ ἔλεγον Χεφρήνα ἕξ καὶ πεντήκοντα ἔτεα. Ταῦτα 128  
 ἕξ τε καὶ ἑκατὸν λογιζονται ἔτεα, ἐν τοῖσι Αἰγυπτίοισι τε πᾶσαν  
 εἶναι κακότητα καὶ τὰ ἱρὰ χρόνου τοσούτου κατακληῖσθέντα οὐκ  
 ἀνοιχθήναι. τούτους ὑπὸ μίσεος οὐ κάρτα θέλουσι Αἰγύπτιοι  
 ὀνομάζειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς πυραμίδας καλέουσι ποιμένος Φιλι-  
 τῶνος<sup>380</sup>, ὃς τούτου τὸν χρόνον ἔνεμε κτήνεα κατὰ ταῦτα τὰ <sup>The sheep-  
 herd Philo-  
 tion.</sup>  
 χωρία<sup>381</sup>.

pect that this sentence is of the nature of a note, whether appended by the author or not. It is not *called* for by the expression *ἐς τὰ ἐκείνου μέτρα οὐκ ἀνήκουσαν*, but it is *suggested* by it, as another point in which the second pyramid fell short of the first. For the subject-matter see note 364, above.

<sup>377</sup> λίθου Αἰθιοπικοῦ ποικίλου. This is the Syenite granite, the *lapis pyrrhopyracilus* of PLINY (xxvi. 8). Blocks of this lie scattered about the base of the pyramid. (WILKINSON, i. p. 343.)

<sup>378</sup> τεσσεράκοντα . . . μέγας, "having taken forty feet short of the other in the same dimension," i. e. the length of the side. This would not be quite accurate; but the difference (760—708) or 52 might be less in Herodotus's measurement, exact determination being extremely difficult.

<sup>379</sup> ἐς ἑκατὸν πόδας. DAVISON found the height of the base of the great pyramid of Cheops above the river to be 163 feet. This was in October, 1764. Since that time three steps under the apparent lowest step have been uncovered, and these add 11 feet to the perpendicular height of the pyramid, and of course have to be deducted from the elevation of its base (ap. *Walpole's Turkey*, pp. 345. 349). Making this allowance, we may suppose that, at the time Herodotus visited the site, the base on the brow would be about 150 feet above the level of the Nile in the month of October.

<sup>380</sup> ποιμένος Φιλίτωνος. This was doubtless the popular belief of the Egyptian boors, among whom the vague tradition of the country having been once overrun by nomad shepherds, "an abomination to the Egyptians," was united with another of the stupendous edifices they saw having been built by task-work. It is not likely

that these poor people should be versed in the genealogies, which constituted a branch of the learning of the priests. The condition of the mass of the country-people at the time Herodotus visited the country—sixty or seventy years after the ruin brought upon it by Cambyzes—may be perhaps understood by comparing it with that of the modern Greek peasantry at the present time. Of these a traveller in Crete, in 1834, says: "Out of a party of half a dozen Greeks not one knows the year, or has any idea of an *era*. They reckon neither from Christ nor Mohammed, but tell me that they believe in Christ. On my asking who he was, they answer, 'How should we know? we are ignorant peasants, and only know how to cultivate our fields and vineyards.' Scarcely any Cretan Greeks, except some of the *Patéres* in the monasteries, have ever heard of the Christian era; but they all date events one by another. Thus in Crete, the year of the great earthquake; the time when Khadjí Osmán-pashá was governor of Khandia; the outbreaking of the Greek revolution; the peace of Khusein-bey, &c., are the principal epochs to which all the events of the last twenty-five years are referred." (PASHLEY, *Travels in Crete*, i. p. 273.) In the eighth century of the Christian era, FIDELIS, a French monk, while proceeding up the Nile, was struck with astonishment at the sight of "the seven barns built by Joseph, which looked at a distance like mountains, four in one place and three in another" (ap. *Dicuil. De mensurâ orbis*, vi. 3). The tradition which Herodotus received has probably as little claim to authority as that of Fidelis. In both cases the tradition is shaped by the ideas prevalent among the people who transmit it; and a

129

*Mycesius,*  
son of  
Cheops,  
succeeds  
to Che-  
phren.

He is a  
mild, pious,  
and just  
prince.

Legend re-  
specting his  
daughter.

130

Her body  
entombed  
in the  
figure of  
a cow in  
the palace  
at Saïs.

131

Another  
explanation  
of the  
figures in  
the palace  
at Saïs.

Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον, βασιλεύσαι Αἰγύπτου Μυκερίνου ἔλεγον Χέοπος παῖδα· τῷ τὰ μὲν τοῦ πατρὸς ἔργα ἀπαδεῖν τὸν δὲ τὰ τε ἱρὰ ἀνοῖξαι<sup>323</sup> καὶ τὸν λεὼν τετρυμένον ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον κακοῦ ἀνείναι πρὸς ἔργα τε καὶ θυσίας· δίκας δὲ σφί πάντων βασιλέων δικαιοτάτας κρίνειν. κατὰ τοῦτο μὲν νυν τὸ ἔργον, ἀπάντων ὅσοι ἦδη βασιλέες ἐγένοντο Αἰγυπτίων, αἰνέουσι μάλιστα τοῦτον· τὰ τε ἄλλα γὰρ μιν κρίνειν εὖ, καὶ δὴ καὶ τῷ ἐπιμεμφομένῳ ἐκ τῆς δίκης παρ' ἑωυτοῦ διδόντα ἄλλα, ἀποσιμπλάναι αὐτοῦ τὸν θυμόν. ἐόντι δὲ ἡπίφ τῷ Μυκερίνῳ κατὰ τοὺς πολήτας καὶ ταῦτα ἐπιτηδεύοντι πρῶτον κακῶν ἄρξαι τὴν θυγατέρα ἀποθανοῦσαν αὐτοῦ, τὴν μούνον οἱ εἶναι ἐν τοῖσι οἰκίοισι τέκνον· τὸν δὲ ὑπεραλλήσαντά τε τῷ περιεπεπτῶκεε πρήγματι, καὶ βουλόμενον περισσώτερόν τι τῶν ἄλλων θάψαι τὴν θυγατέρα, ποιήσασθαι βοῖν ξυλινὴν κοίλην καὶ ἔπειτα καταχρυσώσαντά μιν ταύτην, ἔσω ἐν αὐτῇ θάψαι ταύτην δὴ τὴν ἀποθανοῦσαν θυγατέρα<sup>a</sup>. Αὕτη ὣν ἡ βοῦς γῇ οὐκ ἐκρύφθη, ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦν φανερῇ, ἐν Σαίι μὲν πόλι ἐοῦσα κειμένη δὲ ἐν τοῖσι βασιλῆτοισι, ἐν οἰκίῳ ἡσκημένῳ· θυμῆματα δὲ παρ' αὐτῇ παντοῖα καταγίζουσι ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέρην· νύκτα δὲ ἐκάστην πάννυχος λύχνος παρακαίεται. ὄγχου δὲ τῆς βοῦς ταύτης ἐν ἄλλῳ οἰκίῳ εἰκόνες τῶν παλλακῶν τῶν Μυκερίνου ἐστᾶσι, ὡς ἔλεγον οἱ ἐν Σαίι πόλι ἱρέες· ἐστᾶσι μὲν γὰρ ξύλινοι κολοσσοί, ἐοῦσαι ἀριθμὸν ὡς ἑλικοσι μάλιστα<sup>b</sup> κη, γυμναὶ ἐργασμέναι· αἱ τινες μέντοι εἰσὶ οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν, πλὴν ἢ τὰ λεγόμενα. Οἱ δὲ τινες λέγουσι περὶ τῆς βοῦς ταύτης καὶ τῶν κολοσσῶν τόνδε τὸν λόγον· ὡς Μυκερίνος ἐράσθη τῆς ἑωυτοῦ θυγατρὸς, καὶ ἔπειτα ἐμήγη οἱ ἀκούσῃ· μετὰ δὲ, λέγουσι ὡς ἡ παῖς ἀπήγγεζατο ὑπὸ ἄχρεος, ὃ δὲ μιν ἔθαψε ἐν τῇ βοῇ ταύτῃ· ἡ δὲ μήτηρ αὐτῆς τῶν ἀμφιπόλων τῶν προδουσέων τὴν θυγατέρα τῷ πατρὶ ἀπέταμε τὰς χεῖρας· καὶ νῦν τὰς εἰκόνας αὐτέων εἶναι πεπονθυίας τάπερ αἱ ζῶαι ἔπαθον. ταῦτα

due estimate of its value would save much trouble in the fruitless attempt to reconcile it with more authentic *data*. See note on vii. 129.

<sup>321</sup> τοῦτους ὑπὸ μύσεος . . . τὰ χωρία. This sentence appears to be of the nature of a note, although very possibly from the hand of the author. The antecedent of the word *τούτους* may be easily discovered by inference; but nothing can be harsher

than the construction grammatically, if the clause be regarded as forming part of a continuous text.

<sup>323</sup> τὰ τε ἱρὰ ἀνοῖξαι. See note on § 133.

<sup>a</sup> ποιήσασθαι . . . θυγατέρα. These two lines are left out in F, obviously from the *homœoteleuton* deceiving the eye of the transcriber.

δὲ λέγουσι φληρέοντες, ὡς ἐγὼ δοκέω, τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ δὴ καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς χεῖρας τῶν κολοσσῶν ταῦτα γὰρ ὦν καὶ ἡμεῖς ὠρέομεν, ὅτι ὑπὸ χρόνου τὰς χεῖρας ἀποβεβλήκασι, αἱ ἐν ποσὶ αὐτέων φαίνονται ἐοῦσαι ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμέ. Ἡ δὲ βούς τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κατα-  
 κέκρυπται φοινικέφ' εἵματι, τὸν αὐχένα δὲ καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν φαίνει  
 κεχρυσωμένα παχέϊ κάρτα χρυσῷ· μεταξύ δὲ τῶν κερέων, ὁ τοῦ  
 ἡλίου κύκλος μεμμημένος ἔπασσι χρύσεος. ἔστι δὲ ἡ βούς οὐκ  
 ὀρθή, ἀλλ' ἐν γούνασι κεκμένη, μέγας δὲ ὄσηπερ μεγάλη βούς  
 ζώῃ ἐκφέρεται δὲ ἐκ τοῦ οἰκήματος ἀνὰ πάντα τὰ ἔτεα, ἔπειαν  
 τύπτωνται οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι τὸν οὐκ ὀνομαζόμενον θεὸν ὑπ' ἐμεῦ ἐπὶ  
 τοιοῦτῳ πρήγματι<sup>323</sup>. τότε ὦν καὶ τὴν βούην ἐκφέρουσι ἐς τὸ φῶς  
 φασὶ γὰρ δὴ αὐτὴν δεσθῆναι τοῦ πατρὸς Μυκερίνου ὑποθνήσκου-  
 σαν, ἐν τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ ἅπαξ μιν τὸν ἥλιον κατιδεῖν<sup>324</sup>.

Μετὰ δὲ τῆς θυγατρὸς τὸ πάθος, δεῦτερα τοῦτῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ  
 τὰδε γενέσθαι· ἐλθεῖν οἱ μαντήιον ἐκ Βουτοῦς πόλιος<sup>325</sup>, ὡς “μέλ-  
 λοι ἐξ ἔτεα μούνον βιούς τῷ ἐβδόμῳ τελευτήσῃ” τὸν δὲ, δεινὸν

132

Description of the sacred cow carried every year in procession.

133

Mycerinus receives an oracle from Buto pro-

<sup>323</sup> τὸν οὐκ ὀνομαζόμενον θεὸν ὃν ἐμεῦ ἐπὶ τοιοῦτῳ πρήγματι, “the deity whom in such a matter is not named by me.” The deity in question was Osiris, and Herodotus’s objection was not to naming him, for that he does elsewhere (§§ 42. 144), but to naming him in conjunction with a ceremony indicating woe. In the mystical ritual in question Osiris was the Egyptian Adonis, represented as dead: ὁ τριπλάτος Ἄδωνις δὲ κτὴν Ἀχέροντι φιλεῖται. (THUCYDIDES, xv. 86.) See note 123, above. It was this circumstance which excited the religious feelings of a Dorian Greek. He shrank from associating the name of a deity in many respects analogous to the Apollo of his own traditions, a deity of the upper regions, with a word (κρίπτονται) implying the lamentation for death. On the same principle he preserves a religious silence in speaking of the same thing in § 171, his feeling being that of Xenophanes, who bade the Egyptians in reference to these rituals of sorrow: εἰ θεοὺς νομίζουσι, μὴ θρηνεῖν· εἰ δὲ θρηνοῦσι, θεοὺς μὴ νομίζειν.

<sup>324</sup> φασὶ γὰρ αὐτὴν . . . κατιδεῖν. In the time of PLUTARCH a consistent physical explanation was given to this ritual. The exposition of the golden cow, covered at that time with a black robe, took place on four days, from the seventh to the

tenth of the Egyptian month Aithyr. It was at the time when the overflow of the Nile began visibly to subside, and the land to appear. Hence the lamentation for the death of Osiris (in this proceeding identified with the rising Nile) and the appearance of Isis (the fertile earth); in a robe of black however, as lamenting the departure of her husband the Nile, whose society has left her in a condition to become a mother, and produce the crops which grow upon the saturated plain. But Osiris was also to be lamented if considered as the Sun; for at this time the nights began to be longer than the days. It is to be observed that Isis was, according to Plutarch, not the whole Earth, but only that portion of it which was overflowed by the river,—the *aiethyria*. So likewise Osiris was not absolutely identical with the river, but was regarded as developing himself in its inundation. (NÉLSON ‘Osiridos ἀποροσθὴν νομίζουσι: *De Iside et Osiride*, p. 366.) This view is easily connected with the notion of Osiris being the Sun by the adoption of such a *modus operandi* as Herodotus contemplates in § 25.

<sup>325</sup> μαντήιον ἐκ Βουτοῦς πόλιος. The site of the oracle is described in § 155. See also note 213, above.

phesying  
his death  
after six  
years.

ποιησάμενον, πέμψαι ἐς τὸ μαντήιον τῷ θεῷ<sup>386</sup> ὀνειδισμα, ἀντι-  
μεμφόμενον ὅτι “ὁ μὲν αὐτοῦ πατήρ καὶ πάτρως, ἀποκληύσαντες  
τὰ ἱρὰ καὶ θεῶν οὐ μεμνημένοι ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους φθείρου-  
τες, ἐβίωσαν χρόνον ἐπὶ πολλόν, αὐτὸς δ’ εὐσεβῆς ἔων μέλλοι  
ταχέως οὕτω τελευτήσῃν” ἐκ δὲ τοῦ χρηστηρίου αὐτῷ δεύτερα  
ἐλθεῖν λέγοντα “τούτων εἵνεκα καὶ συνταχύνειν αὐτῷ τὸν βίον οὐ  
γὰρ ποιῆσαι μιν τὸ χρεὼν ἦν ποιεῖν· δεῖν γὰρ Αἴγυπτον κακοῦσθαι  
ἐπ’ ἕτεα πεντήκοντά τε καὶ ἑκατόν καὶ τοὺς μὲν δύο τοὺς πρὸ  
ἐκείνου γενομένους βασιλέας μαθεῖν τοῦτο, κείνων δὲ οὐ” ταῦτα  
ἀκούσαντα τὸν Μυκερίνου, ὡς κατακεκριμένον ἦδη οἱ· τούτων,  
λύχνα ποιησάμενον πολλὰ, ὅπως γίνωιτο νύξ, ἀνάψαντα αὐτὰ,  
πίνειν τε καὶ εὐπαθεῖν οὔτε ἡμέρης οὔτε νυκτὸς ἀνίεντα, ἐς τε τὰ  
ἔλαα καὶ τὰ ἄλσεα πλανώμενον καὶ ἵνα πυνθάνοιτο εἶναι γῆς<sup>387</sup>  
ἐνηβητήρια<sup>388</sup> ἐπιτηδεώτατα. ταῦτα δὲ ἐμνηχανᾶτο θέλων τὸ μαν-  
τήιον ψευδόμενον ἀποδέξαι, ἵνα οἱ δυνάδεκα ἕτεα ἀντὶ ἑξ ἐτέων  
γενῆται αἱ νύκτες ἡμέραι ποιούμεναι.

134

Pyramid of  
Mycerinus.

Πυραμίδα δὲ καὶ οὗτος ἀπελίπετο πολλὸν ἐλάσσω τοῦ πατρὸς,  
(ἐξέκοσι ποδῶν καταδέουσιν κῶλον ἕκαστον<sup>389</sup> τριῶν πλῆθρων,

<sup>386</sup> τῷ θεῷ. The oracle appears to have belonged to Leto, or at least to some deity who in the time of the writer had become analogous to the Hellenic Leto; and therefore it has been proposed to read τῇ θεῷ. But all the MSS have the masculine article; and it seems far from unlikely that the primeval ritual of this Egyptian deity was not one in which the distinction of sex was an important point. CREUZER (*Symbolik*, iii. pp. 240, *segg.*) has shown her substantial identity with the goddess in the Heræum at Mycenæ, of which some circumstances suggest the belief that the original was an androgynous deity. See note on viii. 104.

<sup>387</sup> γῆς. This word (which does not exist in any of the MSS) is restored by Valcknaer from a citation by Gregorius. *De dialecto Ionicâ.*

<sup>388</sup> ἐνηβητήρια. This word is explained by the grammarians as ἐνενοητήρια. The character of the places alluded to may be easily understood by remembering the attractions which the “fornix et uncta popina” possessed for Horace’s slave. SALLUST represents the army of Sylla as corrupted by the “locæ amœna voluptaria” which they found in Asia. (*Catil.* § 11.)

These were no doubt abundant in a place situated as Buto was, in the highway of maritime traffic. It may be remarked that the habits ascribed to Mycerinus, combined with the form of his daughter’s shrine, imply a return to the service of deities whose ritual was analogous to that into which the Israelites fell (*Exod.* xxx. 4—6); for it should be remembered that the revelry in question was regarded as a species of religious service.

<sup>389</sup> κῶλον ἕκαστον, “in each side.” These words are governed in the same way as τὸν μέγαν in § 127. But the passage is probably corrupt, as it seems impossible to bring the numbers into accordance with known facts. The present base of the pyramid is 333 feet by measurement, and the former length is estimated by VYSE as 354·6 feet. The confusion appears to me to lie in the words which I have included in a parenthesis. In this parenthesis I conceive the writer, whether Herodotus himself, or, as I believe, a later hand—intended to state the amount of difference between the dimensions of Mycerinus’s pyramid and his father’s; but how the present text grew out of this statement I cannot suggest.



εούσης τετραγώνου,) λίθου δὲ ἐς τὸ ἡμισυ Αἰθιοπικοῦ<sup>390</sup>. τὴν δὲ μετεξέτεροί φασι Ἑλλήνων Ῥοδάπιος ἑταίρης γυναικὸς<sup>391</sup> εἶναι, οὐκ ὀρθῶς λέγοντες· οὐδὲ ὦν οὐδὲ εἰδότες μοι φαίνονται λέγειν οὔτοι ἦτις ἦν ἡ Ῥοδάπις· οὐ γὰρ ἂν οἱ πυραμίδα ἀνέθεσαν ποιήσασθαι τοιαύτην, ἐς τὴν ταλάντων χιλιάδες ἀναρίθμητοι, ὥς λόγῳ εἰπεῖν, ἀναισίωννται· πρὸς δὲ, ὅτι κατὰ Ἀμασιν βασιλεύοντα ἦν ἀκμάζουσα<sup>392</sup> Ῥοδάπις ἄλλ' οὐ κατὰ τοῦτον ἔτεσι γὰρ κάρτα πολλοῖσι ὕστερον τούτων τῶν βασιλέων τῶν τὰς πυραμίδας ταύτας ἦν λιπομένων, [Ῥοδάπις] γενεὴν μὲν ἀπὸ Θρητικής· δούλη δὲ ἦν Ἰάδμονος<sup>393</sup> τοῦ Ἡφαιστοπόλιος ἀνδρὸς Σαμίου, σύνδουλος δὲ Αἰσώπου τοῦ λογοποιού<sup>394</sup>. καὶ γὰρ οὗτος Ἰάδμονος ἐγένετο, ὥς διέδεξε τῆδε οὐκ ἥκιστα· ἐπεὶ τε γὰρ πολλάκις κηρυσσόντων Δελφῶν<sup>395</sup> ἐκ θεοπροπίου “ὅς βούλοιο ποιῆν τῆς Αἰσώπου ψυχῆς ἀνελέσθαι,” ἄλλος μὲν οὐδεὶς ἐφάνη, Ἰάδμονος δὲ παιδὸς παῖς, ἄλλος Ἰάδμων, ἀνέλετο· οὕτω καὶ Αἰσώπος Ἰάδμονος ἐγένετο. Ῥοδάπις δὲ ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἀπῆκετο, Ξάνθῳ τοῦ Σαμίου κομισαντος· ἀπικομένη δὲ κατ' ἐργασίην<sup>396</sup>, ἐλύθη χρημάτων μεγάλων ὑπὸ ἀνδρὸς Μυτιληναίου Χαράξου, τοῦ Σκαμανδρονύμου παιδὸς ἀδελφεοῦ δὲ Σαπφούς τῆς μουσικοποιῦ· οὕτω δὲ ἡ Ῥοδάπις ἐλευθερώθη, καὶ κατέμεινέ τε ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ κάρτα ἐπαφρόδιτος γενομένη μεγάλη ἐκτήσατο χρήματα, ὥς ἂν εἶναι Ῥοδάπι, ἀτὰρ οὐκ ὥς γε ἐς πυραμίδα τοιαύτην ἐξικέσθαι<sup>397</sup>. τῆς γὰρ τὴν δεκάτην τῶν χρημάτων ἰδέσθαι ἐστὶ ἔτι

Story of Rhodopis examined, and its groundlessness shown.

135

Authentic record of

<sup>390</sup> λίθου Αἰθιοπικοῦ. Wilkinson censures STRABO (xvii. p. 448) for calling this substance ‘black stone,’ which he supposes to be ‘a bad translation of the λίθος Αἰθιοπ. of Herodotus.’ But Strabo uses the expression merely in contradistinction to the white stone of the calcareous formation, and by no mistake; as is obvious by his qualifying it as meaning “that stone out of which they make the θύραι, bringing it from the confines of Ethiopia, far away.”

<sup>391</sup> ἑταίρης γυναικός. See note 372, above.

<sup>392</sup> κατὰ Ἀμασιν βασιλεύοντα ἦν ἀκμάζουσα. See note 380, above.

<sup>393</sup> Αἰσώπου τοῦ λογοποιού. See note on p. 36.

<sup>394</sup> κηρυσσόντων Δελφῶν. PLUTARCH (*De serâ N. vindictâ*, p. 556) relates that Æsop was sent by Croesus to sacrifice at the oracle of Apollo, and to present each of the Delphians with four *mina*; but that,

some dispute arising between them, he sent the money back to Croesus, and the Delphians in anger, under a false charge of sacrilege, threw him down a precipice. After this a curse fell upon the land, and it was for the removal of this they were desirous of making a propitiation. It is strange that Herodotus should not mention the connexion of Æsop with Croesus, if that feature in the narrative had existed in his time. See note 173 on i. 54.

<sup>395</sup> κατ' ἐργασίην. He uses a similar expression, αὐτὴν ἐνεργάζομεναι παιδίσκῃ, i. 93.

<sup>396</sup> οὐκ ὥς γε ἐς πυραμίδα τοιαύτην ἐξικέσθαι. In the time of STRABO a popular fiction had arisen to get over this difficulty. Rhodopis (or, as Strabo calls her, Rhodope), it was said, was bathing, when an eagle picked up one of her sandals and dropt it into the vest of “the king” at Memphis as he sat administering justice

the wealth  
of Rhodopis  
in an offer-  
ing at  
Delphi.

Naukratis  
celebrated  
for *Isotera*.

καὶ ἐς τὸδε παντὶ τῷ βουλομένῳ, οὐδὲν δεῖ μεγάλα οἱ χρήματα ἀναθεῖναι· ἐπεθύμησε γὰρ Ῥοδόπις μνημῖον ἐωυτῆς ἐν τῇ Ἐιλάδι καταλιπέσθαι, ποιήμα ποιησαμένη τοῦτο τὸ μὴ τυγχάνει ἄλλῃ ἐξευρημένον καὶ ἀνακείμενον ἐν ἱρῷ, τοῦτο ἀναθεῖναι ἐς Δελφοὺς μνημόσυνον ἐωυτῆς τῆς ὦν δεκάτης τῶν χρημάτων ποιησαμένη ὀβελοὺς βουπόρους πολλοὺς σιδηρέους, ὅσον ἐνεχάσσει ἡ δεκάτη οἱ, ἀπέπεμπε ἐς Δελφοὺς οἱ καὶ νῦν ἔτι συννεύαται ὅπισθε μὲν τοῦ βωμοῦ τὸν Χίῳ ἀνέθεσαν, ἀντίον δὲ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἱεροῦ. φιλέουσι δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ Ναυκρατί ἐπαφρόδιτοι γίνεσθαι αἱ ἑταῖραι· τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ αὕτη, τῆς περὶ λέγεται ὁδε ὁ λόγος, οὕτω δὴ τι κλεινὴ ἐγένετο ὥς καὶ πάντες οἱ Ἕλληνες Ῥοδόπιος τὸ οὖνομα ἐξέμαθον τοῦτο δὲ ὕστερον ταύτης, τῇ οὖνομα ἦν Ἀρχιδίκη ὀιδιμος ἀνὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐγένετο, ἥσσαν δὲ τῆς ἐτέρης περιλεσχήμεντος<sup>107</sup>. Χάραξος δὲ ὡς λυσάμενος Ῥοδόπιν ἀπενύσθησε ἐς Μυτιλήνην<sup>108</sup>, ἐν μέλει Σαπφῷ πολλὰ κατεκερτόμησέ μιν. Ῥοδόπιος μὲν νῦν περὶ πέπαυμαι.

## 136

Mycerinus  
is succeeded  
by Sasychis,  
who built  
the eastern  
propylæa  
to the  
Hephæ-  
steum,

Μετὰ δὲ Μυκερίνου γενέσθαι Αἰγύπτου βασιλέα ἔλεγον οἱ ἱρῆες Σάσυχιν<sup>109</sup>, τὸν τὰ πρὸς ἡλίον ἀνίσχοντα ποιῆσαι τῷ Ἡφαίστῳ προπύλαια, ἔοντα πολλῷ τε κάλλιστα καὶ πολλῷ μέγιστα. ἔχει μὲν γὰρ καὶ τὰ πάντα προπύλαια<sup>110</sup> τύπους τε ἐγγεγλυμμένους καὶ ἄλλην ὄψιν οἰκοδομημάτων μυρίην<sup>111</sup>, ἐκείνα δὲ καὶ μακρῷ μάλιστα. ἐπὶ τούτου βασιλεύοντος, ἔλεγον, ἀμιξίης ἐούσης πολλῆς χρημάτων<sup>112</sup>, γενέσθαι νόμον Αἰγυπτίοισι, ἀποδεκνύντα ἐνέχυρον τοῦ πατρὸς τὸν νέκυν οὕτω λαμβάνειν τὸ χρέος προστεθῆναι δὲ

in the open air. A search, like that for Cinderella, was made and terminated by her being found at *Naukratis*, becoming the queen of "the king;" and finally being buried in the pyramid in question (xvii. c. i. p. 450). See note 329, on i. 93, and note 372, on ii. 128. Strabo says that Sappho called this female by the name of *Deriche*.

<sup>107</sup> περιλεσχήμεντος, "matter of anecdote." See notes on i. 153; ix. 71.

<sup>108</sup> ἐς Μυτιλήνην. The manuscripts S, V, K, and R have this reading, while M, P, F have ἐς Μ. See above, note 352.

<sup>109</sup> Σάσυχιν. The MSS have Ἀσυχιν. But *Sasychis* is a name which is equivalent to one appearing on the hieroglyphics (see note 404, below); and the omission of the initial σ is easily accounted for by an ordinary practice in uncial manuscripts.

See note 25, on i. 5.

<sup>110</sup> τὰ πάντα προπύλαια. From § 101 it appears that there were *propylæa* on the northern side of the Hephæsteum at Memphis, attributed to the king *Mosis*.

<sup>111</sup> ἄλλην ὄψιν οἰκοδομημάτων μυρίην. It is not easy to say exactly what the meaning of these words is. I am inclined to think that Herodotus means by them the ornaments appropriate to architectural decoration, other than the colossal figures cut in the surface of the stone, which he expresses by *τύποι ἐγγεγλυμένοι*. Translate: "for while all the propylæa have both figures cut in and other things seen in buildings to an infinite extent, those even far exceed the others."

<sup>112</sup> ἀμιξίης χρημάτων, "a want of circulation of money."

ἐτι τοῦτω τῷ νόμῳ τόνδε, τὸν δίδοντα τὸ χρέος καὶ ἀπάσης κρατέ-  
 ειω τῆς τοῦ λαμβάνοντος θήκης<sup>403</sup>. τῷ δὲ ὑποτιθέντι τοῦτο τὸ ἐνέ-  
 χυρον τήνδε ἐπέυαι ζημίην μὴ βουλομένῳ ἀποδοῦναι τὸ χρέος,  
 μήτ' αὐτῷ ἐκεῖνῳ τελευτήσαντι εἶναι ταφῆς κυρήσαι μήτ' ἐν ἐκείνῳ  
 τῷ πατρὶ φίλῳ τάφῳ μήτ' ἐν ἄλλῳ μηδενί, μήτε ἄλλαν μηδένα τῶν  
 ἑαυτοῦ ἀπογενόμενον θάψαι. ὑπερβαλέσθαι δὲ βουλόμενον τοῦτον  
 τὸν βασιλέα τοῖς πρότερον ἑαυτοῦ βασιλέας γενομένους Αἰγύπτου,  
 μνημόσυνον πυραμίδα λιπέσθαι ἐκ πλίνθων ποιήσαντα· ἐν τῇ<sup>404</sup>  
 γράμματα ἐν λίθῳ ἐγκεκολαμμένα τάδε λέγοντά· ἔστι ΜΗ ΜΕ  
 ΚΑΤΟΝΟΣΘΗΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΑΣ ΔΙΘΙΝΑΣ ΠΥΡΑΜΙΔΑΣ.  
 ΠΡΟΕΧΩ ΓΑΡ ΑΤΤΕΩΝ ΤΟΣΟΤΤΟΝ, ὍΣΟΝ Ὁ ΖΕΤΣ  
 ΤΩΝ ΑΛΛΩΝ ΘΕΩΝ. ΚΟΝΤΩ ΓΑΡ ἙΠΟΚΤΗΠΟΝ-  
 ΤΕΣ<sup>405</sup> ΕΣ ΔΙΜΝΗΝ, Ὁ ΤΙ ΠΡΟΣΧΟΙΤΟ ΤΟΤ ΠΗ-  
 ΛΟΤ ΤΩ ΚΟΝΤΩ ΤΟΤΤΟ ΣΤΑΔΕΓΟΝΤΕΣ, ΠΑΙΝ-  
 ΘΟΤΣ ΕΙΡΤΣΑΝ<sup>406</sup>, ΚΑΙ ΜΕ ΤΡΟΠΩ ΤΟΙΟΤΤΩ ΕΞ-  
 ΕΠΟΙΗΣΑΝ. τοῦτον μὲν τοσαῦτα ἀποδέξασθαι.

Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον, βασιλεύσαι ἄνδρα τυφλὸν ἐξ Ἀνύσιος πόλιος, 137

<sup>403</sup> τῆς τοῦ λαμβάνοντος θήκης, "the tomb belonging to the borrower." The original power seems to have been to mortgage the sepulchre; the subsequent law rather to have been passed to prevent the scandal which might arise if the practice had become common, and the habit of not redeeming the pledge had weakened the religious feelings of the people.

<sup>404</sup> ἐν τῇ. See note 369, above. It seems most probable that the pyramid here spoken of is the northern brick one of those at *Dashur*, the former three being those at *Giseh*. BUNSEN (*Aegyptiens Stelle in der Weltgeschichte*, ii. p. 89) very plausibly conjectures that Herodotus had this pyramid described to him while he was at *Giseh* looking at the three he has already mentioned. The pyramid at *Dashur* is most admirably built of brick, and according to PERRING (quoted by BUNSEN, l.c.) does possess a pre-eminence among all the others—with the exception of the three at *Giseh*—equal to that claimed for it in the text. BUNSEN's notion is that it was built *before* the three *Giseh* pyramids, and that the inscription does not refer to them but to the other *Dashur* edifices. He believes Herodotus to have misplaced Sarsapis's reign from a misconception of this point. BUNSEN

himself places him immediately before Cheops at the close of Manetho's third dynasty. In the *Dashur* pyramid half a block was discovered, which appears when complete to have borne the name *Seserkera*. (BUNSEN, p. 94.) Perring gives the side of the pyramid at the base as 360 feet, and estimates its height when complete at 215·6. It is in ruins, and was apparently so in the time of the Egyptian kings, as mummies and later hieratic inscriptions are found in erections among the ruins. (BUNSEN, pp. 91, seqq.) According to BUNSEN's view of the case, the only substantial truth in the inscription (said to exist) would be the relative superiority of the pyramid to those antecedently built. This BUNSEN and Perring make to consist in the *regularity* of its brick masonry as compared with the *irregular* stonework of its two neighbours, the stone pyramids of *Dashur*, although in point of size it is much inferior, one of them being estimated at 719 feet square when complete. (VYSE *ap. Wilkinson*, i. p. 370.)

<sup>405</sup> ἑποκτίντες. Gaisford and all the MSS have ὁποκτίντες. But see the note on vi. 119.

<sup>406</sup> πλίνθους εἰρῶσαν. Compare ἐλκίσαντες πλίνθους, l. 179.

Next *Amy-sis*, a blind man, reigned. He takes refuge in the marshes upon the invasion of *Sabacos* the Ethiopian, who reigns fifty years.

τῷ οὖνομα Ἄνυσιν εἶναι· ἐπὶ τούτου βασιλεύοντος ἐλάσαι ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον χειρὶ πολλῇ Αἰθιοπίας τε καὶ Σαβακῶν τὸν Αἰθίοπων βασιλέα· τὸν μὲν δὴ τυφλὸν τούτον οἴχεσθαι φεύγοντα ἐς τὰ ἔλεα· τὸν δὲ Αἰθίοπα βασιλεύειν Αἰγύπτου ἐπ' ἕτεα πεντήκοντα· ἐν τοῖσι αὐτὸν τὰδε ἀποδέξασθαι· ὅπως τῶν τις Αἰγυπτίων ἀμάρτοι τι, κτείνειν μὲν αὐτῶν οὐδένα ἐθέλειν τὸν δὲ κατὰ μέγας τοῦ ἀδικήματος ἐκάστω δικάζειν, ἐπιτάσσοντα χώματα χοῦν πρὸς τῇ ἐωντῶν πόλι ὅθεν ἕκαστος ἦν τῶν ἀδικούντων. καὶ οὕτω ἔτι αἱ πόλεις ἐγένοντο ὑψηλότεραι· τὸ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον ἐχώσθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν τὰς διώρυχας ὀρυζάντων ἐπὶ Σεσώστριος βασιλέως, δεύτερα δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ Αἰθίοπος καὶ κάρτα ὑψηλαὶ ἐγένοντο.

Elevation of the dykes, especially at the fane of Bubastis.

138

Description of this.

Ἐψηλέων δὲ καὶ ἐτέρων τασσομένων ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ πολλῶν, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, μάλιστα μὲν Βουβάστι πόλι<sup>407</sup> ἐξεχώσθη, ἐν τῇ καὶ ἱρὸν ἐστι Βουβάστιος ἀξιαπληρητότατον μέζω μὲν γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ πολυδαπανιώτερά ἐστι ἱρὰ, ἥδονη δὲ ἰδέσθαι οὐδὲν τούτου μᾶλλον· ἡ δὲ Βούβαστις κατὰ Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσάν ἐστι Ἄρτεμις<sup>408</sup>. Τὸ δὲ ἱρὸν αὐτῆς ὧδε ἔχει· πλὴν τῆς ἐσόδου, τὸ ἄλλο νησὸς ἐστὶ· ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ Νείλου διώρυχες ἐσέχουσι<sup>409</sup>, οὐ συμμίσγουσαι ἀλλήλησι, ἀλλ' ἄχρι τῆς ἐσόδου τοῦ ἱροῦ ἐκατέρη ἐσέχει, ἡ μὲν τῇ περιρρέουσα, ἡ δὲ τῇ, εὖρος εὐρύσα ἐκατέρη ἐκατὸν ποδῶν δένδρεσι κατὰ σκιος· τὰ δὲ προπύλαια ὕψος μὲν δέκα ὀργυιῶν ἐστὶ, τύποισι δὲ ἐξαπήχεσι ἐσκευάδεται ἀξίοισι λόγῳ ἐὼν δ' ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλι τὸ ἱρὸν κατορᾶται πάντοθεν περιῶντι<sup>410</sup>. ἅτε γὰρ τῆς πόλιος μὲν

<sup>407</sup> μάλιστα μὲν Βουβάστι πόλι. Several MSS, among which are S and V, have μάλιστα ἢ ἐν Βουβάστι πόλις. The mention of Bubastis here and the description of the site of the temple appears to me like a subsequent insertion into the text. Bubastis was in an entirely different locality. See note on § 158, below.

<sup>408</sup> ἐστὶ Ἄρτεμις. He repeats this below (§ 156), where see the note, and implies it above (§ 59). In point of fact *Bubastis* is *Pi-beseth*, where the first syllable is the Egyptian article *pe*, as in the word *πίρωμις*, and *Bastis* or *Bast* is the name of the Egyptian *Artemis*.

<sup>409</sup> ἐσέχουσι. This word is used in a very peculiar sense, for Herodotus goes on particularly to remark that the canals do not run *into* any thing, but approach one another within a certain distance and

then stop. It seems possible that in a locality full of canals, like the delta of the Nile, the word originally used to denote direction *for the purpose of communication* came to be provincially applied in all cases where the appearance occurred of a channel cut for the admission of water. See ii. 11: κόλπος θαλάσσης ἐσέχων ἐκ τῆς Ἐρυθρῆς καλεομένης θαλάσσης, and κόλπον ἐσέχοντα ἐπὶ Αἰθιοπίας, and the note 42, above. In § 121 the word seems used of the communication allowed by a party-wall. See note 342, above.

<sup>410</sup> κατορᾶται πάντοθεν περιῶντι. WILKINSON, who describes the ruins of *Tel Basta*, the site of Bubastis, mentions this notice as being strikingly confirmed by the great height of the mounds. (*Modern Egyptians*, i. p. 427.)

ἐκκεχωσμένης ἡψοῦ τοῦ δ' ἱοῦ οὐ κεκνημένου, ὡς ἀρχήθεν ἐποιήθη ἔσοπτόν ἐστι· περιθέει δ' αὐτὸ αἵμασι· ἐγγεγλυμμένη τύποισι· ἔστι δὲ ἔσθθεν ἄλσος δενδρέων μεγίστων πεφυτευμένοι· περὶ νηὸν μέγαν, ἐν τῷ δὴ τῷγαλμα ἔνι· εὖρος δὲ καὶ μήκος τοῦ ἱοῦ πάντη σταδίου ἐστὶ<sup>411</sup>. κατὰ μὲν δὴ τὴν ἔσοδον, ἐστρωμένη ἐστὶ ὁδὸς λίθου ἐπὶ σταδίου τρεῖς<sup>412</sup> μάλιστα κη, διὰ τῆς ἀγορῆς φέρουσα ἐς τὸ πρὸς ἡῶ· εὖρος δὲ ὡς τεσσέρων πλέθρων τῇ δὲ καὶ τῇ τῆς ὁδοῦ δένδρεα οὐρανομήκεα πέφυκε· φέρει δ' ἐς Ἑρμῶ ἱόν. τὸ μὲν δὴ ἱόν τοῦτο οὕτω ἔχει.

Τέλος δὲ τῆς ἀπαλλαγῆς<sup>413</sup> τοῦ Αἰθίοπος ὧδε ἔλεγον γενέσθαι· 139  
 ὄψιν ἐν τῷ ἕπνῳ τοιήνδε ἰδόντα αὐτὸν οἴχεσθαι φεύγοντα· ἐδόκεε οἱ ἄνδρα ἐπιστάνα· συμβουλευεῖν, τοὺς ἱρέας τοὺς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ συλλέξαντα πάντας μέσους διαταμέειν ἰδόντα δὲ τὴν ὄψιν ταύτην λέγειν αὐτὸν, ὡς πρόφασιν οἱ δοκεῖοι ταύτην τοὺς θεοὺς προδεικνύναι, ἵνα ἀσεβήσας περὶ τὰ ἱρὰ κακόν τι πρὸς θεῶν ἢ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων λάβον· οὐκὼν ποιήσειν ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ γὰρ οἱ ἐξεληλυθέναι τὸν χρόνον ὁκόσον κεκρήσθαι ἄρξαντα Αἰγύπτου ἐκχωρήσειν<sup>414</sup>. ἐν γὰρ τῇ Αἰθιοπίῃ ἐόντι αὐτῷ τὰ μαντήια τοῖσι χρέωνται Αἰθίοπες ἀνείλε, ὡς δέοι αὐτὸν Αἰγύπτου βασιλεύσαι ἕτα πεντήκοντα<sup>415</sup>.

<sup>411</sup> *πάντη σταδίου ἐστὶ*. WILKINSON (p. 428) makes the sacred enclosure about 600 feet square. The length of the temple (which was built of the finest red granite) he estimates at about 500.

<sup>412</sup> *ἐπὶ σταδίου τρεῖς*. WILKINSON (l. c.) found the distance from the outer circuit of the one temple to the other 2250 feet. The *agora* is about 900 feet from the temple of Bubastis. He could not ascertain the breadth of the road from the quantity of ruins which cover it. From the under-estimate of the length of the *dromos* and the mention of the *Hermæum* merely as its termination, one may conjecture that the writer did not go *beyond* the temple of Bubastis.

<sup>413</sup> *τέλος δὲ τῆς ἀπαλλαγῆς*. Valckner endeavours to explain this strange expression as being equivalent to *ἀπαλλαγῇ*, just as *θανάτου τέλος* and *φόνου τέλος* are used where *θάνατος* and *φόνος* only are meant. This does not appear to me satisfactory, but I can offer nothing better.

<sup>414</sup> *ἀλλὰ γὰρ οἱ ἐξεληλυθέναι . . ἐκχωρήσειν*. The whole of this sentence is to

be taken as the *protasis* in the construction; then follows its explanation in an account of what the oracle in Ethiopia had said; and at last comes the *apodosis*, *ἐς ἃν ὁ χρόνος*, &c. But this last, owing to the length of the parenthesis and its character—it being not the words of the king, but a statement of a fact—changes into an account of what *he did*, instead of the sentence ending in its original form. Translate: “‘he would not do this though; no, as the time had run out which he had been allowed by prophecy for ruling over Egypt and going,’—for while in Ethiopia the oracles which the Ethiopians consult declared to him that it was his destiny to reign over Egypt for fifty years,—as then this time was run out, and the appearance of the vision came upon the back of it, disturbing his mind, this Sabacos took himself off voluntarily out of Egypt.”

<sup>415</sup> *ἕτα πεντήκοντα*. BUNSEN (vol. iii. p. 138) considers that, instead of the single king Sabaco, it is distinctly proved that an Ethiopian *dynasty* of three kings reigned in Egypt for fifty years (their names being SCHEBEK, SHEBEK, and THRK, i. e.

139  
 Sabacos terrified by a dream.

ὡς ὅν ὁ χρόνος οὗτος ἐξήϊε καὶ αὐτὸν ἡ θύς τοῦ ἐνυπνίου ἐπετά-  
ρασε, ἐκὼν ἀπαλλάσσεται ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ὁ Σαβακὼς.

140

The blind king returns after fifty years' exile in the marshes.

His retreat (first discovered 700 years afterwards) was in the island *Elbo*.

᾿Ως δ' ἄρα οἴχσθαι τὸν Αἰθίοπα ἐξ Αἰγύπτου, αὐτὶς τὸν τυφλὸν ἄρχειν ἐκ τῶν ἐλέων ἀπικόμενον, ἐνθα πεντήκοντα ἔτεα, νήσον χάσας σποδῶ τε καὶ γῇ, οἴκεε· ὅκως γάρ οἱ φοιτᾶν σίτον ἄγοντας Αἰγυπτίων ὡς ἐκάστοισι προστετάχθαι συγῇ τοῦ Αἰθίοπος, ἐς τὴν δωρεὴν κελεύειν σφέας καὶ σποδὸν κομίζειν. ταύτην τὴν νήσον οὐδεὶς πρότερον ἐδυνάσθη Ἀμυρταίου ἐξευρεῖν· ἀλλὰ ἔτεα ἐπὶ πλέω ἢ ἑπτακόσια οὐκ οἶοι τε ἦσαν αὐτὴν ἀνευρεῖν οἱ πρότεροι γενόμενοι βασιλεῖς Ἀμυρταίου<sup>416</sup>. οὐνομα δὲ ταύτῃ τῇ νήσῳ Ἐλβὼ· μέγας δ' ἐστὶ πάντῃ δέκα σταδίων.

141

He is succeeded by *Sethos*, priest of *Hephaestus*, who offends the military caste, and is deserted by them on an invasion

Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον, βασιλεῦσαι τὸν ἱέρα τοῦ Ἡφαίστου τῷ οὐνομα εἶναι Σεθῶν τὸν ἐν ἀλογίῃσι ἔχειν παραχορησάμενον τῶν μαχίμων<sup>417</sup> Αἰγυπτίων, ὡς οὐδὲν δεησόμενον αὐτῶν ἄλλα τε δὴ ἄτιμα ποιεῖντα ἐς αὐτοὺς, καὶ σφεας ἀπελεύσθαι τὰς ἀρούρας, τοῖσι ἐπὶ τῶν προτέρων βασιλέων δεδοσθαι ἐξαιρέτους ἐκάστῳ δυνώδεκα ἀρούρας· μετὰ δὲ, ἐπ' Αἰγυπτίῳ ἐλαύνειν στρατὸν μέγαν Σαναχάρβον βασιλέα Ἀραβίων<sup>418</sup> [τε καὶ Ἀσσυρίων]· οὐκὼν δὲ ἐθέλειν

Sabacos, Sebichus, and Tirhakah). The error of Herodotus he ascribes to the fact of an oral communication being the source of his information. This dynasty he makes the 26th of the Egyptians. It is succeeded by the 26th or Saitan, consisting of the Egyptian princes Stephinates, Nechepous, Necho, Psammitichus, Necho II., another Psammitichus or Psammuthis, Vaphres, and Amosis. During the first 12 (or 18) years of this Bunsen conceives Ameris (an Ethiopian) to have maintained his ground against the Saitan dynasty. If Herodotus is to be judged by the standard of other authorities, we must suppose a thorough confusion spreading over several centuries, between the Anysis and Sethos of his account. But this is inconceivable upon any hypothesis short of the one that the narrative he received at the Hephaestum at Memphis differed enormously from those which were current at other temples, and upon which the diverse traditions which have come down to us through the Alexandrine chronographers were founded. A mechanical arrangement of these, while the law of their growth remains undiscovered, seems to furnish a most uncertain basis for historical conclusions.

<sup>416</sup> οὐκ οἶοι τε ἦσαν . . . Ἀμυρταίου. This statement seems to prove satisfactorily that one part at least of the story of the blind king is of very late date. (See CLINTON's *Fasti Hellenici*, s. 455 a.c.) The chronology of the passage would throw the time of the Ethiopian invasion back to the middle of the twelfth century B.C., 300 years at least too early to be manageable by any chronologist. Accordingly it has been proposed to alter the numbers. But they are defended by the authority of *all* the MSS without exception. WILKINSON (i. p. 418) fixes the site of Elbo as "in the s.e. corner of the lake of Buto, now lake Boorlos." He does not say on what authority, and it is difficult to suppose that such a site would be secure. One would rather have supposed a refugee hiding some where in the Sebennytic branch (see note 61, above).

<sup>417</sup> τῶν μαχίμων. It has been proposed to read τὸ μάχιμον. But we may suppose that it was some individuals only of the military caste which were slighted by Sethos, although the whole body took the quarrel up, knowing his dislike of them.

<sup>418</sup> Ἀραβίων. The words which follow :

τοὺς μαχίμους τῶν Αἰγυπτίων βοηθεῖν, τὸν δὲ ἱερά ἐς ἀπορίην of the country  
 ἀπειλημένον, ἐσελθόντα ἐς τὸ μέγαρον πρὸς τῷγαλμα ἀποδύρεσθαι by Sa-  
 οἷα κινδυνεύει παθέειν ὀλοφυρόμενον δ' ἄρα μιν ἐπελθεῖν ὕπνον, nacharib.  
 καὶ οἱ δόξαι ἐν τῇ ὕφει ἐπιστάντα τὸν θεὸν θαρσύνειν, ὥς οὐδὲν  
 πείσεται ἄχαρι ἀντιάων τὸν Ἀραβίων στρατὸν αὐτὸς γάρ οἱ  
 πέμψειν τιμωροῦς· τοῖτοισι δὴ μιν πῖσυνον τοῖσι ἐνυπνίοισι,  
 παραλαβόντα Αἰγυπτίων τοὺς βουλομένους οἱ ἐπεσθαι στρατο-  
 πεδεύσασθαι ἐν Πηλουσίῳ· ταύτῃ γάρ εἰσι αἱ ἐσβολαὶ<sup>419</sup>. ἐπεσθαι  
 δέ οἱ τῶν μαχίμων μὲν οὐδένα ἀνδρῶν, καπήλους δὲ καὶ χειρώ-  
 νακτας καὶ ἀγοραίους ἀνθρώπους· ἐνθαῦτα ἀπικομένους τοῖσι Hephæstus  
 ἐναντίοισι αὐτοῖσι ἐπιχυθέντας νυκτὸς μῦς ἀρουραίους<sup>420</sup> κατὰ μὲν destroys the  
 φαγέειν τοὺς φαρετρεῶνας αὐτῶν, κατὰ δὲ τὰ τόξα, πρὸς δὲ, τῶν invading  
 ἀσπίδων τὰ ὄχανα, ὥστε τῇ ὑστεραίῃ φευγόντων σφέων γυνῶν army at  
 [ὄπλων<sup>421</sup>] πεσέειν πολλούς. καὶ νῦν οὗτος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐστῆκε ἐν Pelusium.  
 τῷ ἱρῷ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου λίθινος ἔχων ἐπὶ τῆς χειρὸς μῦν<sup>422</sup>, λέγων  
 διὰ γραμμάτων τάδε· ΕΣ ΕΜΕ ΤΙΣ ὉΡΕΩΝ ΕΤΣΕΒΗΣ  
 ΕΣΤΩ.

τε καὶ Ἀσσυρίων did not exist in the copies of Herodotus used by JOSEPHUS (*Archæol.* x. 1. 4). They are found however in all the modern MSS, as, even if they be not genuine, was to be expected as soon as the desire began to prevail among the Christians to bring the various pagan traditions into harmony with the Old Testament history; a desire which they inherited from the Egyptian Jews of the Ptolemaic times, Aristobulus and his followers.

<sup>419</sup> ταύτῃ γάρ εἰσι αἱ ἐσβολαί. See note on iii. 10.

<sup>420</sup> μῦς ἀρουραίους. These are probably the same animal (the *shrew-mouse*) called *μυγαλὴ* above (§ 67). The story perhaps may be, as some have thought, an Egyptian version of the destruction of Sennacherib (2 *Kings* xix). But all the details are undoubtedly a mere fiction to explain the human figure with the mouse. In the temple of Apollo Smintheus at Chryse the tradition ran that the Teucrians who came from Crete to the Troad had received an oracle that they should settle in the place where Titans (*γῆγενεῖς*) should attack them. At a place called *Amazitis* an enormous number of field mice in the course of the night devoured all the leather straps of their armour and every thing else which could be eaten. They recognized in this the fulfilment of the oracle,—

and the incident was commemorated by a statue by Scopas, representing the deity with a mouse at his foot. (STRABO, xiii. p. 117.) It is impossible to doubt the similar origin of two such similar stories. But that relating to the Teucrians was certainly not older than the time of Callinus (see note 332, above).

<sup>421</sup> [ὄπλων]. Gaisford retains this word, but it appears to me to be a gloss of the preceding *γυνῶν*. Several MSS have *ἀνέπλων*, which is obviously so.

<sup>422</sup> ἔχων ἐπὶ τῆς χειρὸς μῦν. The shrew-mouse entered as a symbol into the Osiris cycle of the Egyptian mythology, perhaps originally as an emblem of fecundity, being apparently produced from the earth in myriads. In later times another explanation was given of the matter (see note 179, above). It may be observed that the Hephæstus of Memphis was regarded in the time of CICERO as the father of the Sun, *i. e.* that he was identified with Osiris (*De Naturâ Deorum*, iii. 21); so that such a symbol as that of the mouse, whatever the meaning of it was, would not be out of place in his temple. The animal passed over from Egypt to Europe and the coast of Asia, as a device of Apollo, under the name of *Smintheus*, *σμινθεὺς* meaning 'a mouse' in Crete and on the coast of the Troad. (POLEMO, *ap.*

- 142 'Ες μὲν τοσούνδε τοῦ λόγου Αἰγύπτιοί τε καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς ἔλεγον, ἀποδεικνύντες ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου βασιλέως ἐς τοῦ Ἡφάστου τὸν ἱέρα τούτον τὸν τελευταῖον βασιλεύσαντα μίαν τε καὶ τεσσεράκοντα καὶ τριηκοσίας ἀνθρώπων γενεὰς γενομένας, καὶ ἐν ταύτῃσι ἀρχιρέας καὶ βασιλέας ἑκατέρους τοσούτους<sup>423</sup> γενομένους. καὶ τοὶ τριηκόσιαι μὲν ἀνδρῶν γενεαὶ δυνέονται μύρια ἕτεα<sup>424</sup>. γενεαὶ γὰρ τρεῖς ἀνδρῶν ἑκατὸν ἕτεά ἐστι· μῆς δὲ καὶ τεσσεράκοντα ἔτι τῶν ἐπιλοίπων γενεῶν, αἱ ἐπῆσαν τῇσι τριηκοσίῃσι, ἔστι τεσσεράκοντα καὶ τριηκόσια καὶ χίλια ἕτεα. οὕτω ἐν μυρίοις τε ἔτεσι καὶ χιλίοις καὶ πρὸς τριηκοσίοις τε καὶ τεσσεράκοντα ἔλεγον θεὸν ἀνθρωποειδέα οὐδένα γενέσθαι· οὐ μέντοι οὐδὲ πρότερον, οὐδὲ ὕστερον ἐν τοῖσι ὑπολοίποισι Αἰγύπτου βασιλεύσι γενομένοις, ἔλεγον τοιοῦτον οὐδέν. ἐν τοῖνυν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ τετράκις ἔλεγον ἐξ ἡθέων τὸν ἥλιον ἀνατεῖλαι (ἔνθα τε νῦν καταδύεται ἐνθεῦτεν δις ἐπαντεῖλαι, καὶ ἔνθεν νῦν ἀνατέλλει ἐνθαῦτα δις καταδύναι) καὶ οὐδὲν τῶν κατ' Αἴγυπτον ὑπὸ ταῦτα ἑτεροιωθῆναι, οὔτε τὰ ἐκ τῆς γῆς οὔτε τὰ ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ σφί γνωόμενα οὔτε
- 143 τὰ ἀμφὶ νούσους οὔτε τὰ κατὰ τοὺς θανάτους<sup>425</sup>. Πρότερον δὲ

The number of kings and priests from Menes to Sethos 341 generations, or 13340 years.

Villoison Schol. ad II. i. 39.) Apollo also appears with a mouse on his right hand on a coin of Alexandria;—and of his worship under this name the whole coast of Asia Minor and the adjacent islands was full. (See STRABO, xiii. p. 118, and note 506 on i. 151.) That the title is an ancient one is plain from its appearing in *Iliad* i. 39:

—Τενέδοί τε ἱεὶ ἀνῶσσεις

Σμινθεῦ,

and that the mouse is an ancient symbol on a part of the coast of Greece which had early communication with Egypt, appears from its being found on the oldest coins of Argos. (PAYNE KNIGHT, *Inquiry into the Symbolical Language of Ancient Art*, § 126, note 3.) As a priapic animal, the mouse would be appropriate to the Achaean or ante-dorian Herē of Mycenae, a θεὸς γαμήλιος. (See notes on vi. 81 and 83; see also note 121 on ii. 41.)

<sup>423</sup> ἑκατέρους τοσούτους, "so many of each sort," i. e. 341 kings and 341 priests.

<sup>424</sup> καὶ τοὶ τριηκόσιαι μὲν . . μύρια ἕτεα. It will be observed that this is an average estimate on the part of the writer. He nowhere says that the priests gave this

as the actual number of years which had elapsed between Menes and Sethos; and it is probable that they really did imagine a different and much smaller number to have passed.

<sup>425</sup> ἐν τοῖνυν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ . . τοὺς θανάτους. That this clause rests upon an entire misunderstanding of what the priests really intended there can be no doubt; but it is not easy to say exactly what the statement was of which it is the perversion. Herodotus obviously took it to mean that there had been four sudden jumps in the course of the sun, entirely reversing his path in the heavens from what it was before; so that thus during two distinct periods he had risen in the west and set in the east. It seems not impossible that what the priests meant was that two so-called *Sothiac periods* or *canicular years* had elapsed, which would give a time of  $2 \times 1461 (= 2922)$  years. The Egyptian year at the commencement of their era seems to have begun when the first rising of Sirius as a morning star (see note 13, above) synchronized with the beginning of the rise of the Nile. Supposing this to take place on the 1st day of the month *Thoth*, the similar rising would next year



Ἐκαταίῳ τῷ λογοποῦ<sup>426</sup> ἐν Θήβῃσι γενεηλογήσαντί τε ἑαυτὸν  
καὶ ἀναδήσαντι τὴν πατρίην ἐς ἑκκαίδεκατον θεὸν, ἐποίησαν οἱ  
ἱρέες τοῦ Διὸς οἷον τι καὶ ἐμοὶ οὐ γενεηλογήσαντι ἐμμενῶν<sup>427</sup>.  
ἐσαγαγόντες ἐς τὸ μέγαρον ἔσω, ἐὼν μέγα, ἐξηρίθμεον δεκνύντες  
κολοσσούς ξυλίνους τοσούτους ὅσους περ εἶπον ἀρχιερεὺς γὰρ  
ἕκαστος αὐτόθι ἴσταται ἐπὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ζῆς εἰκόνα ἑαυτοῦ ἀρι-  
θμείοντες ὧν καὶ δεκνύντες οἱ ἱρέες ἐμοὶ, ἀπεδείκνυσαν παῖδα πατρὸς  
ἑαυτῶν ἕκαστον ἑόντα, ἐκ τοῦ ἀγχιστα ἀποθανόντος τῆς εἰκόνος  
διεξιόντες διὰ πασέων ἕως οὐ ἀπέδεξαν ἀπάσας αὐτάς· Ἐκαταίῳ  
δὲ γενεηλογήσαντι ἑαυτὸν καὶ ἀναδήσαντι ἐς ἑκκαίδεκατον θεὸν,  
ἀντεγενεηλόγησαν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀριθμήσει οὐ δεκόμενοι παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ  
θεοῦ γενέσθαι ἄνθρωπον ἀντεγενεηλόγησαν δὲ ὧδε, φάμενοι  
ἕκαστον τῶν κολοσσῶν Πύρῳμιν ἐκ Πιρώμους γεγονέναι, ἔς δ' τοὺς  
πέντε καὶ τεσσεράκοντα καὶ τριηκοσίους ἀπέδεξαν κολοσσούς Πί-  
ρῳμιν ἐκ Πιρώμους γενόμενον, καὶ οὔτε ἐς θεὸν οὔτε ἐς ἥρωα ἀνέδησαν  
αὐτούς· Πιρώμους δὲ ἐστὶ κατ' Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν καλὸς κἀγαθός<sup>428</sup>. 144  
Ἦδη ὧν, τῶν αἱ εἰκόνες ἦσαν τοιούτους ἀπεδείκνυσάν σφας πάντας

The priests  
of Zeus at  
Thebes  
showed  
Hecataeus a  
pedigree of  
345 priests  
lineally de-  
scended.

Before  
these, the

not take place till the 2nd day, the Egyptian year being 365 days only, about six hours too short. This alteration would steadily increase until in 1461 years of 365 days (= 1460 Julian years) the cycle would be complete, and the heliacal rising of Sirius would again take place on the 1st day of *Thoth*. This it will be remembered is the space of time which was, according to some accounts, supposed to intervene between two appearances of the *phanix*, "a bird sacred to the sun" in Egypt. (TACITUS, *Annal.* vi. 28.) This cyclical variation would be spoken of as a motion of the sun in the heavens, and would easily be misunderstood by a Greek who was no astronomer (see note 12, above), and not aware that the expression had a special reference to *Sirius*, not to the Earth. Possibly too the dragoman was not careful to avoid a paradoxical way of putting the matter. The Egyptian calendar is excellently described by IDELER, *Handbuch der Chronologie*, who explains this passage differently (i. p. 138).

<sup>426</sup> Ἐκαταίῳ τῷ λογοποῦ. See note on v. 36.

<sup>427</sup> ἐμοὶ οὐ γενεηλογήσαντι ἐμμενῶν. It is very singular that Herodotus should give no description of *Thebes*, famous as it was from even the Homeric poems, and

expressly as he here states that he was a witness of the colossi contained within the very sanctuary. Indeed that a Greek should enter the sanctuary at all shows the extent to which a religious *syncretism* must have been carried in this case of the Theban Zeus. Cleomenes ventured into the temple of Athene Polias at Athens, only from confidence in his Achæan blood (v. 72). Compare too the case of *Miltiades* (vi. 135). Is it possible that the reason of the writer's silence with regard to the rest of Thebes is to be looked for in the greater degree of exclusiveness prevailing in the other temples? See note 10, above.

<sup>428</sup> Πιρώμους . . . καλὸς κἀγαθός. The word '*piromi*' is said to mean in Coptic "the man," being the word signifying *man* with the article prefixed to it (JABLONSKY, *Proleg. ad Panth. Egypti.* § 18). It seems therefore plain that Herodotus did not understand the language of the country. See note 296a, above. Jablonsky (l.c.) suggests a clue to his error in the circumstance, that '*piromi*' in the same language means ὁ δίκαιος. But it seems more likely that the word signifying "man," in the old Egyptian language, like the *baro* or *miles* of the middle ages, should have become in course of time a title of honour.

gods govern-  
ed Egypt,  
of which  
Osiris, son  
of Osiris,  
was the  
last.

εὔντας, θεῶν δὲ πολλὸν ἀπαλλαγμένους· τὸ δὲ πρότερον τῶν ἀν-  
δρῶν τούτων θεοὺς εἶναι τοὺς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἄρχοντας, οἰκέοντας ἅμα  
τοῖσι ἀνθρώποισι· καὶ τούτων αἰεὶ ἓνα τὸν κρατέοντα εἶναι· ὕστα-  
τον δὲ αὐτῆς βασιλεύσαι· Ὡρον τὸν Ὀσίριος παῖδα, τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα  
Ἑλλήνες ὀνομάζουσι· τούτον, καταπαύσαντα Τυφῶνα βασιλεύσαι  
ὑστατον Αἰγύπτου. Ὀσίρις δὲ ἐστὶ Διόνυσος κατὰ Ἑλλάδα  
γλῶσσαν <sup>429</sup>.

145

Order of  
the gods,  
according  
to the  
Egyptians,  
very dif-  
ferent from  
the Hellenic  
view.

Ἐν Ἑλληνισί μὲν νυν νεώτατοι τῶν θεῶν νομίζονται εἶναι Ἑρα-  
κλῆς τε καὶ Διόνυσος καὶ Πάν· παρ' Αἰγυπτίοισι δὲ Πάν μὲν  
ἀρχαιότατος, καὶ τῶν ὀκτῶ τῶν πρώτων λεγομένων θεῶν Ἑρα-  
κλῆς δὲ τῶν δευτέρων, τῶν δώδεκα λεγομένων εἶναι· Διόνυσος δὲ,  
τῶν τρίτων, οἱ ἐκ τῶν δώδεκα θεῶν ἐγένοντο. Ἑρακλῆι μὲν δὴ  
ὅσα αὐτοὶ Αἰγύπτιοι φασὶ εἶναι ἔτεα ἐς Ἀμασιν βασιλέα, δεδήλω-  
ται μοι πρόσθε <sup>430</sup>. Πανὶ δὲ ἔτι τούτων πλέονα λέγεται εἶναι, Διο-  
νύσῳ δ' ἐλάχιστα τούτων καὶ τούτῳ πεντακισχίλια καὶ μύρια  
λογίζονται εἶναι ἐς Ἀμασιν βασιλέα. καὶ ταῦτα Αἰγύπτιοι ἀτρε-  
κέως φασὶ ἐπίστασθαι, αἰεὶ τε λογιζόμενοι καὶ αἰεὶ ἀπογραφόμενοι  
τὰ ἔτεα <sup>431</sup>. Διονύσῳ μὲν νυν τῷ ἐκ Σεμέλης τῆς Κάδμου λεγο-  
μένην γενέσθαι, κατὰ ἑξακόσια ἔτεα καὶ χίλια <sup>432</sup> μάλιστα ἐστὶ ἐς

<sup>429</sup> ἐστὶ Διόνυσος κατὰ Ἑλλάδα γλῶσ-  
σαν. The Dionysus which was identical  
with Osiris was not the deity of the vine-  
dressers, but the wandering deity symbol-  
ized by the Sun. See above, note 356.  
DIODORUS (i. 11) and PLUTARCH (*De  
Iside et Osiride*) give πολυόφθαλμος as the  
etymological meaning of the word *δσ-ιρ*.  
If *ιρ* be really an old Egyptian word, sig-  
nifying *ὀφθαλμός*, it is probably the root  
of the word *Σειριος* (the dog-star), which  
name, according to *Hesychius* (v. *Σειριου  
κυνὸς δικήν*) ARCHILOCHUS applied to the  
Sun.

<sup>430</sup> δεδήλωται μοι πρόσθε. See § 43.

<sup>431</sup> αἰεὶ ἀπογραφόμενοι τὰ ἔτεα. This  
*pretension*, it will be observed, extends  
at least to the earliest date mentioned,  
viz. that of *Heracles*, 17,000 years before.  
But the actual reckoning is *backward*,  
and that from no more ancient date  
than the time of Amasis. There is no  
hint of an era existing before that time;  
but the phrase is quite consistent with  
the notion of an era *formed in the time  
of Amasis by backward calculation*, and  
having its epoch placed far back after  
being formed. The phrase *αἰεὶ λογιζό-*

*μενοι* betrays the real state of the case in  
the alleged "registration of the years as  
they arrived."

<sup>432</sup> κατὰ ἑξακόσια ἔτεα καὶ χίλια. Seve-  
ral of the MSS omit the word *ἔτεα*, and  
one (S) has κατὰ ἑννακόσια καὶ χίλια. It  
seems impossible to reconcile this number  
with any known mythological genealogy,  
and the emendation κατὰ ἐξήκοντα ἔτεα  
καὶ χίλια has been proposed. But this  
does not exhaust the difficulties. The ped-  
igrees current in the time of Herodotus  
would give the generations as follows, tak-  
ing the Theban family as a basis.

- |                   |   |
|-------------------|---|
| 1. Semele         | 1. Polydorus (br. of Semele)                                    |
| 2. Dionysus       | 2. Labdacus   |
| 3. Laius          | 3. Creon 3. Alcmena   |
| 4. Oedipus        | 4. Heracles   |
| 5. Polyni-<br>ces | 5. Tyde-<br>us [pe<br>6. Tydi-<br>des 6. Penelo-<br>des 7. Pan. |

For Creon is in the Hellenic legends asso-

ἐμέ 'Ηρακλεί δὲ τῷ 'Αλκμήνης κατὰ εἰνακόσια ἔτεα· Πανὶ δὲ τῷ  
 ἐκ Πηνελόπης, (ἐκ ταύτης γὰρ καὶ Ἑρμῶ λέγεται γενέσθαι ὑπὸ  
 Ἑλλήνων ὁ Πάν) ἐλάσσω ἔτεά ἐστι τῶν Τρωϊκῶν, κατὰ τὰ ὀκτα-  
 κόσια μάλιστα ἐς ἐμέ. Τούτων ὧν ἀμφοτέρων πάρεστι χρᾶσθαι 146  
 τοῖσι τις πείσεται λεγομένοισι μᾶλλον ἐμοὶ δ' ὧν ἡ περὶ αὐτῶν  
 γνώμη ἀποδέδεκται. εἰ μὲν γὰρ φανεροὶ τε ἐγένοντο καὶ κατεγή-  
 ρασαν καὶ οὗτοι ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι, κατάπερ Ἑρακλῆς ὁ ἐξ Ἀμφι-  
 τρύωνος γενόμενος, καὶ δὴ καὶ Διόνυσος ὁ ἐκ Σεμέλης, καὶ Πάν ὁ  
 ἐκ Πηνελόπης γενόμενος, ἔφη ἂν τις καὶ τούτους ἄλλους, ἀνδρας  
 γενομένους, ἔχειν τὰ ἐκείνων οὐνόματα τῶν προγεγονότων θεῶν  
 νῦν δὲ Διόνυσόν τε λέγουσι οἱ Ἕλληνες, ὡς αὐτίκα γενόμενον ἐς  
 τὸν μηρὸν ἐνεργάσατο Ζεὺς καὶ ἤνεικε ἐς Νύσαν τὴν ὑπὲρ Αἰγύ-  
 πτου ἐοῦσαν ἐν τῇ Αἰθιοπίῃ· καὶ Πανὸς γε περὶ οὐκ ἔχουσι εἰπεῖν  
 ὅκη ἐτράπετο γενόμενος. δηλὰ μοι ὧν γέγονε, ὅτι ὕστερον ἐπύ-  
 θοντο οἱ Ἕλληνες τούτων τὰ οὐνόματα ἢ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν, ἀπ' 147  
 οὗ δὲ ἐπύθοντο χρόνου ἀπὸ τούτου γενεηλογέουσι αὐτῶν τὴν  
 γένεσιν.

Probable  
cause of the  
difference.

Ταῦτα μὲν νῦν αὐτοὶ Αἰγύπτιοι λέγουσι· ὅσα δὲ οἱ τε ἄλλοι 147

ciated with Amphitryon (the husband of Alcmena) in the attempt to revenge her brothers; and as he is the brother of Jocasta (the wife of Laius), Alcmena may be put in the same generation with him. So again Tydeus and Polynices, marrying two sisters, belong to the same generation; and finally Penelope, being the wife of Odysseus, the associate of Tydides, belongs to the sixth parallel. This arrangement would give, reckoning a century to three generations, 100 years from Pan to Heracles, but less than a century from Heracles to Dionysus. If conjecture is to be allowed, I should be disposed to change καὶ into ἢ in the reading of the Sancroft MS (S), and read κατὰ ἐννηκόσια ἢ χίλια, the difference between Dionysus and Heracles being less than a century, and the author perhaps not choosing in such a matter to break up his centuries, lest he should imply a greater accuracy in the chronology than was possible. This alteration brings the three dates into tolerable harmony with each other; but it will be observed that *all* of them are two centuries too high according to the received chronology. NIEBUHR (*Kleine Schriften*, i. p. 196) proposes an extremely ingenious explanation, with reference exclusively

however to the date of *Heracles*. Identifying him with the *Alcæus*, who was the progenitor of the Lydian dynasty (Herod. i. 7), he assigns a century from him to Agron; and from Agron to the end of Croesus's reign he takes the numbers given by Herodotus, i. e. 505 + 107 years. Hence we should get 775 years from Heracles to 546 B.C., or 900 to 421 B.C., a remarkable coincidence with the text. But, although to controvert Niebuhr on a philological point is little less rash than an opposition to Newton in a question of physics, I cannot acquiesce in his solution. His argument proceeds on the hypothesis that Herodotus in the Lydian dynasty is following an Assyrian chronology of an authentic character,—an hypothesis which I do not admit, it being quite opposed to the phenomena to which I have called attention in the notes on that part of his work. If he follows it here, could he speak of his dates as *Hellenic* ones? and would he tacitly conform the Hellenic myths of Penelope and Semele to it? I think the supposition a far less violent one, that here, as in many other places, we have an interpolation by some ancient editor, who, in this particular case, would belong to the era of the Ptolemies.

Agreement of Egypt and foreign accounts.

An oracle declares the future monarch of all Egypt, at a time when 12 kings exist.

ἄνθρωποι καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι <sup>433</sup> λέγουσι ὁμολογέοντες τοῖσι ἄλλοις κατὰ ταύτην τὴν χώραν γενέσθαι, ταύτ' ἤδη φράσω προσέσται δέ τι αὐτοῖσι καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς θῆμις.

Ἐλευθερωθέντες Αἰγύπτιοι μετὰ τὸν ἱερά τοῦ Ἡφαίστου βασιλεύσαντα <sup>434</sup>, (οὐδένα γὰρ χρόνον οἶοι τε ἦσαν ἄνευ βασιλέως διαιτᾶσθαι), ἐστήσαντο δωδέκα βασιλείας, δωδέκα μοίρας δασάμενοι Αἴγυπτον πᾶσαν <sup>435</sup>. οὗτοι ἐπνυγμάς ποιησάμενοι ἐβασίλευον, νόμοισι τοισιδε χρεώμενοι, μήτε καταίρειν ἀλλήλους μήτε πλέον τι δίκῃσθαι ἔχειν τὸν ἕτερον τοῦ ἑτέρου εἶναι τε φίλους τὰ μάλιστ'· τῶνδε δὲ εἵνεκα τοὺς νόμους τούτους ἐποιεῖντο ἰσχυρῶς περιστέλλοντες <sup>436</sup>. ἐκέχρητό <sup>437</sup> σφι κατ' ἀρχὰς αὐτίκα ἐνισταμένοισι ἐς τὰς τυραννίδας "τὸν χαλκῆ φιάλῃ σπείσαντα αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου, τοῦτον ἀπάσης βασιλεύσειν Αἰγύπτου." ἐς γὰρ δὴ τὰ πάντα ἱρὰ συνελέγοντο <sup>438</sup>. Καὶ δὴ σφι μνημόσυνα ἐδοξε λιπέσθαι κοινῇ· δόξαν δὲ σφι, ἐποίησαντο λαβύρινθον <sup>439</sup> ὁλίγον ὑπὲρ τῆς λίμνης τῆς Μοίριος κατὰ Κροκοδείλων <sup>440</sup> καλεομένην πόλιν μάλιστ' αὖ κεῖμενον· τὸν ἐγὼ ἤδη ἴδον λόγου μέζω <sup>441</sup>. εἰ γάρ τις τὰ ἐξ Ἑλλήνων τεύχεά τε καὶ ἔργων ἀπόδεξις συλ-

148 The twelve confederates build the Labyrinth near Crocodilopolis as a memorial of themselves.

<sup>433</sup> οἱ τε ἄλλοι ἄνθρωποι καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι. From this point the sources from which the narrative flows are of a more definite historical character. The Hellenic element shows itself from time to time very distinctly. Ionian and Æolian condottieri in the Persian garrisons at Daphne and Marea (ii. 30), and Hellenic traders up the Nile to Heliopolis, Thebes, and Elephantine are probable channels through which a traditional narrative passed. See above, § 99.

<sup>434</sup> μετὰ τὸν ἱερά . . βασιλεύσαντα. The participle is used (as in the Latin idiom) where in Greek the infinitive would be more usual. So i. 34, μετὰ Σόλωνα οἰχόμενον. i. 37, ταῦτα οὕτω ποιούμενα. i. 61, ὅπῃ τὸν νῆδον κατακαίοντα.

<sup>435</sup> δωδέκα μοίρας δασάμενοι Αἴγυπτον πᾶσαν, "having made a duodecimal partition of all Egypt." Αἴγυπτον is the accusative case after an imaginary verb of which *δωδ.* μ. δ. is the equivalent. So in iv. 148 there is σφέας αὐτοὺς ἐξ μοίρας δειλῶν, where some of the MSS insert *ἐς* before *ἐξ* by the arbitrary correction of a transcriber. See note 132, above.

<sup>436</sup> ἰσχυρῶς περιστέλλοντες. See i. 98. S and V have ἰσχυρούς.

<sup>437</sup> ἐκέχρητο. The manuscripts S and V have this form, the others ἐκέχρηστο. The same difference is found below, § 151, iii. 64. But in vii. 220 ἐκέχρητο is given by almost all the MSS.

<sup>438</sup> ἐς γὰρ δὴ τὰ πάντα ἱρὰ συνελέγοντο. In the Hellenic confederacies the meeting of the allies was always held in the same place; consequently, without some explanation, the reader would have imagined that this centre of union for the Egyptian dynasts had been the Hephæstium at Memphis, and therefore the author adds that their practice had been to meet [in turn] at all the temples. The manuscript S has for *ἐς* the Attic expression *ὧς*. (See note 352, above.)

<sup>439</sup> λαβύρινθον. The Greek root of this word (λαβύρα, i. e. λαβύρα) shows that the name cannot be pure Egyptian.

<sup>440</sup> Κροκοδείλων. This is the reading of all the MSS except S, which has Κροκοδείλου. It should be remarked that Κρ. πόλις is the Hellenic, not the Egyptian name of the city, the word Κροκόδειλος being an Ionian word (§ 68).

<sup>441</sup> τὸν ἐγὼ ἤδη ἴδον λόγου μέζω, "in which at last I had a sight passing description."

λογίσαιτο, ἐλάσσονος πόνου τε ἂν καὶ δαπάνης φανεῖη ἔοντα τοῦ λαβυρίνθου τοῦτον (καὶ τοι ἀξιολόγος γε καὶ ὁ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἐστὶ νηὸς, καὶ ὁ ἐν Σάμφῳ) ἦσαν<sup>442</sup> μὲν νυν καὶ αἱ πυραμίδες λόγου μέζονες, καὶ πολλῶν ἐκάστη αὐτέων Ἑλληνικῶν ἔργων καὶ μεγάλων ἀνταξίη· ὁ δὲ δὴ λαβύρινθος<sup>443</sup> καὶ τὰς πυραμίδας ὑπερβάλλει. τοῦ γὰρ δυνάδεκα μὲν εἰσι αὐλαὶ κατὰστέγοι<sup>444</sup> ἀντίτυλοι ἀλλήλησι, ἕξ μὲν πρὸς βορέω<sup>445</sup>, ἕξ δὲ πρὸς νότον τετραμμένα συνεχέες<sup>446</sup>. τοίχος δὲ ἔξωθεν ὁ αὐτὸς σφεας περιέργει. οἰκήματα δ' ἔνεστι διπλᾶ, τὰ μὲν ὑπόγαια τὰ δὲ μετέωρα ἐπ' ἐκείνοισι, τρισχίλια ἀριθμὸν, πεντακοσίων καὶ χιλίων ἐκάτερα<sup>447</sup>. τὰ μὲν νυν μετέωρα τῶν οἰκημάτων αὐτοὶ τε ὀρέομεν διεξιόντες<sup>448</sup> καὶ αὐτοὶ θεσάμενοι λέγομεν τὰ δὲ αὐτῶν ὑπόγαια λόγοισι ἐπνυθανόμεθα· οἱ γὰρ ἐπεστεῶτες τῶν Αἰγυπτίων δεικνύειν αὐτὰ οὐδαμῶς ἤθελον, φάμενοι θήκας αὐτόθι εἶναι τῶν τε ἀρχὴν τὸν λαβύρινθον τοῦτον οἰκοδομησαμένων βασιλέων καὶ τῶν ἱρῶν κροκοδείλων οὕτω τῶν μὲν κάτω πέρι οἰκημάτων ἀκοή παραλαβόντες λέγομεν τὰ δὲ ἄνω, μέζονα ἀνθρωπητῶν ἔργων αὐτοὶ ὀρέομεν<sup>449</sup>. αἱ τε γὰρ ἔξοδοι διὰ τῶν στεγέων καὶ οἱ ἐλγμοὶ διὰ τῶν αὐλέων, ἔοντες ποικιλιώτατοι, θῶμα μυρίον παρέρχοντο ἕξ αὐλῆς τε ἐς τὰ οἰκήματα

<sup>442</sup> ἦσαν. The author uses the past tense from having seen the pyramids before the Labyrinth. They were indeed "passing description" (λόγου μέζονες), but the Labyrinth exceeded them also.

<sup>443</sup> ὁ δὲ δὴ λαβύρινθος, "but when you come to the Labyrinth, it" &c. See the note 6 on i. 1, for the force of δὴ. STRABO speaks somewhat less enthusiastically of the Labyrinth, calling it *πάρισον ταῖς πυραμίσιν ἔργον*.

<sup>444</sup> αὐλαὶ κατὰστέγοι, "roofed courts." The epithet seems used to distinguish the chambers in question from the corresponding portion of a Greek building, which no doubt was always open. But in the latitude of 29° much greater protection from the sun would be requisite.

<sup>445</sup> πρὸς βορέω. Some MSS have πρὸς βορέην. But this seems a change adopted merely for the sake of producing symmetry of phrase. See § 121, above, and iii. 102.

<sup>446</sup> συνεχέες. See note 451, below.

<sup>447</sup> πεντακοσίων καὶ χιλίων ἐκάτερα. This is the reading of the MSS, but it is obviously corrupt; nor is there any clue in the variations of the context to suggest

an emendation. Perhaps the author wrote πεντακοσίων καὶ χιλίων ἐκατέρῃ δόντων οἰκημάτων, and continued τὰ μὲν νυν μετέωρα αὐτοὶ τε κ.τ.λ.

<sup>448</sup> διεξιόντες, "in the course of our circuitous passage." See the note on vii. 234, and below, note 450.

<sup>449</sup> αὐτοὶ ὀρέομεν. It will be observed that what Herodotus testifies to as an eye-witness is not the number of the οἰκήματα, but the remarkable arrangement of the passages by which they were connected with the αὐλαὶ to which they belonged, and with the open colonnades (*παστάδες*) which served as a communication between each system of οἰκήματα. The uncertainty of the numbers even of the αὐλαὶ is obvious from the account of STRABO (xvii. c. i. p. 454). It is clear that both he and Herodotus were eye-witnesses, but received very different accounts both of the number of the αὐλαὶ and the cause of that number. In other words, the story of the ἐξηγητὰι had entirely altered in the interval. Strabo gives no particular numbers for the στεγὰι, but says that the αὐλαὶ were twenty-seven, one for every Neme, and that they were

διεξιούσι<sup>443</sup>, καὶ ἐκ τῶν οἰκημάτων ἐς παστάδας, ἐς στέγας τε ἄλλας ἐκ τῶν παστάδων, καὶ ἐς αὐλὰς ἄλλας ἐκ τῶν οἰκημάτων ὀροφή δὲ πάντων τούτων λιθίῃ, κατὰπερ οἱ τοῖχοι· οἱ δὲ τοῖχοι τύπων ἐγγεγλυμμένων πλέοι· αὐλὴ δὲ ἐκάστη περίστυλος<sup>444</sup>, λίθου λευκοῦ ἀρμοσμένου τὰ μάλιστα· τῆς δὲ γωνίης τελευτῶντος τοῦ λαβυρίνθου ἔχεται πυραμὶς τεσσαρακοντόργυιος, ἐν τῇ ζῶα μεγάλη ἐγγέγλυπται<sup>445</sup>. ὁδὸς δ' ἐς αὐτὴν<sup>446</sup> ὑπὸ γῆν πεποιήται.

149

The lake *Mæris*, in the middle of which stand two pyramids with colossal figures on their summits,

Τοῦ δὲ λαβυρίνθου τούτου ἐντος τοιούτου, θῶνμα ἔτι μέζον παρέχεται ἡ Μοίριος καλεομένη λίμνη, παρ' ἣν ὁ λαβύρινθος οὗτος οἰκοδόμηται. τῆς τὸ περίμετρον τῆς περιόδου εἰςὶ στάδιοι ἑξακόσιοι καὶ τρισχίλιοι, σχοίωνων ἐξήκοντα ἐόντων, ἴσοι καὶ αὐτῆς Αἰγύπτου τὸ παρὰ θάλασσαν<sup>447</sup>. κέεται δὲ μακρὴ ἡ λίμνη πρὸς βορρῇν τε καὶ νότον, εὐρεῖα βάθος, τῇ βαθυτάτῃ αὐτῇ ἐωντῆς, πεντηκοντόργυιος. ὅτι δὲ χειροποίητός ἐστι καὶ ὀρυκτῇ αὐτῇ δηλοῖ· ἐν γὰρ μέσῃ τῇ λίμνῃ μάλιστα κη ἐστᾶσι δύο πυραμίδες, τοῦ ὕδατος ὑπερέχουσαι πεντήκοντα ὀργυιάς ἑκατέρῃ, καὶ τὸ κατ' ὕδατος οἰκοδόμηται ἕτερον τοσοῦτο· καὶ ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρῃσι ἔπεστι κολοσσὸς λίθινος, κατήμενος ἐν θρόνῳ. (οὕτω αἱ μὲν πυραμίδες εἰςὶ ἑκατὸν ὀργυιῶν, αἱ δ' ἑκατὸν ὀργυιαὶ δίκαιαι<sup>448</sup> εἰςὶ στάδιον ἑξάπλεθρον· ἐξαπέδου μὲν τῆς ὀργυιῆς μετρεομένης καὶ τετραπήχεος· τῶν ποδῶν μὲν τετραπαλαιστων ἐόντων, τοῦ δὲ πήχεος ἑξαπαλαιστου<sup>449</sup>.)

used as courts of justice for the inhabitants. In another passage he is even more lax: *ὡς δὲ τῶν, τοσοῦτοι ἦσαν οἱ σύμπαυτες νομοί, ὅσαι αἱ ἐν τῷ λαβυρίνθῳ αὐλαί· αὐταὶ δ' ἐλάττους τῶν τριδκοντα* (p. 416). DIONODORUS SICULUS says of the building, that it is *οὐκ οὕτω κατὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν ἔργων θαυμαστόν* (i. 61). τὴν φιλοτεχνίαν δυσμύμητον (i. 61).

<sup>443</sup> διεξιούσι, "while passing by ins and outs." See note on vii. 234.

<sup>444</sup> αὐλὴ δὲ ἐκάστη περίστυλος. This expression seems to show decisively that there can have been no party-wall between two αὐλαί, and therefore that the word *συνεχές* must not be taken as meaning more than that there was an architectural connexion between the six adjacent halls. This seems to have been effected by means of *οἰκήματα* and *παστάδες*. See note 449, above.

<sup>445</sup> ἐν τῇ ζῶα μεγάλη ἐγγέγλυπται. See note 238 on i. 70.

<sup>446</sup> ὁδὸς δ' ἐς αὐτὴν. The manuscripts S and V continue the narrative by the words *ὁδὸς δ' ἐς θῶνμα ἔτι μέζον πάρεστιν ἡ Μοίριος καλεομένη λίμνη*.

<sup>447</sup> ἴσοι καὶ αὐτῆς Αἰγύπτου τὸ παρὰ θάλασσαν. The construction would be improved by altering τὸ into τῷ. But it seems possible that the sentence is a mere note, originally written in the margin, taken from § 6, and retaining the very words there used.

<sup>448</sup> δίκαιαι, "complete." The use is like that of the Latin *justus* in such phrases as *justum volumen*. XENOPHON (*Mem.* iv. 4, 6) uses the expression *ἴστων δίκαιον ποιεῖσθαι*, "to break a horse thoroughly in," and ÆSCHYLUS (*Eumenid.* 291): *πιστὸν δίκαιως*, "faithful in every point."

<sup>449</sup> οὕτω αἱ μὲν πυραμίδες . . ἑξαπαλαιστων. I look upon this sentence as the note of some subsequent *διασκευάσεως* of the work. Herodotus could never have

τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ τὸ ἐν τῇ λίμνῃ αὐθυγενὲς<sup>447</sup> μὲν οὐκ ἔστιν ἀν-communicates with  
 δρος<sup>448</sup> γὰρ δὴ δεινῶς ἐστὶ ταύτῃ ἐκ τοῦ Νεῖλου δὲ κατὰ διώρυχα the Nile,  
 ἐσθῆκται<sup>449</sup>, καὶ ἐξ μὲν μῆνας ἔσω ῥέει ἐς τὴν λίμνην ἐξ δὲ μῆνας  
 ἔξω ἐς τὸν Νεῖλον αὐτῖς· καὶ ἐπεὰν μὲν ἐκρέη ἔξω, ἡ δὲ τότε [τοὺς  
 ἐξ μῆνας] ἐς τὸ βασιλῆιον καταβάλλει ἐπ' ἡμέρην ἐκάστην τά-  
 λαντον ἀργυρίου ἐκ τῶν ἰχθύων, ἐπεὰν δὲ ἐσίῃ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐς αὐτὴν,  
 εἴκοσι μνέας. Ἔλεγον δὲ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι καὶ ὥς ἐς τὴν Σύρτιν τὴν 150  
 ἐν Διβύῃ ἐκκιδοὶ ἡ λίμνη αὕτη ὑπὸ γῆν, τετραμμένη τὸ πρὸς  
 ἐσπέρην ἐς τὴν μεσόγαίαν παρὰ τὸ ὄρος τὸ ὑπὲρ Μέμφιος. ἐπεί  
 τε δὲ τοῦ ὀρύγματος τούτου οὐκ ὤρεον τὸν χοῦν οὐδαμοῦ ἐόντα,  
 (ἐπιμελὲς γὰρ δὴ μοι ἦν,) εἰρόμην τοὺς ἀγγιστα οἰκούντας τῆς  
 λίμνης, ὅκου εἴη ὁ χοῦς ὁ ἐξορυχθεῖς· οἱ δὲ ἔφρασαν μοι ἵνα  
 ἐξεφορήθῃ, καὶ εὐπετέως ἔπειθον ἥδεα γὰρ λόγῳ καὶ ἐν Νίῳ τῇ  
 Ἀσσυρίῳ πόλιν γενόμενον ἕτερον τοιοῦτο· τὰ γὰρ Σαρδαναπάλλου  
 τοῦ Νίνου βασιλέως χρήματα, ἐόντα μεγάλα καὶ φυλασσόμενα ἐν  
 θησαυροῖσι καταγαίοισι, ἐπενόησαν κλώπες ἐκφορήσασθαι· ἐκ δὴ ὧν  
 τῶν σφετέρων οἰκίων ἀρξάμενοι οἱ κλώπες, ὑπὸ γῆν σταθμαζόμενοι  
 ἐς τὰ βασιλῆϊα οἰκία ὀρυσσον τὸν δὲ χοῦν τὸν ἐκφορέομενον ἐκ  
 τοῦ ὀρύγματος, ὅπως γένοιτο νῦξ, ἐς τὸν Τίγριν ποταμὸν παραρ-  
 ρέοντα τὴν Νῖον ἐξεφόρεον ἐς δὲ κατεργάσαντο ὃ τι ἐβούλυντο.  
 τοιοῦτον ἕτερον ἤκουσα καὶ τὸ τῆς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ λίμνης ὀρυγμα Local story  
 γενέσθαι· πλὴν οὐ νυκτὸς, ἀλλὰ μετ' ἡμέρην ποιούμενον ὀρύσ- as to its ex-  
 στοντας γὰρ τὸν χοῦν τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ἐς τὸν Νεῖλον φορέειν ὁ δὲ, cavation.  
 ὑπολαμβάνων ἐμελλε διαχέειν. ἡ μὲν νυν λίμνη αὕτη οὕτω λέγεται  
 ὀρυχθῆναι<sup>450</sup>.

Τῶν δὲ δυνάδεκα βασιλέων δικαιοσύνην χρεωμένων, ἀνὰ χρόνον 151  
 ὥς ἔθυσαν ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ τοῦ Ἑφαιστου, τῇ ὑστάτῃ τῆς ὀρτῆς μελ-  
 λόντων κατασπείσειν, ὁ ἀρχιρεὺς ἐξένεικέ σφι φιάλας χρυσέας

thought it necessary to insert such an explanation for his contemporaries and countrymen. (See note 112 on i. 32.) The manuscripts S and V commence the sentence with *τοῦτο* instead of *οὕτω*, and omit the word *δικαίαι*. The case is a very different one from that in iv. 86, where it was necessary for the author to give the mode in which he arrived at his estimate.

<sup>447</sup> *αὐθυγενές*. See note on iv. 48, *αὐθυγενές*.

<sup>448</sup> *ἄνδρος*, "wanting in spring water." See note 626 on i. 185.

<sup>449</sup> κατὰ διώρυχα ἐσθῆκται. The canal here mentioned is probably a portion of the long one running parallel to the river on its western side, called now the Bahr el Youssouf (*Joseph's River*).

<sup>450</sup> ἡ μὲν νυν λίμνη αὕτη οὕτω λέγεται ὀρυχθῆναι. For an account of the lake Moeris, and the operations there effected, together with an attempt to reconcile Herodotus and Strabo with one another and with the facts of the case, see *Excurses* on § 149.

151  
Psemmētichus, without intending to do

so, fulfils the oracle mentioned above, § 147.

(τῆσί περ ἑώθεσαν σπένδευ) ἁμαρτῶν τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ ἑνδεκα δυνάδεκα εἶουσιν· ἐνθαῦτα ὡς οὐκ εἶχε φιάλην ὁ ἔσχατος ἑστειὼς αὐτῶν Ψαμμίτιχος, περιελόμενος τὴν κυνέην εἶουσιν χαλκῆν ὑπέσχε τε καὶ ἔσπενδε. κυνέας δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἅπαντες ἐφόρεον τε βασιλεῖς καὶ ἐτύγγανον τότε ἔχοντες. Ψαμμίτιχος μὲν νυν οὐδενὶ δολερῷ νόφ χρεώμενος, ὑπέσχε τὴν κυνέην οἱ δὲ ἐν φρενὶ λαβόντες τό τε ποιηθὲν ἐκ Ψαμμίτιχου καὶ τὸ χρηστήριον ὃ τι ἐκέχρητό<sup>441</sup> σφι, τὸν χαλκῆν σπείσαντα αὐτῶν φιάλη τοῦτον βασιλέα ἔσεσθαι μούνον Αἰγύπτου, ἀναμνησθέντες τοῦ χρησμοῦ, κτεῖναι μὲν οὐκ ἐδικαίωσαν Ψαμμίτιχον, ὡς ἀνεύρισκον βασανίζοντες ἐξ οὐδεμιῆς προνοίης<sup>442</sup> αὐτὸν ποιήσαντα<sup>443</sup>. ἐς δὲ τὰ ἔλεα ἔδοξέ σφι διώξαι, φιλωσάντας τὰ πλείστα τῆς δυνάμιος· ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἐλέων ὁρμεώμε-

152

Psammitichus had formerly fled to Syria and returned to Sais.

νον μὴ ἐπιμίσησθαι τῇ ἄλλῃ Αἰγύπτῳ. Τὸν δὲ Ψαμμίτιχον τοῦτον πρότερον φεύγοντα τὸν Αἰθίοπα Σαβακῶν ὃς οἱ τὸν πατέρα Νεκὼν ἀπέκτεινε, τοῦτον φεύγοντα τότε ἐς Συρίην, ὡς ἀπαλλάχθη ἐκ τῆς ὄψιος τοῦ ὄνειρου<sup>444</sup> ὁ Αἰθίοψ, κατήγαγον Αἰγυπτίων οὗτοι οἱ ἐκ νομοῦ τοῦ Σαῖτεώ εἰσι· μετὰ δὲ, βασιλεύοντα, τὸ δεύτερον πρὸς τῶν ἑνδεκα βασιλέων καταλαμβάνει μιν διὰ τὴν κυνέην φεύγειν ἐς τὰ ἔλεα. ἐπιστάμενος ὢν ὡς περιωβρισμένος εἴη πρὸς αὐτῶν, ἐπενόεε τίσασθαι τοὺς διώξαντας· πέμψαντι δὲ οἱ ἐς Βουτοῦν πόλιν ἐς τὸ χρηστήριον τῆς Αἰγύπτου, ἐνθα δὴ Αἰγυπτίους ἐστὶ μαντήιον ἀψευδέστατον, ἦλθε χρησμὸς ὡς τίσις ἦξει ἀπὸ θαλάσσης χαλκῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐπιφανέντων καὶ τῷ μὲν δὴ ἀπιστῇ μεγάλῃ ὑπεκέχυτο, χαλκούς οἱ ἄνδρας ἦξει ἐπικούρους· χρόνον δὲ οὐ πολλοῦ διελθόντος, ἀναγκαίῃ κατέλαβε Ἰωνάς τε καὶ Κάρας ἄνδρας κατὰ λητὴν ἐκπλώσαντας, ἀπενειχθῆναι ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἐκβάντας δὲ ἐς γῆν καὶ ὀπλισθέντας χαλκῷ ἀγγέλλει τῶν τις Αἰγυπτίων ἐς τὰ ἔλεα ἀπικόμενος τῷ Ψαμμίτιχῳ, (ὡς οὐκ ἰδὼν πρότερον χαλκῷ ἄνδρας ὀπλισθέντας,) ὡς χάλκεοι ἄνδρες ἀπυγμένοι

Now he receives an oracle from Buto,

which is fulfilled by the landing of some Ionian and Carian pirates,

<sup>441</sup> ἐκέχρητο. This form is given by S and V, ἐκέχρηστο by the other MSS. See above, note 437.

<sup>442</sup> προνοίης. The manuscripts S and V have αἰτίας.

<sup>443</sup> ποιήσαντα. Bekker conceives that the words τὰ ἐποίησε are to be inserted. But, if this narrative is a local one, possibly Herodotus retained the very phrase which was used; and ποιεῖν (like the Latin *facere*)

might be employed in the sense of "to sacrifice." Such an usage appears in the Hellenistic Greek,—the dialect of commerce. (See *Luc. Evang.* ii. 27. *Hebr.* xi. 28.) Independently of this supposition, τὸ ποιηθὲν, above, helps to explain ποιήσαντα.

<sup>444</sup> ἐκ τῆς ὄψιος τοῦ ὄνειρου. See above, § 139, and notes 415, 416.



ἀπὸ θαλάσσης λεηλατεῦσι τὸ πεδίον<sup>465</sup>. ὁ δὲ, μαθὼν τὸ χρηστήριον ἐπιτελεύμενον, φίλα τε τοῖσι Ἴωσι καὶ Καρσὶ ποιέεται<sup>466</sup> καὶ σφεας μεγάλα ἵπσισχνεύμενος πείθει μετ' ἑωυτοῦ γενέσθαι. ὥς δὲ ἔπεισε, οὕτω ἅμα τοῖσι μετ' ἑωυτοῦ βουλομένοισι Αἰγυπτίοισι καὶ τοῖσι ἐπικούροις καταρρέει τοὺς βασιλέας.

and becomes by their aid monarch of Egypt.

Κρατήσας δὲ Αἰγύπτου πάσης ὁ Ψαμμίτιχος, ἐποίησε τῷ 153 Ἐφαιστῷ προπύλαια ἐν Μέμφι, τὰ πρὸς νότον ἄνεμον τετραμμένα· αὐλήν<sup>467</sup> τε τῷ Ἄπι, ἐν τῇ τρέφεται ἔπεαν φανῇ ὁ Ἄπις, οἰκοδόμησε ἐναντίον τῶν προπυλαίων, πᾶσάν τε περιστυλον ἐοῦσαν καὶ τύπων πλήν· ἀντὶ δὲ κίωνων, ὑπεστάσι κολοσσοὶ δωδεκαπήχες τῇ αὐλῇ· ὁ δὲ Ἄπις κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλήνων γλῶσσάν ἐστι Ἐπαφος<sup>468</sup>. Τοῖσι δὲ Ἴωσι καὶ τοῖσι Καρσὶ τοῖσι συγκατεργασα-

He builds the southern propylæa to the Hephæsteum at Memphis;

μένοις αὐτῷ ὁ Ψαμμίτιχος δίδωσι χώρους ἐνοικῆσαι ἀντίους ἀλλήλων, τοῦ Νειλου τὸ μέσον ἔχοντος, τοῖσι οὐνόματα ἐτέθη Στρατόπεδα· τούτους τε δὴ σφι τοὺς χώρους δίδωσι καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ ὑπέσχετο πάντα ἀπέδωκε, καὶ δὴ καὶ παῖδας παρέβαλε αὐτοῖσι Αἰγυπτίους τὴν Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν ἐκδιδάσκεισθαι· ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων ἐκμαθόντων τὴν γλῶσσαν οἱ νῦν ἑρμηνέες<sup>469</sup> ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ γεγόνασι. οἱ δὲ Ἴωνές τε καὶ οἱ Κᾶρες τούτους τοὺς χώρους οἴκησαν χρόνον ἐπὶ πολλόν· εἰσὶ δὲ οὔτοι οἱ χώροι πρὸς θαλάσσης, ὀλίγον ἔνερθε Βουβάστιος πόλιος<sup>470</sup>, ἐπὶ τῷ Πηλουσίῳ καλευμένῳ στόματι τοῦ

154 and settles the Ionians and Carians at Bubastis.

<sup>465</sup> ὡς χάλκεοι . . . τὸ πεδίον. In the *Odyssey* (xiv. 252—256) is a description of just such a raid made by the Cretan crew, with whom Odysseus is sailing, upon the Egyptians; but these, when they come to the rescue, are themselves armed in brass: πλῆγτο δὲ πᾶν πεδίον πεζῶν τε καὶ ἱππῶν Χαλκοῦ τε στεροπῆς. The writer attributes to them the habits of his own countrymen.

<sup>466</sup> φίλα τε τοῖσι Ἴωσι καὶ Καρσὶ ποιέεται, "He makes overtures to the Ionians and Carians." So Aristagoras, in the wish to win over the Ionian cities to an alliance with himself, put the several dynasts into the hands of their subjects: φίλα βουλόμενος ποιέσθαι τῆσι πόλεσι ἐξεδίδου (v. 37). The difference between the active and middle voice of the word in such phrases is pretty much the same as that between direct and indirect action. The latter would be especially applicable to the proceeding of a sovereign or person

in high office, although the two expressions might very often be used indifferently, on the common principle, "Qui facit per alterum facit per se."

<sup>467</sup> αὐλήν. Strabo describes Apis as being kept ἐν σηκῷ τινι, and says that there was an αὐλή in front of this, in which was another σηκὸς containing his mother. He was every day let out at a certain hour to run about (xvii. c. 1, p. 448). Strabo says, on the occasion of describing this, that Apis was identical with *Osiris*. At the time he visited Egypt this deity would be much more familiar to travellers, especially Romans, than *Epa-phus*. He adds, that the temple of Apis is adjacent to the Hephæsteum.

<sup>468</sup> ὁ δὲ Ἄπις κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλήνων γλῶσσαν ἐστι Ἐπαφος. See note 113 on § 38, above.

<sup>469</sup> οἱ νῦν ἑρμηνέες. See below, § 164.

<sup>470</sup> ὀλίγον ἔνερθε Βουβάστιος πόλιος. The districts in question are probably to

their descendants are afterwards removed to Memphis.

From the time of Psammetichus the Greeks know Egypt much better than before.

155

Oracle of Latona in a fane built with huge

Νεῖλον Τούτους μὲν δὴ χρόνῳ ὕστερον βασιλεὺς Ἀμασις ἐξαναστήσας ἐνθεύτην κατοίκησε ἐς Μέμφιν<sup>471</sup>, φυλακὴν ἐνωτοῦ ποιέμενος πρὸς Αἰγυπτίαν. τούτων δὲ οἰκισθέντων ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, οἱ Ἕλληνες οὕτω ἐπιμισθόμενοι τούτοις τὰ περὶ Αἰγυπτὸν γινόμενα ἀπὸ Ψαμμίτου βασιλέως ἀρξάμενοι πάντα καὶ τὰ ὕστερον ἐπιστάμεθα ἀτρεκέως· πρῶτοι γὰρ οὗτοι ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἀλλόγλωσσοι κατοικίσθησαν<sup>472</sup>. ἐξ ὧν δὲ ἐξανέστησαν χώρων, ἐν τούτοις δὴ οἱ τε ὅλκοι τῶν νεῶν καὶ τὰ ἐρείπια τῶν οἰκημάτων τὸ μέχρι ἐμεῦ ἦσαν. Ψαμμίτιχος μὲν νυν οὕτω ἔσχε τὴν Αἰγυπτὸν.

Τοῦ δὲ χρηστηρίου τοῦ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ<sup>473</sup> πολλὰ ἐπεμνήσθη<sup>474</sup> ἤδη, καὶ δὴ λόγον περὶ αὐτοῦ ὡς ἀξίου ἔοντος ποιήσομαι. τὸ γὰρ χρηστήριον τοῦτο τὸ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἔστι μὲν Λητοῦς ἱρὸν, ἐν πόλει δὲ

be regarded in the light of *fauvelbourg*, appropriated to different communities as a habitation, like the Jews' quarter, the Armenian quarter, &c. in a modern Turkish city. Whatever their origin, they would no doubt in the sequel be chiefly tenanted by traders, and hence, when the commerce of Egypt was transferred to another emporium (as was the case under Amasis), the first occupied locality would soon be deserted. For the description of the site of *Bubastis*, see above, § 138, and note 481, below; and for traces of the same name in a locality similarly situated, note 588 on l. 174. In the river Nile there were islands called by the names of Ephesus, Chios, Lesbos, Cyprus, Samos, and other Hellenic names (ΗΕΚΑΤΑΙΟΣ *ap. Steph. Byzant.* v. Ἐφεσος), a decisive evidence of the commercial intercourse which existed in early times between Egypt and the trading communities of the Ægean.

<sup>471</sup> κατοίκησε ἐς Μέμφιν. Probably the site was that which in the time of STRABO was called *Babylon*, a strong fort connected with the Nile by a mole. He mentions the view of the pyramids on the opposite side of the river obtained from it. According to the account he received, it was a settlement extorted from the kings of Egypt by some Babylonians who had revolted, under what circumstances, or at what time, he does not say. DIODORUS makes the rebels captives from Babylon in Mesopotamia, brought by *Sesostris* to Egypt, and exasperated to secession by the hard task-work in which he employed them. On the other hand CREÆSUS, who followed Medo-Persian tradi-

tions, called these Babylonians a colony left in Egypt by *Semiramis* when she invaded it (*ap. Diodor.* i. 56). Diodorus adds the sensible remark: *περὶ τούτων τὸ μὲν ἀληθὲς ἐκθέσθαι μετὰ ἀκριβείας οὐ βέβηκεν*,—a maxim which deserves more respect than it has obtained. Babylon was the station of a Roman legion in the time of Strabo (xvii. c. 1, p. 447). WILKINSON (*Modern Egyptians*, p. 274) identifies its site with a portion of *Old Cairo*, but raises an imaginary difficulty in misunderstanding the expression by which Strabo describes the fort.

<sup>472</sup> πρῶτοι γὰρ οὗτοι . . . ἀλλόγλωσσοι κατοικίσθησαν. No doubt they were the first through whom the Hellenic race were brought into contact with Egypt. But from the time of Solomon (1 *Kings* ix. 18—28) it seems scarcely doubtful but that there must have been much commercial intercourse with Egypt, probably accompanied with settlements there. The example of Jeroboam (1 *Kings* xi. 40) can hardly have been solitary. The state of things prophetically described by ISAIAH xix. 18—25 is illustrated by JEREMIAH xlv. and EZEKIEL xxix. xxx., from which it is plain that several important cities of Egypt were full of Jews. See too the notice of the Tyrian settlement, § 112, above.

<sup>473</sup> τοῦ χρηστηρίου τοῦ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ. The expression by itself would suggest that in the apprehension of the writer there was no other oracle in Egypt. See notes 164 and 213, above.

<sup>474</sup> πολλὰ ἐπεμνήσθη. See above, §§ 83, 133, 152.

μεγάλη ἰδρυμένον κατὰ τὸ Σεβεννυτικὸν καλεόμενον στόμα τοῦ Νείλου, ἀναπλέοντι<sup>474</sup> ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἄνω· οὖνομα δὲ τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ ἔκου τὸ χρηστήριόν ἐστι, Βουτῶ, ὡς καὶ πρότερον οὐνόμασται μοι· ἱρὸν δὲ ἐστὶ ἐν τῇ Βουτοῖ ταύτῃ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος· καὶ ὁ γε νῆος τῆς Λητοῦς, ἐν τῇ δὴ τὸ χρηστήριον ἐν, αὐτὸς τε τυγχάνει ἑὼν μέγας καὶ τὰ προπύλαια ἔχει ἐς ὕψος δέκα ὀργυῖων· τὸ δὲ μοι τῶν φανερῶν θῶμα μέγιστον παρεχόμενον φράσω· ἐστὶ ἐν τῷ τεμένει τούτῳ Λητοῦς νῆος ἐξ ἑνὸς λίθου πεποιημένος ἔς τε ὕψος καὶ ἐς μήκος<sup>475</sup>· καὶ τοῖχος ἕκαστος τοῦτοις ἴσος· τεσσαράκοντα πήχεων τούτων ἕκαστόν ἐστι· τὸ δὲ καταστέγασμα τῆς ὀροφῆς ἄλλος ἐπικέεται λίθος, ἔχων τὴν παρωφίδα<sup>476</sup> τετράπηχυν. Οὕτω μὲν νυν ὁ νῆος τῶν φανερῶν μοι 156 τῶν περὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἱρὸν ἐστὶ θωυμαστότατον, τῶν δὲ δευτέρων νῆσος ἡ Χέμμυς καλευμένη<sup>477</sup>. ἐστὶ μὲν ἐν λίμνῃ βαθῇ καὶ πλατῇ κειμένη παρὰ τὸ ἐν Βουτοῖ ἱρὸν, λέγεται δὲ ὑπ' Αἰγυπτίων εἶναι αὕτη ἡ νῆσος πλωτή· αὐτὸς μὲν ἔγωγε οὔτε πλέουσιν οὔτε

blocks at Buto.

A lake in the vicinity of the temple, with a floating island which contains a

<sup>474</sup> ἀναπλέοντι. The words ἐν δεξιᾷ would seem to have fallen out of the text. The city was on the western bank of the Sebennytic mouth of the Nile.

<sup>475</sup> ἐς τε ὕψος καὶ ἐς μήκος. The manuscripts S and V have καὶ μήκος: but there is no important variation in any part of the passage, although it is difficult not to suppose some corruption. τοῦτοις must mean ὕψει καὶ μήκει, and ἕκαστος refer to the same. It seems not necessary to regard the temple as in the view of the writer a dilith structure. His words are compatible with the meaning that each side of it was a single stone of forty cubits square, and that the four were surmounted by another single block which overhung each side by four cubits. It is impossible, however, to conceive how even such masses could have been placed in position: and it is easier, so far as concerns the mechanical difficulty, to imagine the edifice really hewn out of a monolith block found on the spot. The efforts of the orientals in this kind were indeed stupendous. In the ruins of Balbec there are said to be "two stones in position, the fellow to which lies in the quarries about a mile distant, estimated to weigh from 1600 to 1800 tons. It is 68 feet 2 inches long, 16 feet deep, and 18 feet broad, and it has all the holes where the masons'

clamps were fixed that lifted it." (*Letter to the Evening Mail*, Aug. 14, 1861.) The Balbec block would contain 18,405 cubic feet; but the top stone in the text, if it be supposed only one cubit thick, would contain more than four times as much material.

<sup>476</sup> παρωφίδα. This appears to be the portion of the roof standing out over the edge of the wall,—the coping. It is explained by JULIUS POLLUX as τὸ μεταρὸ τοῦ ὀρόφου καὶ τοῦ στέγους. It has, however, been understood differently,—as the cornice, or the whole of the entablature above the bed of the architrave,—which in Egyptian buildings is found to occupy a ninth or tenth part of the whole height of the wall. This explanation, however, although perhaps it may accord with what Herodotus was told, does not seem to accord with the impression he received.

<sup>477</sup> ἡ Χέμμυς καλευμένη. HERATHEUS described this island under the name Chembis. (*Steph. Byz. sub v.*) For the city of the same name see above, § 91. The peculiar feature of palm-trees growing appears in the description of both places. Hence we may perhaps infer that a "grove" was essential to the religious ritual in both.

temple of  
Apollo.

Local le-  
gend re-  
lating to  
the island.

Parallelism  
of certain  
Hellenic  
and Egypt-  
ian deities.

Egyptian  
mythology  
plagiarised  
by Æschyl-  
us.

κινηθείσαν ἴδον, τέθηπα δὲ ἀκούων εἰ νήσος ἀληθῆως ἐστὶ πλωτή  
ἐν δὴ ὦν ταύτῃ νήος τε Ἀπόλλωνος μέγας ἐνι, καὶ βωμοὶ τρι-  
φάσιοι ἐνιδρύονται· ἐμπεφύκασι δ' ἐν αὐτῇ φοίνικες συγχυοὶ, καὶ  
ἄλλα δένδρεα καὶ καρποφόρα καὶ ἄφορα πολλά· λόγον δὲ τόνδε  
ἐπιλέγοντες οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι φασὶ εἶναι αὐτὴν πλωτήν· ὥς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ  
ταύτῃ οὐκ εἴουσα πρότερον πλωτῇ, Λητῶ, εἴουσα τῶν ὀκτῶ θεῶν  
τῶν πρώτων γενομένων οἰκέουσα δὲ ἐν Βουτοῖ πόλει, ἵνα δὴ οἱ τὸ  
χρηστήριον τοῦτό ἐστι, Ἀπόλλωνα παρὰ Ἴσιος παρακαταθήκην  
δεξαμένη, διέσωσε κατακρύψασα ἐν τῇ νῦν πλωτῇ λεγομένη νήσῳ,  
ὅτε δὴ τὸ πᾶν διζήμενος ὁ Τυφὼν ἐπήλθε θέλων ἐξευρεῖν τοῦ  
Ἵσίου τὸν παῖδα· Ἀπόλλωνα δὲ καὶ Ἀρτεμιν Διούσου καὶ  
Ἴσιος λέγουσι εἶναι παῖδας, Λητοῦν δὲ τροφὸν αὐτοῖσι καὶ σώ-  
τειραν γενέσθαι· Αἰγυπτιστὶ δὲ Ἀπόλλων μὲν Ὡρος, Δημήτηρ  
δὲ Ἴσις, Ἀρτεμις δὲ Βούβαστις<sup>478</sup>. ἐκ τούτου δὲ τοῦ λόγου καὶ  
οὐδενὸς ἄλλου Αἰσχύλος ὁ Εὐφορίωνος ἥρπασε τὸ ἐγὼ φράσω,  
μοῦνος δὴ ποιητέων τῶν προγενομένων ἐποίησε γὰρ Ἀρτεμιν εἶναι  
θυγατέρα Δημήτρως—τὴν δὲ νήσον διὰ τοῦτο γενέσθαι πλωτήν.  
ταῦτα μὲν οὕτω λέγουσι.

157  
Psammiti-  
chus reigns  
fifty-three  
years, dur-  
ing twenty-  
nine of  
which he  
is block-

Ψαμμίτιχος δὲ ἐβασίλευσε Αἰγύπτου τέσσερα καὶ πεντήκοντα  
ἔτεα· τῶν τὰ ἐνὸς δέοντα τριήκοντα, Ἀζωτον<sup>479</sup>, τῆς Συρίας μεγά-  
λην πόλιν, προσκατήμενος ἐπολιόρκεε, ἐς τὸ ἐξεῖλε. αὕτη δὲ ἡ  
Ἀζωτος ἀπασέων πολιῶν ἐπὶ πλείστον χρόνον πολιορκευμένη  
ἀντέσχε τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν.

158  
ading Azot-  
us.

Ψαμμίτιχου δὲ Νεκῶς παῖς ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐβασίλευσε Αἰγύπτου  
ὅς τῇ διώρυχι ἐπεχείρησε πρῶτος τῇ ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν

<sup>478</sup> Ἀρτεμις δὲ Βούβαστις. The *Artemis* with which the Egyptian deity was identical was not the huntress-goddess; so that JUVENAL could in strict truth make the point he does with reference to the religions of Egypt: "Oppida tota CANEM venerantur, nemo DIANAM." The *Artemis-Bubastis* was more analogous to the *Ephesian Artemis*, a deity nearly connected with *Aphrodite Urania*. See notes 587 and 588 on i. 174, and § 60, above.

<sup>479</sup> Ἀζωτον. This city (Ashdod) was a member of the Philistine Pentapolis; and it is observable, that the only other incident recorded of *Psammitichus's* long reign, of which the source is not obvi-

ously the *Hephæsteum* at Memphis, is one apparently derived from the *Aphrodite temple* at Ascalon, another member of the same confederacy. See note 366 on i. 105. The expression of JΕΡΕΜΙΑΗ (xxv. 20 = xxxii. 6, LXX), where "the remnant of Ashdod" is coupled with Ascalon, Gaza, and Ekron, probably has reference to the diminution of population resulting from this siege and capture. The numbers would perhaps be replenished from Egypt, and possibly the practice of circumcision (which certainly existed in later times) then introduced. See note 294 on § 104, above.

φερούση, τὴν Δαρεῖος ὁ Πέρσης δεύτερα διώρυξε τῆς μήκος μὲν ἔστι πλόος ἡμέραι τέσσερες, εὖρος δὲ ὠρύχθη ὥστε τριήρεας<sup>430</sup> δύο πλέειν ὁμοῦ ἐλαστρευμένας. ἦκται δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Νείλου τὸ ὕδωρ ἐς αὐτὴν ἦκται δὲ κατύπερθε ὀλίγον Βουβάστιος πόλις<sup>431</sup>, παρὰ Πάτουμον<sup>432</sup> τὴν Ἀραβίην πόλιν ἐσέχει δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν<sup>433</sup>. ὠρυκται δὲ πρῶτον μὲν τοῦ πεδίου τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου τὰ πρὸς Ἀραβίην ἔχοντα· ἔχεται δὲ κατύπερθε τοῦ πεδίου τὸ κατὰ Μέμφιν τείνον ὄρος, ἐν τῷ αἰ λιοτομῆλαι ἔνευσι<sup>434</sup>. τοῦ ὧν δὴ οὖρεος τούτου παρὰ τὴν ὑπωρέην ἦκται ἡ διώρυξ ἀπ' ἐσπέρης μακρὴ πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ· καὶ ἔπειτα τείνει ἐς διασφάγας φερούσας<sup>435</sup> ἀπὸ τοῦ οὖρεος

<sup>430</sup> *τριήρεας*. It is not to be supposed that Psammitichus made the canal for triremes, but that the informant of Herodotus adopted this mode of giving him a notion of its breadth. Compare i. 179: *τεθρίππῳ περιέλασιν*.

<sup>431</sup> *κατύπερθε ὀλίγον Βουβάστιος πόλις*. The site of the city Bubastis is the modern *Tel Basta* (lat. 30° 36' according to WILKINSON), which stands, as in the days of Herodotus, on the side of a lake. The Pelusiac branch of the river, however, which then ran into this, is now filled up. Basta is, according to RENNELL, about 48 geographical miles to the N.W. of Suez, which again is in the same parallel of latitude as Cairo. The hill which closes in the valley of the Nile at Memphis, forms a kind of arc, of which the two extremities are in the vicinity of Cairo and of Suez, while the vertex runs as far north as *Bilbeys*, which is about 17 miles S.W. of Basta. Rennell conceives that the canal of Neco passed through this place, and was then carried along the edge of the brow, in an easterly direction, for some time, until the line of the hill turns rapidly southwards and approaches the gorge of which Herodotus presently speaks. From Bilbeys to Suez would be about 30 miles; so that the length of the canal would be about 47 geographical miles. Supposing the barges upon it propelled by men towing, the distance given by Herodotus would not be unreasonable, especially if we suppose him to mean that vessels clearing out from Bubastis on one day got into the port at Suez on the fourth. PLINY makes the distance 62 Roman miles, which is even less.

<sup>432</sup> *παρὰ Πάτουμον*. This city is the *Pithom* of *Exodus* i. 11, where the first

syllable is considered to be the Coptic article, as in *piromis*.

<sup>433</sup> *ἐσέχει δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν*. Herodotus repeats this assertion in iv. 39 incidentally; but, from the way in which he speaks of the geography of the region elsewhere (see note 28 on ii. 8), it is scarcely possible to conceive that he ever *saw* the entrance. He perhaps is following the account of a Bubastian cicerone, and possibly mistaking his phraseology. See note 409 on ii. 138.

<sup>434</sup> *ἐν τῷ αἰ λιοτομῆλαι ἔνευσι*. The quarries from whence the stone for the Gizeh pyramids was brought. See ii. 8.

<sup>435</sup> *φερούσας*. This is the reading of the majority of the MSS. Gaisford (with some) has *φέρουσα*, which makes the statement of the entrance of the canal into the head of the Arabian gulf more *positive* than it otherwise would be in the text. The gorge (*διασφάγες*) is probably what Pococke describes as "a sort of fosse that is thought to be the canal of Trajan," through which part of the road from Ajeroud to Suez runs. Niebuhr remarked the same appearance, but doubted whether it was a part of a canal or the bed of a torrent. Pococke also, together with Niebuhr and Volney, describe the ground for some five miles to the N. of Suez as appearing to be the deserted bed of the sea, or rather that bed filled up with sand to a height above the ordinary level of the sea; and the first speaks of "the high ground with *broken cliffs* looking very much like such an alteration" (*ap. RENNELL, Geogr. of Herod. p. 474*). From this description of the site it seems very unlikely that, if the canal were completed into the Arabian gulf, it remained many years without being choked up.

but desists  
from his  
enterprise,

159  
builds ships  
on both  
seas, de-  
feats the  
Syrians in  
*Magdolis*,  
and takes  
*Kadytis*.

πρὸς μεσαμβρίην τε καὶ νότον ἄνεμον, ἐς τὸν κόλπον τὸν Ἀράβιον. τῇ δὲ ἐλάχιστόν ἐστι καὶ συντομώτατον ἐκ τῆς βορητῆς θαλάσσης ὑπερβῆναι ἐς τὴν νοτίην καὶ Ἐρυθρὴν τὴν αὐτὴν ταύτην<sup>446</sup> καλεομένην, ἀπὸ τοῦ Κασίου οὗρεος τοῦ οὐρίζοντος Αἰγυπτὸν τε καὶ Συρίην, ἀπὸ τούτου εἰςὶ στάδιοι χίλιοι ἀπαρτί<sup>447</sup> ἐς τὸν Ἀράβιον κόλπον. τοῦτο μὲν τὸ συντομώτατον ἢ δὲ διώρυξ πολλῶ μακροτέρῃ<sup>448</sup> ὅσῳ σκολιατέρῃ ἐστὶ τὴν ἐπὶ Νεκῷ βασιλέος ὀρύσσουσας Αἰγυπτίων ἀπώλονται δυώδεκα μυριάδες<sup>449</sup>. Νεκὼς μὲν νυν μεταξὺ ὀρύσσων ἐπαύσατο, μαντήτου ἐμποδίου γενομένου τοιοῦδε, “τῷ βαρβάρῳ αὐτὸν προεργάζεσθαι.” βαρβάρους δὲ πάντας οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι καλέουσι τοὺς μὴ σφίσι ὁμογλώσσους<sup>450</sup>. Παιυσάμενος δὲ τῆς διώρυχος ὁ Νεκὼς, ἐτράπετο πρὸς στρατηγίας καὶ τριήρεις, αἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ βορητῇ θαλάσῃ ἐποιήθησαν, αἱ δ’ ἐν τῷ Ἀραβίῳ κόλπῳ ἐπὶ τῇ Ἐρυθρῇ θαλάσῃ τῶν ἔτι οἱ ὅλκοι ἐπίδηλοι<sup>451</sup>. καὶ ταύτησί τε ἐχράτο ἐν τῷ δέοντι, καὶ Σύριοισι περὶ ὁ Νεκὼς συμβαλὼν ἐν Μαγδόλῳ<sup>452</sup> ἐνίκησε μετὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην, Κάδυτιν

And it is remarkable that while Herodotus represents Darius as cutting through the whole (iv. 30), Diodorus and Strabo (or their common authority, who was perhaps Aristotle) relate *him* to have been deterred by the notion that the level of the Red Sea was higher than that of the Nile, and the feat to have been performed by Ptolemy Philadelphus; whereas PLINY (vi. 29. *inf.*) asserts that the work was not carried out even by Ptolemy. Some authorities, among which is the Aristotelian *Meteorologica*, attributed the beginning of the canal to Senostris. See note 285 on § 102.

<sup>446</sup> τὴν αὐτὴν ταύτην. See note on § 56, above.

<sup>447</sup> ἀπαρτί. This word, which exists in none of the MSS, is recovered from a quotation by the SCHOLIAST ON ARISTOPHANES, *Plut.* 358.

<sup>448</sup> πολλῶ μακροτέρῃ. The canal itself can never have been so long as 1000 stades; but the whole course of the navigation *by the canal* from sea to sea would have been; and this is perhaps the foundation of the statement of Herodotus.

<sup>449</sup> ἀπώλονται δυώδεκα μυριάδες. VOLTAIRE states that the building of Petersburg by the Czar in 1714 cost the lives of more than a hundred thousand men. The foundations of the city were laid in a marsh, and labourers were pressed from

every portion of his dominions (*ap. Grote, History of Greece*, iii. p. 423).

<sup>450</sup> βαρβάρους . . . ὁμογλώσσους. This must either be an instance of adaptation, meaning that the Egyptians had a word co-extensive in application to the Hellenic *βάρβαρος* (see note 523 on § 171, below, and note 471 on i. 139), or else “the Egyptians” are the naturalized foreigners resident in that country.

<sup>451</sup> τῶν ἔτι οἱ ὅλκοι ἐπίδηλοι. See note 285 on § 102, above.

<sup>452</sup> Μαγδόλῳ. This town stood very near Pelusium on the coast-road which led into Egypt from Syro-Phoenicia. From the disposition to identify the battle here mentioned with that related in 2 *Kings* xxiii. 29, it has been supposed that Magdolis is the Megiddo of that passage, and that Kadytis is Jerusalem. But see note 13 on iii. 5. No doubt there is some difficulty in understanding how the Syrians should penetrate so far as the Pelusiatic Magdolis, and their defeat there entail as an immediate consequence the capture of Kadytis. But it is possible that the war commenced by an invasion of Egypt in great force, when, if the intruders were defeated, they would probably be annihilated from the want of water in their retreat (see iii. 5). In this case the conqueror, especially if he still

πόλιν τῆς Συρίας εἶδον μεγάλην εἶλε· ἐν τῇ δὲ ἐσθῆτι ἔτυχε  
 ταῦτα κατεργασάμενος ἀνέθηκε τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι, πέμψας ἐς Βραγχί- Dies after  
 δας τὰς Μιλησίων<sup>493</sup>. μετὰ δέ, ἑκαίδεκα ἔτεα τὰ πάντα ἄρξας reigning  
 τελευτᾷ, τῷ παιδί Ψάμμῳ παραδούς τὴν ἀρχήν. sixteen  
 years.

Ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὴ τὸν Ψάμμῳ<sup>494</sup> βασιλεύοντα Αἰγύπτου ἀπίκοντο 160  
 Ἥλειον ἄνδρες ἄγγελοι, αὐχέοντες δικαιοῦτα καὶ κάλλιστα Judgment  
 τιθέναι τὸν ἐν Ὀλυμπίῃ ἀγῶνα πάντων ἀνθρώπων, καὶ δοκέοντες passed on  
 παρὰ ταῦτα οὐδ' ἂν τοὺς σοφωτάτους ἀνθρώπων Αἰγυπτίους οὐδὲν by the  
 ἐπεξευρεῖν ὥς δὲ ἀπικόμενοι ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον οἱ Ἥλειοι ἔλεγον Egyptian  
 τῶν εἵνεκα ἀπίκοντο, ἐνθαῦτα ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος συγκαλέεται Αἰγυ- sages under  
 πτίων τοὺς λεγομένους εἶναι σοφωτάτους· συνελθόντες δὲ οἱ Αἰγύ- his son  
 πτιοι, ἐπυνθάνοντο τῶν Ἥλειων λεγόντων ἅπαντα τὰ κατήκει Psammis;  
 σφέας ποιέειν περὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα· ἀπηγησάμενοι δὲ τὰ πάντα, ἔφασαν who reigns  
 ἦκειν ἐπιμαθησόμενοι εἴ τι ἔχοιεν Αἰγύπτιοι τούτων δικαιοτέρον only six  
 ἐπεξευρεῖν; οἱ δὲ βουλευσάμενοι, ἐπειρώτων τοὺς Ἥλειους εἴ years, and  
 σφι οἱ πολίηται ἐναγωνίζονται; οἱ δὲ ἔφασαν καὶ σφέων καὶ invades  
 τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ὁμοίως τῷ βουλομένῳ ἐξεῖναι ἀγωνίζεσθαι. Ethiopia.  
 οἱ δὲ Αἰγύπτιοι ἔφασαν σφέας οὕτω τιθέντας παντὸς τοῦ δικαίου  
 ἡμαρτηκέναι· οὐδεμίαν γὰρ εἶναι μηχανὴν ὅπως οὐ τῷ ἀστῶ ἀγωνι-  
 ζομένῳ προσθήσονται, ἀδικέοντες τὸν ξείνον· ἀλλ' εἰ δὴ βούλονται  
 δικαίως τιθέναι, καὶ τούτου εἵνεκα ἀπικολάτω ἐς Αἴγυπτον, ξείνοισι  
 ἀγωνιστῆσι ἐκέλευον τὸν ἀγῶνα τιθέναι, Ἥλειων δὲ μηδενὶ εἶναι  
 ἀγωνίζεσθαι. ταῦτα μὲν Αἰγύπτιοι Ἥλειοισι ὑπεθήκαντο.

Ψάμμος δὲ ἔξ ἔτεα μόνον βασιλεύσαντος Αἰγύπτου, καὶ στρα- 161

held Azotus (see above, § 157), would be able vigorously to pursue his success, and push on rapidly to the north,—perhaps even as far as Damascus,—without meeting any serious check.

<sup>493</sup> ἐς Βραγχίδας τὰς Μιλησίων. See note 528 on i. 157.

<sup>494</sup> ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὴ τὸν Ψάμμῳ. The anecdote which follows is referred by DIODORUS (i. 95) to the time of Amasis. PLUTARCH (*Quest. Platon.* § 2, p. 1000) gives the Egyptian remark as a saying of σοφῶν τις. The substantial part of the story is the principle contained in the saying, and it is not strange that there should be a variation in the *dramatis personæ*. See note 116 on i. 32, and note

519 on i. 155. The reputation of the Eleans for impartiality gave occasion to one of the sayings of Agis, reported by PLUTARCH (*Apophrigmen. Reg.* p. 190). See note 477 on i. 141. That Eleans should come to Egypt is in itself by no means an improbability; but not specially for the purpose of comparing their σοφία with that of the Egyptians. The yellow flax which they grew (*byssus*), and which was consumed largely in Egypt, especially when circumstances, such as a war with Tyre, checked the importation of that from Palestine, would give rise to commercial intercourse between the two countries. See note 219, δ, on § 86, above, and note 554 on § 182, below.

Apries, son of Psammis, makes war on Sidon, Tyre, and Cyrene, in the course of a twenty years' reign.

The Egyptians revolt from him after the last-named expedition.

162

Amasis, whom he sends to quell the revolt, becomes leader of the rebels.

τευσαμένου ἐς Αἰθιοπίνην, καὶ μεταυτίκα τελευτήσαντος, ἐξεδήξατο Ἀπρίης<sup>495</sup> ὁ Ψάμμιος· δὲ μετὰ Ψαμμίτιχον τὸν ἑωυτοῦ προπάτορα ἐγένετο εὐδαιμονέστατος τῶν πρότερον βασιλέων<sup>496</sup>, ἐπ' ἕτερα πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι ἄρξας· ἐν τοῖσι ἐπὶ τῇ Σιδῶνι στρατὸν ἤλασε καὶ ἐνανμάχησε τῷ Τυρίῳ. ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ ἔδεε κακῶς γενέσθαι, ἐγένετο ἀπὸ προφάσιος τὴν ἐγὼ μεζόνως μὲν ἐν τοῖσι Λιβυκοῖσι λόγοισι<sup>497</sup> ἀπηγγέσμαι, μετρίως δ' ἐν τῷ παρεόντι· ἀποπέμψας γὰρ στρατεύμα ὁ Ἀπρίης ἐπὶ Κυρηνάιους, μεγαλωστί προσέπταισε. Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ ταῦτα ἐπιμεμφόμενοι, ἀπέστησαν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, δοκέοντες τὸν Ἀπρίην ἐκ προνοίας αὐτοῦς ἀποπέμψαι ἐς φανόμενον κακὸν, ἵνα δὴ σφέων φθορὴ γένηται αὐτὸς δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἀσφαλέστερον ἄρχῃ· ταῦτα δὲ δεινὰ ποιούμενοι αὐτοὶ<sup>498</sup> τε οἱ ἀπονοστήσαντες καὶ οἱ τῶν ἀπολομένων φίλοι, ἀπέστησαν ἐκ τῆς ἰθείης. Πυθόμενος δὲ Ἀπρίης ταῦτα, πέμπει ἐπ' αὐτοὺς Ἀμασιν καταπαύοντα λόγοισι· ὁ δὲ ἐπεὶ τε ἀπικόμενος κατελάμβανε τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους, ταῦτα μὴ ποιεῖν λέγοντος αὐτοῦ, τῶν τις Αἰγυπτίων ὅπισθε στάς περιέθηκέ οἱ κυνήην, καὶ περιτιθεὶς ἔφη “ἐπὶ βασιλεῖῃ περιτιθέναι.” καὶ τῷ οὗ κως ἀκούουσιν ἐγίνετο τὸ ποιούμενον, ὥς διεδέκυνε· ἐπεὶ τε γὰρ ἐστήσαντό μιν βασιλέα τῶν Αἰγυπτίων οἱ ἀπεστεῶτες, παρεσκευάζετο ὥς ἐλὼν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀπρίην· πυθόμενος δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Ἀπρίης, ἔπεμπε ἐπ' Ἀμασιν ἄνδρα δόκιμον τῶν περὶ ἑωυτὸν Αἰγυπτίων, τῷ ὄνομα ἦν Πατάρβημις, ἐντειλάμενος αὐτῷ ζῶντα Ἀμασιν ἀγαγεῖν παρ' ἑωυτόν· ὥς δὲ ἀπικόμενος τὸν Ἀμασιν ἐκάλεε ὁ Πατάρβημις, ὁ Ἀμασις (ἔτυχε γὰρ ἐπ' ἵππου κατήμενος) ἐπάρας ἀπεματάϊσε, καὶ τοῦτό μιν

<sup>495</sup> Ἀπρίης. This is the *Horaris* of JEREMIAH XXXVII. 8 and 11. MANETHO calls him *Uparis*, where the letter U is the equivalent of the aspirate.

<sup>496</sup> εὐδαιμονέστατος τῶν πρότερον βασιλέων. This well-known Greek idiom, in which the subject of the adjective is not regarded as one of the class of instances with which it is compared, is imitated by MILTON (*Par. Lost*, iv. 323):

“Adam, the goodliest man of men since born

His sons,—the fairest of her daughters Eve.”

An analogous idiom caused the expression

in *Luc. xxviii. 32*: ἤγοντο δὲ καὶ ἕτεροι δύο καπυῖργοι σὺν αὐτῷ ἀναιρεθῆναι.

<sup>497</sup> μεζόνως μὲν ἐν τοῖσι Λιβυκοῖσι λόγοισι. See note on iv. 159.

<sup>498</sup> αὐτοὶ. Gaisford with the MSS has *οἱ*. But the revolt seems to have arisen out of the dissatisfaction among the friends of those who perished, caused by the reports of those who came back (of ἀνοστήσαντες). These friends would be the remainder of the corps which occupied Marea; for it would doubtless be from this division that an army sent against Cyrene would be drawn. See § 36, and note #4, above.



ἐκέλευε Ἀπρίην ἀπάγειν ὅμως δὲ αὐτὸν ἀξιοῦν τὸν Πατάρβημιν, βασιλεὺς μεταπεμπομένου, ἵεναι πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν δὲ αὐτῷ ὑποκρίνεσθαι, ὡς "ταῦτα πάλαι παρεσκευάζετο ποιεῖν, καὶ αὐτῷ οὐ μέμψεσθαι"<sup>499</sup> Ἀπρίην παρέσεσθαι γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ ἄλλους· ἄξιον" τὸν δὲ Πατάρβημιν ἕκ τε τῶν λεγομένων οὐκ ἄγνοεῖν τὴν διάνοιαν, καὶ παρασκευαζόμενον ὁρέοντα σπουδῇ ἀπέναι, βουλόμενον τὴν ταχίστην βασιλείᾳ δηλώσαι τὰ πρησόμενα· ὡς δὲ ἀπικέσθαι αὐτὸν πρὸς τὸν Ἀπρίην οὐκ ἄγοντα τὸν Ἀμασιν, οὐδένα λόγον αὐτῷ"<sup>500</sup> δόντα ἀλλὰ περιθύμως ἔχοντα, περιταμεῖν προστάξαι αὐτοῦ τὰ τε ὦτα καὶ τὴν ῥίνα· ἰδόμενοι δ' αἱ λοιποὶ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων, οἳ ἔτι τὰ ἐκείνου ἐφράνεον, ἄνδρα τὸν δοκιμώτατον ἑωυτῶν οὕτω αἰσχροῦς λύμῃ διακεκείμενον, οὐδένα δὴ χρόνον ἐπισχόντες ἀπιστάτο πρὸς τοὺς ἑτέρους, καὶ ἐδίδοσαν σφέας αὐτοὺς Ἀμάσι. Πυθόμενος δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ὁ Ἀπρίης, ὥπλιζε τοὺς ἐπικούρους καὶ ἤλανε ἐπὶ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους· εἶχε δὲ περὶ ἑωυτῶν Κάρας τε καὶ Ἴωνας ἄνδρας ἐπικούρους τρισμυρίους"<sup>501</sup>. ἦν δὲ οἱ τὰ βασιλιχία ἐν Σαί πόλει"<sup>502</sup>, μεγάλα ἔντα καὶ ἀξιοθέητα· καὶ οἳ τε περὶ τὸν Ἀπρίην ἐπὶ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ἦσαν, καὶ οἳ περὶ τὸν Ἀμασιν ἐπὶ τοὺς ξέλους. ἔν τε δὴ Μωμέμφι"<sup>503</sup> πόλει ἐγένοντο ἀμφοτέροι"<sup>504</sup> καὶ πειρήσεσθαι ἔμελλον ἀλλήλων.

163

Apries falls back upon his Ionian and Carian auxiliaries.

<sup>499</sup> μέμψεσθαι. Gaisford with the MSS has μέμψασθαι.

<sup>500</sup> αὐτῷ. The conjectural emendation ἐαυτῷ has been proposed, but without necessity.

<sup>501</sup> τρισμυρίους. The manuscript M omits this word, but it exists in all the rest. In the parallel narrative of DIONYSIUS (i. 68) the auxiliaries are said to be ὡς τρισμυρίους, and it is not impossible that the number may have been introduced into the MSS of Herodotus from thence.

<sup>502</sup> ἐν Σαί πόλει. The city *Sais* was situated inland, two *schœni* removed from *Naucratis*, which was on the eastern bank of the Bolbitine branch of the Nile. (STRABO, xvii. p. 442.) Herodotus was at *Sais* (see ii. 28. 170), and doubtless derived his account of the fate of Apries from the γραμματιστῆς there. The proximity of *Naucratis* to *Sais* would account for the ready availability of the Carian and Ionian force. Indeed, by the phrase ὥπλιζε τοὺς ἐπικούρους, one might be

led to suspect that Apries in his distress resorted to the expedient of throwing himself upon the commercial population resident in *Naucratis*, just as an Oriental prince might take refuge in a British factory. Of course the native traditions would give a very different colour to such a proceeding. By the way in which *Sais* Ionians and Carians are mentioned one can hardly believe that the narrator intended to represent them as the same he had spoken of before (§ 164). It is more reasonable to suppose that he is here following a Saitan than a Memphitic authority.

<sup>503</sup> Μωμέμφι. STRABO describes the city *Memphis* as being on the right bank to a person sailing up the Bolbitine branch of the Nile towards the head of the Delta. He places it *above* the canals which connected the river with the lake *Marœotis* and *below* the salt lakes. *Aphrodite* was the tutelary deity of the city, and a sacred cow was preserved there, like the sacred bull *Apis* in *Memphis*, or *Mævis*

164

Digression  
on the seven  
Egyptian  
castes.  
Military  
caste.

"Ἔστι δὲ Αἰγυπτίων ἑπτὰ γένεα· καὶ τούτων οἱ μὲν ἱεῖες, οἱ δὲ μάχιμοι κεκλέαται, οἱ δὲ βουκόλοι, οἱ δὲ συβῶται, οἱ δὲ κάπηλοι, οἱ δὲ ἑρμηνῆες, οἱ δὲ κυβερνήται<sup>564</sup>. γένεα μὲν Αἰγυπτίων τοσαῦτά ἐστι, οὐνόματα δὲ σφί κέεται ἀπὸ τῶν τεχνῶν. οἱ δὲ μάχιμοι αὐτῶν καλέονται μὲν Καλασιρίες τε καὶ Ἑρμοτύβιες<sup>565</sup>, ἐκ νομῶν δὲ τῶνδε εἰσὶ· κατὰ γὰρ δὴ νομοὺς Αἴγυπτος ἅπαντα διαραίρηται.

165

*Hermotybies*  
160,000 in  
number.

Ἑρμοτυβίων μὲν οἶδε εἰσὶ νομοί· Βουσιρίτης, Σαΐτης, Χερμύτης, Παπρημίτης, νῆσος ἡ Προσωπίτις καλεομένη, Ναθὼ τὸ ἡμισυ. ἐκ μὲν τούτων τῶν νομῶν Ἑρμοτύβιες εἰσὶ, γενόμενοι, ὅτε ἐπὶ πλείστοις γενοιάτο, ἑκατάδεκα μυριάδες· καὶ τούτων βανανσίης οὐδεὶς

166

*Calasiries*  
250,000 in  
number.

δεδάηκε οὐδὲν, ἀλλ' ἀνέονται<sup>567</sup> ἐς τὸ μάχιμον. Καλασιρίων δὲ οἶδε ἄλλοι νομοὶ εἰσὶν· Θηβαῖος, Βουβαστίτης, Ἀφθίτης, Τανίτης, Μενδήσιος, Σεβεννύτης, Ἀθριβίτης<sup>568</sup>, Φαρβαιθίτης, Θμουῆτης, Ὀνουφίτης, Ἀνύσιος, Μυεκφορίτης· οὗτος ὁ νομὸς ἐν νήσῳ οἰκεῖ<sup>569</sup>, ἀντίον Βουβάστιος πόλιος. οὗτοι δὲ οἱ νομοὶ Καλασι-

in Heliopolis (xvii. c. 1. p. 441). For its probable site see note 263, above.

<sup>564</sup> ἐγένοντο ἀμφοτέροι. It was very natural that the remnant of the army which returned from Cyrene should be on the western bank of the river. The track along the coast would take them to the shore of the Mareotic lake, the s. w. bank of which they would traverse on their way towards Saïs, care being no doubt taken, when the report of their mutiny arrived, to deprive them of the means of passing by water. Apries on the other hand, by holding Naukratis, would have a large command of vessels, and thus might cross the river (as he did) when he felt himself sufficiently strong.

<sup>565</sup> κυβερνήται. By these we must understand not the pilots of sea-going vessels, but the navigators of such craft as those described above, § 96, by whom probably the whole internal traffic of Egypt was conducted, foreign bottoms discharging their cargoes at Naukratis. See § 179. It is remarkable that in the enumeration of castes artificers are not named,—certainly an important class, as they manufactured the papyrus-stem into sail-cloth (ii. 96), and the flax into fine linen (iii. 47). (See ISAIAH xix. 7. 9; EZEKIEL xxxvii. 7; 2 Chron. i. 16.) Possibly they are not named because the Hellenic traders may have had only to do with the middle-men (κάπηλοι).

<sup>566</sup> Καλασιρίες τε καὶ Ἑρμοτύβιες. These words are interpreted by JABLONSKY as being equivalent to "youths" and "warriors." If so, we should perhaps be near the truth in regarding the division as one involving liability to, or exemption from, foreign service and having reference to the age of the soldiers. The name of "warrior" may have been confined to the veteran campaigners.

<sup>567</sup> ἀνέονται. This anomalous form is the reading of the MSS. Bekker has adopted the conjecture ἀνέονται.

<sup>568</sup> Ἀθριβίτης. See note 121 on § 41, above.

<sup>569</sup> οὗτος ὁ νομὸς ἐν νήσῳ οἰκεῖ. The use of the phrase νομὸς οἰκεῖ is paralleled by νήσων, αἰ ναλοῦσι πέραν ἁλὸς Ἠλίδος ἄντα (Iliad ii. 626), and to a certain extent by the address to Salamis in SOPHOCLES:

ὁ κλεινὰ Σαλαμῖς, σὸ μὲν σου  
ναεῖς ἀλιπλάγτος, εὐδαίμων,  
πᾶσιν περίφαντος ἔελ. (Aj. 596.)

Zenodotus, however, altered the Homeric verse to Νήσων, οἱ ναλοῦσι. The expressions πόλεις εὖ ναιετάσας (Iliad ii. 648) and ναιετάουσι πόλεις ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων (Iliad iv. 45) serve to show the train of thought which led to the phrase in the text.

ρίων εἰσὶ γενόμενοι, ὅτε ἐπὶ πλείστους ἐγενέατο, πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι  
 μυριάδες ἀνδρῶν οὐδὲ τούτοις ἐξεστὶ τέχνην ἐπασκῆσαι οὐδε-  
 μίαν, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἐς πόλεμον ἐπασκεύουσι μόνα, παῖς παρὰ πατρός  
 ἐκδεκόμενος. Εἰ μὲν νυν καὶ τοῦτο παρ' Αἰγυπτίων μεμαθήκασι 167  
 οἱ "Ἕλληνες, οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως κρίναι, ὁρέων καὶ Θρηίκας καὶ  
 Σκύθας καὶ Πέρσας καὶ Λυδοὺς, καὶ σχεδὸν πάντας τοὺς βαρ-  
 βάρους, ἀποτιμοτέρους τῶν ἄλλων ἡγημένους πολητῶν τοὺς τὰς  
 τέχνας μαθάνοντας καὶ τοὺς ἐκγόνους τούτων τοὺς δὲ ἀπαλ-  
 λαγμένους τῶν χειρωναξίων γενναίους νομιζομένους εἶναι, καὶ  
 μάλιστα τοὺς ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἀνειμένους<sup>110</sup>. μεμαθήκασι δ' ὦν  
 τοῦτο πάντες οἱ "Ἕλληνες, καὶ μάλιστα Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἥκιστα 168  
 ἐξαίρηται μόνουσι Αἰγυπτίων, πάρεξ τῶν ἱρέων ἄρουραι ἐξαί-  
 ρητοι δυνάδεκα ἐκάστη ἀτελέες (ἡ δὲ ἄρουρα ἑκατὸν πήχεων ἐστὶ  
 Αἰγυπτίων πάντῃ ὁ δὲ Αἰγύπτιος πήχυς<sup>111</sup> τυγχάνει ἴσος ἑὼν τῷ  
 Σαμίῳ). ταῦτα μὲν δὴ τοῖσι ἅπασιν ἦν ἐξαίρηται· τὰ δὲ ἐν  
 περὶτροπῇ ἐκαρποῦντο<sup>112</sup>, καὶ οὐδαμὰ ὄντοί. Καλασιρῶν χίλιοι,  
 καὶ Ἑρμοτυβίων ἄλλοι, ἐδορυφόρου ἐνιαυτὸν ἕκαστοι τὸν βα-

Contempt  
for handi-  
crafts in  
Hellas as  
well as in  
Egypt.

Land ap-  
propriated  
to the mili-  
tary.

Extra allow-  
ances of the  
guards.

<sup>110</sup> ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἀνειμένους, "de-  
voted to war." For the sense of ἀνει-  
μένους (let go) see note 174 on § 65,  
above. But, as those who were set free  
from secular pursuits were enabled to  
perform others the better, the word ac-  
quired the meaning in the text. The  
Latin 'vacare' experienced a similar  
change of sense.

<sup>111</sup> ὁ Αἰγύπτιος πήχυς. BOECKH has  
made out from a mean measure of seven  
Egyptian cubits, all of which come from  
Memphis, that the length was 525·587  
millimeters, or about 232·55 lines. (*Me-  
trologische Untersuchungen*, p. 227.) The  
Babylonian cubit (calculated) he makes  
to be 234·655 lines (see note 597 on i.  
178), and from the small difference  
(amounting only to about one-fifth of an  
inch in a measure of nearly 21 inches)  
he infers that the two cubits are identical,  
whether the Egyptian measure was at an  
early period introduced at Babylon, or  
the Babylonian imposed upon Egypt at  
the time of its conquest. The former  
theory seems favoured by the circum-  
stance that one of the Egyptian measures  
was (if Champollion's interpretation of  
the hieroglyphics upon it be correct)

buried in the grave of an individual the  
contemporary of Horus son of Ameno-  
phis. But it is singular that all the Egyp-  
tian measures seem to have been divided  
into seven *παλαιστοι* each of four δάκτυ-  
λοι, whereas the Greek πήχυς (and in  
Boeckh's opinion the Babylonian also)  
consisted of six of the former divided  
into twenty-four of the latter; so that the  
septenary division appears to be the regu-  
lating principle in the one case and the  
duodenary in the other. In commercial  
intercourse, however, the subdivision of the  
πήχυς was an unimportant matter, and it  
does not seem to follow from the text that  
the Samian division of the measure was  
septenary. (See note on vi. 42.) The  
coincidence of the Babylonian with the  
commercial cubit of Samos explains the  
difficulty in i. 178. See note 597 on that  
passage.

<sup>112</sup> ἐν περὶτροπῇ ἐκαρποῦντο, καὶ οὐδαμὰ  
ὄντοί. Perhaps this assertion is to be  
interpreted by supposing a given area of  
soil appropriated to the maintenance of a  
given garrison, and these latter shifted  
from one station to another. The custom  
is a totally different one from that ascribed  
to the Germans by TACITUS (*Germani*, § 26).

σιλέα· τοῖτοισι δ' ὦν τάδε πάρεξ τῶν ἀρουρέων ἄλλα ἐδίδοδοι ἐπ' ἡμέρῃ ἐκάστῃ, ὅπου σίτου σταθμὸς πέντε μνᾶς ἐκάστῳ, κρεῶν βοέων δύο μνᾶς, οἶνου τέσσαρες ἀρυστήρες. ταῦτα τοῖσι αἰεὶ δορυφορέουσι<sup>512</sup> ἐδίδοδοι.

169

Apries is defeated and kept at Sais by Amasis in honourable custody.

Ἐπεὶ τε δὲ συνιόντες, ὃ τε Ἀπρίης ἄγων τοὺς ἐπικούρους καὶ ὁ Ἀμασις πάντας τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους, ἀπίκοντο ἐς Μώμεμφιν πόλιν, συνέβαλον καὶ ἐμαχέσαντο μὲν εὖ οἱ ξεῖνοι, πλήθει δὲ πολλῶ ἐλάσσονες ὄντες κατὰ τοῦτο ἐσώθησαν. Ἀπρίεω δὲ λέγεται εἶναι ἥδε ἡ διάνοια, μὴδ' ἂν θεὸν μιν μηδένα δύναισθαι παῦσαι τῆς βασιλῆως· οὕτω ἀσφαλῶς ἐκωτῶ ἰδρῶσθαι ἐδόκεε. καὶ δὴ τότε συμβαλὼν ἐσώθη καὶ ζωγραφθεὶς, ἀπήχθη ἐς Σάϊν πόλιν<sup>513</sup>, ἐς τὰ ἐκωτοῦ [οἰκία]<sup>514</sup> πρότερον ὄντα, τότε δὲ Ἀμάσιος ἤδη βασιλῆα. ἐνθαῦτα δὲ τέως μὲν ἐτρέφετο ἐν τοῖσι βασιλῆταισι, καὶ μιν Ἀμασις εὖ περιεῖπε, τέλος δὲ, μεμφομένων Αἰγυπτίων ὡς οὐ ποιοῖ δίκαια τρέφων τὸν σφίσι τε καὶ ἐκωτῶ ἔχθιστον, οὕτω δὴ παραδίδοι τὸν Ἀπρίην τοῖσι Αἰγυπτίοισι· οἱ δὲ μιν ἀπέκνιξαν, καὶ ἔπειτα ἔθανσαν ἐν τῇσι πατρώσιν ταφῇσι. αἱ δὲ εἰσι ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ τῆς Ἀθηναίης, ἀρχοτάται τοῦ μεγάρου, ἐσιόντι ἀριστερῆς χειρός<sup>515</sup>. ἔθανσαν δὲ Σαῖται πάντας τοὺς ἐκ νομοῦ τούτου γενομένους βασιλέας ἔσω ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ. καὶ γὰρ τὸ τοῦ Ἀμάσιος σῆμα ἑκατέρω μὲν ἐστὶ τοῦ μεγάρου ἢ τὰ τοῦ Ἀπρίεω καὶ τῶν τούτου προπατόρων· ἐστὶ μέντοι καὶ τοῦτο ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ τοῦ ἱοῦ<sup>517</sup>, παστὰς λιθίῃ μεγάλῃ καὶ ἡσκημένη στύλοισι τε φοίνικας τὰ δένδρεα μεμιμημένοισι καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ δαπάνῃ. ἔσω δὲ ἐν τῇ παστάδι διξὰ θυρώματα<sup>518</sup> ἔστηκε· ἐν δὲ τοῖσι θυρώμασι ἡ

At last the Egyptians strangle him, and bury him in the temple of Athene.

<sup>512</sup> τοῖσι αἰεὶ δορυφορέουσι, "to the guards on duty."

<sup>513</sup> ἐς Σάϊν πόλιν. For a description of the site see note 502, above.

<sup>514</sup> οἰκία. One MS has οἰκία. Possibly the original form of the text was ἐς τὰ οἰκία πρότερον ὄντα τότε δὲ Ἀμάσιος ἤδη βασιλῆα, and ἐκωτοῦ was written in the margin as a gloss of οἰκία. If afterwards the pronoun was taken into the text, the change from οἰκία into οἰκία would readily suggest itself. But there seems no place for any distinction between οἰκία and βασιλῆα. For the expression βασιλῆα see § 130.

<sup>515</sup> εἰσιόντι ἀριστερῆς χειρός. The proximity of Naucratis to Sais (see note

502, above) accounts for the familiarity with this locality here apparent.

<sup>517</sup> ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ τοῦ ἱοῦ. WILKINSON (*Modern Egyptians*, i. p. 183) describes the principal part of the remains to consist of "a large enclosure surrounded by massive crude brick walls. These last are about 70 feet thick and of very solid construction. Between the courses of bricks are layers of reed intended to serve as binders." (Compare the account of the walls of Babylon, i. 170.) This enclosure measures 2825 feet by 1960, of which the north side is occupied by the pool mentioned by Herodotus. This is, however, now long and irregular.

<sup>518</sup> διξὰ θυρώματα. The building de-

θήκη ἐστὶ. Εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ αἱ ταφαὶ τοῦ οὐκ ὄσιον ποιεῦμαι ἐπὶ 170  
 τοιοῦτῃ πρὶν ἡμέρᾳ <sup>119</sup> ἐξαγορεύειν τὸ ὄνομα ἐν Σαί, ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ τῆς  
 Ἀθηναίης, ὅπισθε τοῦ νηοῦ, παντὸς τοῦ τῆς Ἀθηναίης ἐχόμεναι  
 τοίχου <sup>120</sup>. καὶ ἐν τῷ τεμένει ὀβελοὶ ἐστᾶσι μεγάλοι λίθινοι·  
 λίμνη τέ ἐστι ἐχόμενη, λίθινῃ κρηπιδὶ κεκοσμημένη καὶ ἐργασμένη  
 εὐ κύκλῳ, καὶ μέγας, ὥς ἐμοὶ ἐδόκεε, ὅση περ ἢ ἐν Δήλῳ ἡ  
 τροχοειδὴς καλεομένη <sup>121</sup>. Ἐν δὲ τῇ λίμνῃ ταύτῃ τὰ δεικῆλα <sup>122</sup>  
 τῶν παθόντων αὐτοῦ νυκτὸς ποιεῦσι, τὰ καλέουσι μυστήρια <sup>123</sup> Αἰγύ-  
 πτιοι. περὶ μὲν νυν τούτων εἰδοῖ μοι ἐπὶ πλέον ὥς ἕκαστα αὐ-  
 τῶν ἔχει, εὐστομα κείσθω· καὶ τῆς Δήμητρος τελετῆς πέρι, τὴν οἱ  
 Ἕλληνες θεσμοφόρια καλέουσι, καὶ ταύτης εἰδοῖ μοι πέρι εὐ-  
 στομα κείσθω· πλὴν ὅσον αὐτῆς ὅση ἐστὶ λέγει <sup>124</sup>, αἱ Δαναοῦ  
 θυγατέρες ἦσαν αἱ τὴν τελετὴν ταύτην ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἐξαγαγούσαι,  
 καὶ διδάξασαι τὰς Πελοποννησίδας γυναῖκας· μετὰ δὲ, ἐξαναστάσης  
 πάσης Πελοποννήσου ὑπὸ Δωριέων, ἐξαπώλετο ἡ τελετὴ <sup>125</sup>. οἱ δὲ  
 ὑπολειφθέντες Πελοποννησίων καὶ οὐκ ἐξαναστάντες Ἀρκάδες  
 διέσωζον αὐτὴν μῦθοι.

In the same temple is another sepulchre (probably of Osiris) with obelisks and a circular pool in the precinct.

171

Ἀπρίῳ δὲ ὧδε καταραρημένον, ἐβασίλευσε Ἀμασις, νομοῦ μὲν 172  
 Σαίτῳ ὥν ἐκ τῆς δὲ ἦν πόλις, οὐνορά οἱ ἐστὶ Σιούφ <sup>126</sup>. τὰ  
 μὲν δὴ πρῶτα κατόνοιντο τὸν Ἀμασιν Αἰγύπτιοι, καὶ ἐν οὐδεμῇ

Amasis, become king, obtains the

scribed in the text seems to be something like the so-called "arch of Janus" at Rome, only with two instead of four doors. These may be conceived as opposite to each other, and forming respectively the termination of two limbs of a colonnade. If the size of the building was very small as compared with these apertures, the tomb which it contained might be termed "within the doors."

<sup>119</sup> ἐπὶ τοιοῦτῃ πρὶν ἡμέρᾳ. See note 583 on § 152.

<sup>120</sup> παντὸς τοῦ τῆς Ἀθηναίης ἐχόμεναι τοίχου, "joining on with the whole extent of the wall of Athens." There was a similar association of the fane of *Pandrosus* with the temple of Athens *Polias* at Athens. See the note on v. 77: ἀντίον θὲ τοῦ μεγάρου τοῦ πρὸς ὑπὲρ τὴν τετραμύνον.

<sup>121</sup> ἡ τροχοειδὴς καλεομένη. CALLIMACHUS (*Del.* 261) calls this *τροχόεσσα*.

<sup>122</sup> τὰ δεικῆλα τῶν παθόντων αὐτοῦ, "the exhibition of his woes,"—a ritual of a scenic description, like that of *Dionysus* and the Cretan *Zeus*. See note 76 on

i. 23. The expression *δεικῆλα* is perhaps Lacedæmonian. They gave the name *δεικῆλα* to certain pantomimic performers. (ATHENÆUS, xiv. p. 621.)

<sup>123</sup> τὰ καλέουσι μυστήρια. Here appears to be another instance of adaptation. See note 490, above.

<sup>124</sup> πλὴν ὅσον αὐτῆς ὅση ἐστὶ λέγει. In the place of these words S has only *λέγεται ὅτι*,—a reading which gives what follows the air of a note. The ceremonies to which Herodotus here alludes are those in honour of *Dionysus* and *Demeter Prosymna*, which were celebrated at *Lerna* near a pool in the midst of a grove. They belonged to a time antecedent to the Heracleide invasion. (PAUSANIAS, ii. 37. 1—3.)

<sup>125</sup> ἐξαπώλετο ἡ τελετὴ, "the ritual died out." See notes 164 and 179 on Book I.

<sup>126</sup> Σιούφ. The modern *Sufi*, situated about three leagues to the N.E. of *Sais*, on the Eastern bank of the Nile. (CHAMFOLLION quoted by *Kenrick*.)

respect of  
the Egypt-  
ians, which  
was at first  
denied him.

μοίρῃ μεγάλη ἦγον, ἅτε δὴ δημότην τὸ πρὶν ἔοντα καὶ οἰκίης οὐκ ἐπιφανέος· μετὰ δὲ, σοφίῃ αὐτοὺς ὁ Ἄμασις οὐκ ἀγνωμοσύνην προσηγάγετο<sup>327</sup>. ἦν οἱ ἄλλα τε ἀγαθὰ μυρία, ἐν δὲ καὶ ποδανιπτήρ χρύσεος ἐν τῷ αὐτὸς τε ὁ Ἄμασις καὶ οἱ δαιτυμόνες οἱ πάντες τοὺς πόδας ἐκάστοτε ἐναπενίζεατο· τοῦτον κατ' ὧν κόψας<sup>328</sup>, ἀγαλμα δαίμονος ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐποίησατο καὶ ἵδρυσεν τῆς πόλιος ὅκου ἣν ἐπιτηδεώτατον οἱ δὲ Αἰγύπτιοι φοιτέοντες πρὸς τῷγαλμα, ἐσέβοντο μεγάλως· μαθὼν δὲ ὁ Ἄμασις τὸ ἐκ τῶν ἀστῶν ποιούμενον, συγκαλέσας Αἰγυπτίους ἐξέφηνεν φὰς ἐκ τοῦ ποδανιπτήρος τῷγαλμα γεγονέναι, ἐς τὸν πρότερον μὲν τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ἐνεμείν τε καὶ ἐνουρέειν καὶ πόδας ἐναπονίζεσθαι, τότε δὲ μεγάλως σέβεσθαι· ἤδη ὦν, ἔφη λέγων, ὁμοίως αὐτὸς τῷ ποδανιπτήρῃ πεπρηγέναι· εἰ γὰρ πρότερον εἶναι δημότης, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ παρεόντι εἶναι αὐτῶν βασιλεὺς· καὶ τιμᾶν τε καὶ προμηθέεσθαι ἐωυτοῦ ἐκέλευε. τοιούτῳ μὲν τρόπῳ προσηγάγετο τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους, ὥστε δικαιοῦν δουλεῦν. Ἐχρᾶτο δὲ καταστάσει πρηγμάτων τοιῆδε· τὸ μὲν ὄρθριον, μέχρι ὅτου<sup>329</sup> πληθώρας ἀγορῆς, προθύμως ἔπρησσε τὰ προσφερόμενα πρήγματα· τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου ἔπιwε τε καὶ κατέσκωπτε τοὺς συμπότας, καὶ ἦν μάταιός τε καὶ παυγνήμων· ἀχθεσθέντες δὲ τούτοις οἱ φίλοι αὐτοῦ<sup>330</sup> ἐνουθέτεον αὐτὸν, τοιάδε λέγοντες· “ὦ βασιλεῦ, οὐκ ὀρθῶς σεωυτοῦ προέστηκας, ἐς τὸ ἀγαν φαῦλον προάγων σεωυτόν. σὲ γὰρ χρῆν ἐν θρόνῳ σεμνῷ σεμνὸν θωκέοντα, δι' ἡμέρης πρήσσειν τὰ πρήγματα· καὶ οὕτω Αἰγύπτιοι τ' ἀν ἐπιστέατο ὡς ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς μεγάλου ἄρχονται καὶ ἄμεινον σὺν ἀν ἡκονες· νῦν δὲ ποιέεις οὐδαμῶς βασιλικά.” ὁ δ' ἀμείβετο τοιοῦτε αὐτούς· “τὰ τόξα οἱ κεκτημένοι, ἐπεὰν μὲν δέωνται χρᾶσθαι ἐντανύουσι, [ἐπεὰν δὲ χρήσωνται, ἐκλύουσι<sup>331</sup>]. εἰ γὰρ δὴ τὸν πάντα χρόνον ἐντεταμένα εἴη, ἐκραγείη ἂν ὥστε ἐς τὸ δέον οὐκ ἂν ἔχοιεν αὐτοῖσι χρῆσθαι. οὕτω δὲ καὶ ἀνθρώπου κατάστασις· εἰ ἐθέλοι κατεσπονδᾶσθαι αἰεὶ μηδὲ ἐς παυγνήν τὸ μέρος ἐωυτὸν ἀνιέναι, λάθοι ἂν

173  
Habits of  
Amasis.

His answer  
to his  
friends who  
rebuked  
him for  
want of  
dignity.

<sup>327</sup> οὐκ ἀγνωμοσύνη προσηγάγετο. Strictly speaking, only the word σοφίη is to be taken with προσηγάγετο. See note 190 on i. 59.

<sup>328</sup> κατ' ὧν κόψας. See note 116, above.

<sup>329</sup> μέχρι ὅτου πληθώρας ἀγορῆς. See note 67, above.

<sup>330</sup> ἀχθεσθέντες δὲ τούτοις οἱ φίλοι αὐτοῦ. This narrative and perhaps also

the following one is referable to the class of stories of which i. 141 furnishes an example. See note 477 on that section.

<sup>331</sup> [ἐπεὰν δὲ χρήσωνται, ἐκλύουσι.] These words are deficient in the manuscripts M, P, K, F, a, c, and the sense is quite perfect without them, although the antithesis is not so regular.

ἦτοι μανεῖς ἢ ὄγε ἀπόπληκτος γενόμενος· τὰ ἐγὼ ἐπιστάμενος, μέρος ἐκατέρφω νέμω.” ταῦτα μὲν τοὺς φίλους ἀμείψατο. Λέγεται <sup>174</sup> δὲ ὁ Ἀμασις, καὶ ὅτε ἦν ιδιώτης, ὡς φιλοπότης ἐὼν καὶ φιλοσκώμων, καὶ οὐδαμῶς κατεσπουδασμένος ἀνὴρ· ὅπως δὲ μιν ἐπιλείποι πῦροντά τε καὶ εὐπαθέοντα τὰ ἐπιτήδεα, κλέπτεσκε ἀν περιϋίων· οἱ δ' ἂν μιν φάμενοι ἔχειν τὰ σφέτερα χρήματα ἀρνεύμενον ἄγεσκον ἐπὶ μαντήιον, ὅκου ἐκάστοτε <sup>153</sup> εἶη. πολλὰ μὲν δὴ καὶ ἀλίσκετο ὑπὸ τῶν μαντήϊων, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἀποφεύγεσκε· ἐπεὶ τε δὲ καὶ ἐβασίλευσε, ἐπόλεε τοιάδε· ὅσοι μὲν αὐτὸν τῶν θεῶν ἀπέλυσαν μὴ φῶρα εἶναι, τούτων μὲν τῶν ἱρῶν οὔτε ἐπεμέλετο οὔτε ἐς ἐπισκευὴν ἐδίδου οὐδὲν οὐδὲ φοιτῶν ἔθνε, ὡς οὐδενὸς ἐούσι ἀξίους ψεύδεά τε μαντήϊα κεκτημένοισι· ὅσοι δὲ μιν κατέδησαν φῶρα εἶναι <sup>154</sup>, τούτων δὲ ὡς ἀληθῶς θεῶν ἐόντων καὶ ἀψευδέα μαντήϊα παρεχομένων τὰ μάλιστα ἐπεμέλετο.

Καὶ τοῦτο μὲν, ἐν Σαῖ τῇ Ἀθηναίῃ προπύλαια θωυμάσιά οἱ <sup>175</sup> ἐξεποίησε, πολλὸν πάντας ὑπερβαλλόμενος τῷ τε ὕψει καὶ τῷ μεγάθει, ὅσων τε τὸ μέγαθος λίθων ἐστὶ καὶ ὁκοίων τέων <sup>155</sup>. τοῦτο δὲ, κολοσσοὺς μεγάλους καὶ ἀνδρόσφυγας περιμήκειας ἀνέθηκε, λίθους τε ἄλλους ἐς ἐπισκευὴν ὑπερφυέας τὸ μέγαθος ἐκόμισε. ἡγάγετο δὲ τούτων τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τῶν κατὰ Μέμφιν ἐουσέων λιθοτομέων, τοὺς δὲ ὑπερμεγάθεις ἐξ Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλιος, πλόον καὶ ἐλικοσι ἡμερέων ἀπεχούσης ἀπὸ Σαΐος. τὸ δὲ οὐκ ἡκιστα αὐτῶν ἀλλὰ μάλιστα θωυμάζω, ἔστι τόδε· οἰκημα μουνόλιθον ἐκόμισε ἐξ Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλιος· καὶ τοῦτο ἐκόμιζον μὲν ἐπ' ἑτα τρία, δισχυριοὶ δὲ οἱ προσετετάχατο ἄνδρες ἀγωγέες, καὶ οὗτοι ἅπαντες ἦσαν κυβερνήται <sup>156</sup>. τῆς δὲ στέγης ταύτης τὸ μὲν μήκος <sup>157</sup> ἕξωθεν ἐστι εἰς τε καὶ ἐλικοσι πῆχες, εὖρος δὲ τεσσερεσκαίδεκα, ὕψος δὲ ὀκτώ.

<sup>153</sup> ἐκάστοτε. Gaisford with the majority of MSS reads ἐκάστοισι. B and V have the reading in the text.

<sup>154</sup> κατέδησαν φῶρα εἶναι. So below, iv. 68: ἦν μιν καταδήσασιν ἐπιτοκήσαι.

<sup>155</sup> οἱ. A similar pleonastic use of this pronoun is found in vi. 68: ἀπικομένη δὲ τῇ μητρὶ ἐσθελς ἐς τὰς χεῖρας οἱ τῶν σπλάγχων κατικέτευε.

<sup>156</sup> ὅσων τε τὸ μέγαθος λίθων ἐστὶ καὶ ὁκοίων τέων, “of such huge stones in point of size, and such kinds of stone, do they consist.”

<sup>156</sup> κυβερνήται, “boatmen.” See note 505, above. The mass was floated down the river on a raft.

<sup>157</sup> τῆς δὲ στέγης ταύτης τὸ μὲν μήκος. The dimensions given by Herodotus of this monolith would make it contain something like 6000 cubic feet of Syenite granite,—an enormous weight, when the density of the material is taken into account. But the dimensions are trifling when compared with those of the temple described above, § 155, where see note 475.

ταῦτα μὲν τὰ μέτρα ἔξωθεν τῆς στέγης τῆς μονολίθου ἐστί· ἀπὰρ ἔσωθεν τὸ μήκος ὀκτωκαίδεκα πηχέων καὶ πυγόνος<sup>338</sup>, τὸ δὲ εὖρος δυνώδεκα πηχέων, τὸ δὲ ὕψος πέντε πηχέων ἐστί. αὕτη τοῦ ἱροῦ κέεται παρὰ τὴν ἔσοδον· ἔσω γὰρ μιν ἐς τὸ ἶρόν φασι τῶνδ' εἵνεκα οὐκ ἐσελκύσαι· τὸν ἀρχιτέκτονα αὐτῆς, ἐλκομένης τῆς στέγης, ἀναστενάξαι οἷά τε χρόνου ἐκγεγονότος πολλοῦ καταχθόμενον τῷ ἔργῳ· τὸν δὲ Ἀμασιν ἐνθυμιστὸν ποιησάμενον<sup>339</sup> οὐκ ἔαν ἔτι προσωτέρω ἐλκύσαι· ἤδη δέ τινες λέγουσι, ὡς ἄνθρωπος διεφθάρη ὑπ' αὐτῆς τῶν τις αὐτὴν μοχλευόντων, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου οὐκ ἐσελκυσθῆναι. Ἀνέθηκε δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖσι ἄλλοισι ἱροῖσι ὁ Ἀμασις πᾶσι τοῖσι ἐλλογίμοις ἔργα τὸ μέγαθος ἀξιοθέητα, ἐν δὲ καὶ ἐν Μέμφι τὸν ὑπτιον κείμενον κολοσσόν, τοῦ Ἡφαιστείου ἔμπροσθε τοῦ πόδες πέντε καὶ ἐβδομήκοντά· εἰσι τὸ μήκος· ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ βάθρῳ ἐστᾶσι, Αἰθιοπικοῦ ἐόντες<sup>340</sup> λίθου, δύο κολοσσοί, ἐξέκοσι ποδῶν τὸ μέγαθος ἑὸν ἑκάτερος, ὁ μὲν ἔνθεν ὁ δ' ἔνθεν τοῦ μεγάλου<sup>341</sup>. ἔστι δὲ λίθινος ἕτερος τοσοῦτος καὶ ἐν Σάϊ<sup>342</sup>, κείμενος κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον τῷ ἐν Μέμφι. τῇ Ἰσι τε τὸ ἐν Μέμφι ἶρόν Ἀμασίς ἐστι ὁ ἐξοικοδομήσας, ἐὼν μέγα τε καὶ ἀξιοθεητότατον.

176  
Among other places, Memphis is adorned by him with a supine colossal figure similar to one at Sais, and with a temple of Isis.

177  
Ἐπ' Ἀμάσιος δὲ βασιλέος λέγεται Αἴγυπτος μάλιστα δὴ τότε εὐδαιμονῆσαι, καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τῇ χώρῃ γινόμενα καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας τοῖσι ἀνθρώποισιν· καὶ πόλιν ἐν αὐτῇ γενέσθαι τὰς ἀπάσας τότε δισμυρίας<sup>343</sup> τὰς οἰκομένας. νόμον δὲ Αἰγυπτίοισι

Superior fertility of Egypt under Amasis.

<sup>338</sup> καὶ πυγόνος. The *πυγὼν* is to be taken as five-sixths of the *πῆχυς*.

<sup>339</sup> ἐνθυμιστὸν ποιησάμενον. It was the ill-omen, arising from the groan to which the architect gave vent, which made Amasis pause, not the magnitude of the task which had been performed.

<sup>340</sup> ἐόντες. All the MSS have *ἐόντος*, but vary between *Αἰθιοπικοῦ* and *τοῦ αὐτοῦ*. Schweighäuser conjectures *ἐόντες*, which I have adopted as a slight change. But it seems not impossible that Herodotus wrote *τοῦ αὐτοῦ λίθου, Αἰθιοπικοῦ ἐόντος, δύο κ.* The reading of Gaisford is *Αἰθιοπικοῦ ἐόντος λίθου*.

<sup>341</sup> τοῦ μεγάλου. Gaisford and the MSS have *τοῦ μεγάλου*.

<sup>342</sup> ἔστι δὲ λίθινος ἕτερος τοσοῦτος καὶ ἐν Σάϊ. It seems strange that Herodotus should not have mentioned this most remarkable colossus before he quitted the subject of the sculpture at Sais. Possibly,

although he certainly was at Sais, this statue was not seen by him, but when he arrived at Memphis he was told of its existence. Or perhaps it was not wrought by Amasis, but by some former king. It is quite clear that the image at Memphis was the more celebrated one, from the use of the article: *τὸν δὲ π. κ. κ.*, "the colossus on its back (which all know)."

<sup>343</sup> πόλιν ἐν αὐτῇ γενέσθαι . . δισμυρίας. These must be regarded as merely townships, such as those under the jurisdiction of an *Aga* at present. The proceeding of Amasis probably was of the nature of a census, to serve as the basis of a regular land-tax. The organisation would be similar to that which prevails generally in the East at the present day. See note 304 on § 109, above. The *aga*, or farmer of the revenue of a township, would be the party in direct communication with the tax-payer; but there would be a check



τόνδε Ἀμασίς ἐστι ὁ καταστήσας ἀποδεκνύναι ἔτεος ἐκάστου τῷ νομάρχῃ πάντα τινὰ Αἰγυπτίων ὅθεν βιοῦνται· μὴ δὲ ποιεῦντα ταῦτα, μηδὲ ἀποφαίνοντα δικαίην ζήν, ἰθύνεσθαι θανάτῳ. Σόλων δὲ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος λαβὼν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου τοῦτον τὸν νόμον Ἀθηναίοισι ἔθετο· τῷ ἐκείνοι ἐς αἰεὶ χρέωνται, ἐόντι ἀμώμῳ νόμῳ. Φιλέλλην δὲ γενόμενος ὁ Ἀμασίς, ἄλλα τε ἐς Ἑλλήνων μετεξετέρους ἀπέδεξατο καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῖσι ἀπικνευμένοισι ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἔδωκε Ναυκρατίαν πόλιν ἐνοικήσαι<sup>178</sup>. τοῖσι δὲ μὴ βουλομένοισι αὐτῶν οὐκἔειν, αὐτοῦ δὲ ναυτιλλομένοισι, ἔδωκε χώρους ἐνδρῦσασθαι βωμοὺς καὶ τέμενεα θεοῖσι. τὸ μὲν νυν μέγιστον αὐτῶν τέμενος, καὶ οὐνομαστότατον ἐὼν καὶ χρησιμώτατον, καλεούμενον δὲ Ἑλλήνιον, αἶδε πόλιν εἰς αἱ ἰδρυμέναι κοινῇ Ἰώνων μὲν Χίος καὶ Τέως καὶ Φώκαια καὶ Κλαζομεναί· Δωριέων δὲ Ῥόδος<sup>179</sup> καὶ Κνίδος καὶ Ἀλικαρνησσοῦ καὶ Φάσηλιν· Αἰολέων δὲ ἡ Μυτιληναίων μούνη. τούτων μὲν ἐστὶ τοῦτο τὸ τέμενος, καὶ προστάτας τοῦ ἐμπορίου αὐταὶ αἱ πόλιν εἰς αἱ παρέχουσιν· ὅσαι δὲ ἄλλαι πόλιν μεταποιεῦνται<sup>180</sup>, οὐδὲν σφί μετεὸν μεταποιεῦνται. χωρὶς δὲ Αἰγυγῇ

His census adopted by Solon at Athens.

He gives up Naucratis to the commercial Greeks as a factory.

List of the Hellenic states which had temples there.

upon him by the returns made to the nomarch (or *pasha*). The indirect effect of any system of this kind would doubtless be to discourage vagrancy or idleness; but it is a mere misapprehension on the part of later writers, such as Ælian, to represent it as instituted with this special object. That the principle of an assessment was the essential part of the regulation is evident from the assertion (whether true or not), 'that Solon adopted the system and that the Athenians continued to act upon it.' This could be said of nothing else. The superior productiveness of a regular tax to arbitrary imposts would readily lead to the current belief in the bad times which followed, that the country had been unusually fertile during the reign of the king who adopted such a policy.

<sup>178</sup> ἔδωκε Ναυκρατίαν πόλιν ἐνοικήσαι. In the time of STRABO the prevalent local account was that Naucratis was built by the descendants of some Milesians. They were said to have come in the time of *Cyaxares* against *Psammitichus* in thirty vessels, to have entered the Bolbitine mouth of the Nile, and there fortified a place called τὸ Μιλησίων τεῖχος. Afterwards they sailed up the river, defeated Inarus, and built Naucratis (xvii. p. 439). In the latter

part of this story one can hardly doubt there is a confusion with the Athenian expedition of which THUCYDIDES speaks (i. 103), somewhat facilitated, perhaps, by the circumstance that the father of Inarus bore the name of Psammitichus. (HEROD. vii. 7.) SCALIGER (*Animadversiones ad Eusebii Chronica*, p. 74) observes on the enormous anachronism contained in Strabo's notice, but does not attempt to explain it. See an instance of similar confusion in note 213 on i. 63. For the site of Naucratis see notes 263 and 502, above.

<sup>179</sup> Ῥόδος. If this section is the genuine production of Herodotus, it is strange that this phrase should be used. Rhodes (the city) was a *συνοικία* from the smaller towns, first built in the time of the Peloponnesian war by Hippodamus of Miletus, the architect of the Piræus. If it be said that the author means Rhodes (the island), it is strange that he should adopt such a mode of speech instead of enumerating the towns (as he does in i. 144, where speaking of the participants in the Triopian temple). It is also observable in the last section, that the chronological order of Solon's legislation and his travels is reversed, as compared with i. 29, 30.

<sup>180</sup> ὅσαι δὲ ἄλλαι πόλιν μεταποιεῦνται.

179

Naucratis was anciently the only emporium of Egypt.

180

Liberality of Amasis to the Delphians.



181

Amasis was on friendly terms with Cyrene, and married a Cyrenian woman.

ται ἐπ' ἑωυτῶν ἰδρύσαντο τέμενος Διὸς, καὶ ἄλλο Σάμοι, Ἡρης, καὶ Μιλήσιοι, Ἀπόλλωνος. Ἦν δὲ τὸ παλαιὸν <sup>179</sup> μούνη ἡ Ναύκρατις ἐμπόριον, καὶ ἄλλο οὐδὲν Αἰγύπτου· εἰ δέ τις ἐς τῶν τι ἄλλο στομάτων τοῦ Νεῖλου ἀπῖκοιτο, χρὴν ὁμόσαι "μὴ μὲν ἐκόντα ἐλθεῖν" ἀπομόσαντα δὲ, τῇ νηϊ αὐτῇ πλέειν ἐς τὸ Κανωβικόν· ἢ εἰ μὴ γε οἶά τε εἴη πρὸς ἀνέμους ἀντίους πλέειν, τὰ φορτία ἔδεε περιάγειν ἐν βάρισι περὶ τὸ Δέλτα, μέχρι οὐ ἀπῖκοιτο ἐς Ναύκρατιν. οὕτω μὲν δὴ Ναύκρατις ἐτετίμητο. Ἀμφικτυόνων δὲ μισθωσάντων τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖσι νῦν ἔοντα νηὸν <sup>180</sup> τρηκοσίων ταλάντων ἐξεργάσασθαι· ὁ γὰρ πρότερον ἔων αὐτόθι αὐτομάτως κατεκάη· τοὺς Δελφοὺς δὲ ἐπέβαλλε τεταρτημόριον τοῦ μισθώματος παρασχέειν· πλανώμενοι δὲ οἱ Δελφοὶ περὶ τὰς πόλεις ἐδοτίνεζον, ποιεῖντες δὲ τοῦτο οὐκ ἐλάχιστον ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἐνέικαντο <sup>181</sup>. Ἀμασις μὲν γάρ σφι ἔδωκε χίλια στυπητήρης· τάλαντα, οἱ δὲ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ οἰκέοντες Ἑλληνας εἴκοσι μνέας.

Κυρηναίοισι δὲ Ἀμασις φιλότητά τε καὶ συμμαχίην συνεθήκατο· ἐδικαίωσε δὲ καὶ γῆμαι αὐτόθεν, εἴτ' ἐπιθυμήσας Ἑλληνίδος γυναικὸς εἴτε καὶ ἄλλως φιλότητος Κυρηναίων εἵνεκα· γαμέει δ' ὦν, οἱ μὲν λέγουσι Βάπτειω, οἱ δ' Ἀρκεσίλειω θυγατέρα, οἱ δὲ Κρι-

The manuscripts S and V have in place of these words *αἱ δὲ ἅλλαι πόλεις*.

<sup>177</sup> ἦν δὲ τὸ παλαιὸν κ.τ.λ. This section must be regarded rather in the light of a note than as a continuation of what precedes it. The 'ancient time' of which the writer speaks must be taken as ancient with reference to himself,—not with reference to Amasis,—for the practice which he describes is cited to show the honour in which Naucratis was held *after* it became the commercial emporium. This, in Herodotus's notion, was in the days of Amasis; but there can be little doubt that Naucratis was an emporium in very early times,—perhaps so early as to produce the different accounts of the time and particulars of its foundation, a subject of one of the lost works of APOLLONIUS RHODIUS.

<sup>180</sup> μισθωσάντων τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖσι νῦν ἔοντα νηὸν. The contract to rebuild the temple was taken by the Alcmaeonids. See v. 62.

<sup>181</sup> Ἀμφικτυόνων . . . ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἐνέικαντο. The construction of this sentence is somewhat irregular; but the irregularity

arises from the introduction of fresh matter into a statement originally of a general character. The liberalty of Amasis towards the Greeks is the point especially in hand at the beginning of § 178, and this object is reverted to after the paragraph τὸ μὲν νῦν μέγιστον . . . ἐτετίμητο, which is rather of the nature of a note. But as the writer bethought him of mentioning the circumstances which led the Delphians to resort to a collection, the issue of the sentence is retarded, and the final clause goes on, coupled with what immediately precedes it by the particle δὲ, quite irrespective of the beginning of the sentence.

<sup>181</sup> στυπητήρης. BECKMANN (*History of Inventions*, i. p. 288) says that this substance, which the ancients would use in dyeing wool and perhaps also in dressing leather, is not *alum*, but *vitriol*; the former substance being very rarely found in a native state, while the native crystals of vitriol abound in the Lipari islands and Melos, which PLINY (xxxv. 18) notes as the place from which it was chiefly procured.

τοβούλου, ἀνδρὸς τῶν ἀστῶν δοκίμου<sup>550</sup>, τῇ οὐνομα ἦν Λαδίκη<sup>551</sup>.

τῇ ἐπεὶ τε συγκλίνοντο ὁ Ἀμασις, μίσγεσθαι οὐκ οἶός τε ἐγένετο· Her narrow  
escape from  
death

τῇσι δὲ ἄλλησι γυναιξὶ ἐχρᾶτο· ἐπεὶ τε δὲ πολλὸν τοῦτο ἐγένετο, εἶπε ὁ Ἀμασις πρὸς τὴν Λαδίκην ταύτην καλεομένην “ὦ γύναι, κατὰ με ἐφάρμαξας, καὶ ἔστι τοι οὐδεμία μηχανὴ μὴ οὐκ ἀπολλύναι κάκιστα γυναικῶν πασέων” ἡ δὲ Λαδίκη, ἐπεὶ τέ οἱ ἀρνευμένη οὐδὲν ἐγένετο πρηύτερος ὁ Ἀμασις, εὐχεται ἐν τῷ νόῳ τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ, ἣν οἱ ὑπ’ ἐκείνην τὴν νύκτα μιχθῇ ὁ Ἀμασις, τοῦτο γὰρ οἱ κακοῦ εἶναι μῆχος, ἄγαλμά οἱ ἀποπέμψειν ἐς Κυρήνην· μετὰ δὲ τὴν εὐχὴν αὐτίκα οἱ ἐμίχθη ὁ Ἀμασις, καὶ τὸ ἐνθεύτεν ἤδη, ὁκότε ἔλθοι πρὸς αὐτήν, ἐμίσγετο· καὶ κάρτα μιν ἔστερξε μετὰ τοῦτο. η leads to a  
votive offer-  
ing at Cy-  
rene. ἡ δὲ Λαδίκη ἀπέδωκε τὴν εὐχὴν τῇ θεῇ· ποιησαμένη γὰρ ἄγαλμα ἀπέπεμψε ἐς Κυρήνην, τὸ ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦν σόον<sup>552</sup>, ἕξω ἰδρυμένον τοῦ Κυρηναίων ἀστεος. ταύτην τὴν Λαδίκην, ὡς ἐπεκράτησε Καμβύσης Αἰγύπτου καὶ ἐπύθετο αὐτῆς ἡ τις εἶη, ἀπέπεμψε Ἀσινίαν ἐς Κυρήνην.

Ἀνέθηκε δὲ καὶ ἀναθήματα ὁ Ἀμασις ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, τοῦτο 182

μὲν ἐς Κυρήνην ἄγαλμα ἐπίχρυσον Ἀθηναίης, καὶ εἰκόνα ἑωυτοῦ Presents of  
Amasis to  
various Hel-  
lenic tem-  
ples. γραφῇ εἰκασμένην τοῦτο δὲ τῇ ἐν Λίνδῳ Ἀθηναίῃ δύο τε ἀγάλματα λίθινα, καὶ θώρηκα λίνεον ἀξιοθέτητον<sup>553</sup>. τοῦτο δ’ ἐς Σάμον

τῇ Ἡρῇ εἰκόνας ἑωυτοῦ διφασίας ξυλίνας, αἱ ἐν τῷ νηῷ τῷ μεγάλῳ ἰδρύατο ἔτι καὶ τὸ μέχρις ἐμεῦ, ὅπισθε τῶν θυρέων. ἐς μὲν νυν Σάμον ἀνέθηκε κατὰ ξεινίην τὴν ἑωυτοῦ τε καὶ Πολυκράτεος τοῦ Αἰάκεος, ἐς δὲ Λίνδον ξεινίης μὲν οὐδεμιῆς εἵνεκεν ὅτι δὲ τὸ ἶρόν τὸ ἐν Λίνδῳ τὸ τῆς Ἀθηναίης λέγεται τὰς τοῦ Δαναοῦ θυγατέρας ἰδρύσασθαι προσχούσας, ὅτε ἀπεδιδρῆσκον τοὺς

<sup>550</sup> ἀνδρὸς τῶν ἀστῶν δοκίμου. Both this expression and the name of the female decisively show that it was the daughter of one of the Hellenic families, and not of an aboriginal one, that Amasis married. See the note on iv. 165.

<sup>551</sup> Λαδίκη. The manuscript S always calls this female Λαδίκη.

<sup>552</sup> τὸ ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦν σόον. It is only reasonable to suppose that the traditions of the Aphrodisium at Cyrene were the source of this narrative; and there is a strong presumption that the writer was there himself. In § 96, he speaks of the Cyrenian lotus as if he had seen it growing. With regard to *Ladice*,

the traditional character of the story is clearly shown by the circumstance that the authorities neither knew why Amasis had married her, nor who her relations were,—the statue in the temple, and the tradition attaching to it, being all the data they had to go upon. See notes 52, 88, 224, and 329 on Book I.

<sup>553</sup> θώρηκα λίνεον ἀξιοθέτητον. See a description of this article, or rather of a similar one at Samos, below, iii. 47. It is rather singular that Herodotus should not here allude to the circumstance of Amasis having sent this latter present to the Lacedæmonians, and to its having been intercepted by the Samians (which

Αἰγύπτου παῖδας. ταῦτα μὲν ἀνέθηκε ὁ Ἀμασις. εἶλε δὲ Κυ-  
προν<sup>114</sup> πρῶτος ἀνθρώπων, καὶ κατεστρέψατο ἐς φόρον ἀπαγωγὴν.

was the Lacedæmonian account of the matter). Is it conceivable that he is *here* following the account of a Samian merchant, who omitted noticing an offering to which a story discreditable to his countrymen attached?

<sup>114</sup> εἶλε δὲ Κύπρον. It was impossible that Cyprus could have been reduced without a fleet, and Egypt did not possess one of her own. The conquest, therefore, must have been made with an *auxiliary* force. From whence was this procured? There is no positive statement, and therefore we are left to conjecture. It seems to me scarcely doubtful that it was Hellenic, perhaps Samian, under the influence of Polycrates during the time of the alliance between Amasis and that dynast (see iii. 39). The power of Samos is evinced by the fact of the Samians possessing a *Heræum* at Naucratis (§ 178, above). The close connexion of Samos with Cyrene (from whence Amasis married a wife) is also noticed by Herodotus (iv. 152). Afterwards, Amasis may have

thought the Ionians and Dorians of the Hellenium offered equal or greater advantages to him, and this may have led to a jealousy on the part of Polycrates issuing in a determination to ally himself with the Persian invader (see iii. 44). The bucaniering character of Polycrates would have made him useful to Amasis in *extending* his conquests, but when Cyprus was reduced, a league with the Dorian towns on the Asiatic main would become even more important. Hence, perhaps, the propitiation of the Lindian Athene, and the real cause of the renunciation of the alliance with Polycrates. If it be true, as Herodotus relates (§ 161, above), that even Apries was able to engage the Tyrians at sea, it must be concluded that some Hellenic auxiliary naval force was at the command of the Egyptian king even at that time. Possibly this too may have been Samian, but before the revolution which terminated in the tyranny of Polycrates. See the note on iii. 19.

## EXCURSUS ON II. 149.

THE researches of modern travellers in the neighbourhood of the Lake Mœris, prove beyond all doubt that the lake itself is the work of nature, although advantage was taken of its situation to construct works of a gigantic size for the purpose of artificial irrigation. Strabo appears never for a moment to have supposed it an excavation. He rather inclines to the belief that it, as well as the neighbourhood of the temple of Ammon, at one time was reached by the sea, and he points attention particularly to the beaches existing by the side of it, resembling those on the shore of the latter<sup>1</sup>.

In his time there was an entrance from the Nile just above Memphis into a canal which ran parallel to the river on its western bank. This channel—which, at least in a portion of its extent, exists at the present day under the name of the *Bahr el Youssouf* (Joseph's River)—skirted the brow upon which the pyramids are placed, and constituted the western boundary of an island formed by the Nile and two branches of the canal. This island was either the whole or a large portion of the *Heracleotic nome*<sup>2</sup>. From the main

<sup>1</sup> Θαυμαστήν δὲ καὶ τὴν λίμνην ἔχει τὴν Μοίριδος καλουμένην πελαγίαν τῷ μεγέθει καὶ τῇ χροᾷ θαλαττοειδῇ· καὶ τοὺς αἰγιαλοὺς δέ ἐστιν ὁρᾶν ἰσικότας τοῖς θαλαττοῖσι· ὥς ὀνομαίνει τὰ αὐτὰ περὶ τῶν κατὰ Ἀμμωνα τόπων καὶ τούτων (xvii. c. 1. p. 452). This refers to the opinion of STRABO, which he had mentioned before: τάχα δὲ καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἀμμωνος ἱερὸν πρότερον ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάττης ἦν, ἐκρύψεως γενομένης νῦν ἐν τῇ μεσογαίᾳ κείσθαι (i. c. 3. p. 79).

<sup>2</sup> Δι' ἐνὸς βείθρου τοῦ ποταμοῦ [i.e. Νείλου] φερομένου, πλὴν εἰ μὴ που τις ἐντρέχει νῆσος· ὧν ἀξιολογωτάτη ἡ τὸν Ἡρακλεωτικὸν νομὸν περιέχουσα· ἢ εἴπου τις ἐκτροπὴ διώρυγί· ἐπὶ πλεον εἰς λίμνην μεγάλην καὶ χώραν, ἣν ποτίζειν δύναται, καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῆς

channel of the Bahr el Yousseuf, in about latitude  $29^{\circ} 13'$ , another branch turns off to the north-west through a break in the Libyan hills, near a place called *Awarat el Macta*, and enters, after a course of about eight geographical miles, a mountain basin with an area of something like 400 square miles, of which about 150 towards the north-west extremity is occupied by a lake, called from its shape *Birket el Keroun* (Horned Sea), thirty-five or thirty-six miles long, and in the average four broad. This piece of water is the natural lake Moëris; its water is slightly brackish from the rains which wash the saline particles of the neighbouring soil into it, but not salt, for it contains fish of fresh-water species. The mountain basin is the *Faioum*, the *Arsinoïtan nome* of which Strabo speaks as the most wonderful portion of Egypt, both as a sight, and for its fertility and its artificial arrangements<sup>1</sup>. He remarks (a point which is especially to be observed) that with the exception of some gardens in the neighbourhood of Alexandria, it was the only site in Egypt where the olive flourished. This circumstance alone is a sufficient evidence that the irrigation must have been conducted on a different principle from that of merely allowing the waters of the river to overflow and cover the whole soil for a considerable period, after the ordinary practice of Egypt; for such a course would undoubtedly have prevented the growth of any thing but seed crops. And the existing state of the country seems to show that the arrangements which were made rested upon the principle of storing the water of the Nile at the time of the inundation in large canals at *different levels* within the mountain basin, the Birket el Keroun serving as a receptacle for the surplus of the whole.

In the portion of the basin which is not occupied by the Birket el Keroun two distinct levels are traceable at the present day. The upper of these, comprising a space of 140 square miles, is only six feet higher than the bottom of the Bahr el Yousseuf, and about twenty-four feet lower than its surface when full (taking the level at the point where the canal enters the Faioum, which is not

τὸν Ἀρσινοΐτην νομὸν ποιοῦσης καὶ τὴν Μοίριδος λίμνην (xvii. p. 419). Στὸ δ' Ἡρακλεώτης νομὸς ἐν νήσῳ μεγάλῃ, καθ' ἣν ἡ διάρυξ ἐστὶν ἐν δεξιᾷ, εἰς τὴν Λιβύην ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀρσινοΐτην νομὸν [forte supplendum φερομένη] ὥστε καὶ διστομον εἶναι τὴν διάρυγα, μεταξὺ μέρους τινὸς τῆς νήσου παρεμπύπτοτος (ib. p. 451).

<sup>1</sup> Ἀξιολογιάτος τῶν ἀπάντων κατὰ τε τὴν ὕψιν καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ τὴν κατασκευὴν.

perceptibly different from its level at *Medineh*, a place six miles further in the direction of the lake), and it is covered with a sedimentary deposit of Nile mud from 18 to 22 feet thick. But at some short distance from *Medineh* the ground slopes gently to north and south, and more rapidly to the west, the surface of the lake itself being about sixty feet below the bottom of the canal, and from 130 to 170 feet below the surface of the Nile. Very near *Medineh* is supposed to have been the site of *Arsinoë* or *Crocodilopolis*.

If these levels are correctly given, it is quite clear, that in the system of irrigation pursued, the prime feeder must have been the diverging branch of the *Bahr el Youssouf* above described, reckoned from the point where it turns to the north-west to *Medineh*, a distance in the whole of about fourteen miles, six of which lie within the expanse of the mountain basin. This branch is at present estimated to convey one twenty-eighth portion of the water which passes in the bed of the Nile. Its mean depth is 30 feet and its breadth 160. Just as it enters the basin, it probably discharged a portion of its water into another canal on a lower level, also still traceable. This second canal, which goes by the name of *Bahr bela ma* (Waterless River), it being now mainly dry, starts in a northerly direction, and conducts, by a circuitous route of several miles, to the north-east extremity of the *Birket el Keroun*. Throughout its course there are said still to exist traces of ancient dams and sluices; and as its breadth is nearly 300 feet, and its depth 21, it must have been capable of holding a very large quantity of water.

Another nullah, similar to the *Bahr bela ma*, and varying from 600 to 1200 feet in breadth, is traceable in a north-westerly direction from a point ten miles to the south-west of *Awarat el Macta*, and joining the *Birket el Keroun* by a small channel, at a point where the sides are rocky, after a course of fourteen or fifteen miles. It goes by the name of *Bahr el Wadi* (the River of the Plain). Unfortunately, its precise level is not given; but it is obvious from the description, that it is lower than the *Bahr el Youssouf*, and higher than the *Birket el Keroun*. That it belonged to the arrangements for irrigation appears from the fact, that *WILKINSON* discovered its bottom to be cut in the limestone rock at a place where the breadth was 673 feet<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> This is given on the authority of the Chevalier *BUNSEN*. The levels and positions

Various other traces of channels are described as existing in this singular region; but the above-mentioned are sufficient to explain the principle which prevailed in the irrigation.

It being perfectly clear that the water could never have been returned from the Birket el Keroun, or indeed from any portion of the works back *into the Nile*, the real problem is to explain how what really took place can have been so regarded as to give rise to the descriptions of Herodotus and Strabo.

Now Strabo appears to have regarded the *Bahr bela ma* and *Bahr el Wadi* as two branches of one and the same canal, by the former of which the water was conveyed to the *Birket el Keroun* at the time of the inundation, while to the other it was supplied from that lake *while the waters were falling* (ἐν τῇ ἀποβάσει). In this definition of the time his main error lies. The *Bahr el Wadi*, if originally a reservoir for irrigating the lowest portion of the plain (as its name seems to suggest), would not improbably be filled from the lake when this had risen beyond a few feet. As soon as the rising of the waters had ceased the sluices would be shut, and the water remain stored in a broad but not deep canal, having no doubt many small branches, —as was the case also with the *Bahr bela ma*, and the main stem of the διώρυξ running up to Medineh. The only remaining difficulty in Strabo's description is the connexion which he implies between the *Bahr el Wadi* and the διώρυξ\*. But this is a very slight one. We must conceive him standing at Arsinoë (*Medineh*), by the side of the pool, where he gives the graphic description of his seeing the sacred crocodile fed<sup>6</sup>, which was probably the head of the διώρυξ. His host would point out to him the *Bahr bela ma* stretching away to the N.E. and tell him that it entered the lake some fifteen or sixteen

laid down in this note are taken from the essay on the Lake Moeris contained in his work *Ägyptens Stelle in der Weltgeschichte*, vol. ii. pp. 209—232. The modern authorities on which he reas are LINANT DE BELLEFONDS, in a memoir read at the Egyptian Society in Cairo on the 6th of July, 1842; JOMARD, *Mémoire sur le Lac Moëris*; and personal communications to himself from FERRING and WILKINSON.

\* xvii. c. i. p. 454, ἡ δ' οὖν Μοίριδος λίμνη διὰ τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὸ βάθος ἰκανὴ ἔστι κατὰ τε τὰς ἀναβάσεις τὴν πλημμυρίδα φέρειν καὶ μὴ ὑπερκολᾶσθαι εἰς τὰ οἰκούμενα καὶ πεφυτεύμενα, εἴτα ἐν τῇ ἀποβάσει τὸ πλεονάζον ἀποδοῦσα τῇ αὐτῇ διώρυγι κατὰ θάτερον τῶν στομάτων ἔχειν ὑπολειπόμενον τὸ χρήσιμον πρὸς τὰς ἐμπορεύμας καὶ αὐτῇ καὶ τῇ διώρυγι. ταῦτα μὲν φυσικά· ἐπικεῖται δὲ τοῖς στόμασιν ἀμφοτέρους τῆς διώρυγος κλειθρα, οἷς ταμιεύουσιν οἱ ἀρχιτέκτονες τὸ τε εἰσερόν ὕδωρ καὶ τὸ ἐκρέον.

<sup>6</sup> xvii. c. i. p. 455.



miles off by a sluice. Similarly towards the n.w. he would see the *Bahr el Wadi* (which he would be told was supplied from the lake by similar sluices) *apparently* running towards the δῶρυξ on which he had himself been towed to Arsinoë, and from which he might have seen the *Bahr bela ma* diverge as he came. The distance from which he would have a view of the object would be not less than eight or nine miles, and the difference of level not more than ninety feet at the very utmost. This of course would be entirely imperceptible by the eye at such a distance.

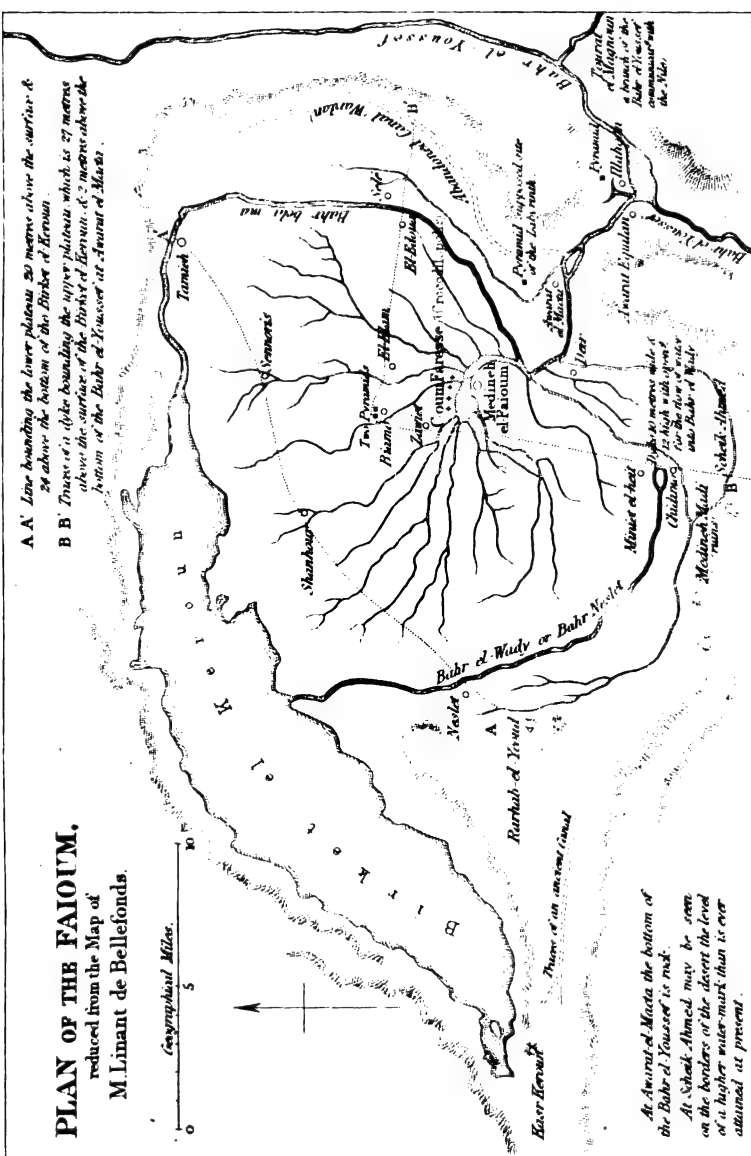
The account given by Herodotus is much more strikingly at variance with the natural phenomena; but much of the difficulty here will disappear if we suppose him to have visited the district very soon after the inundation was at its height, and while the waters were let out over a large portion of the basin; Strabo, on the other hand, having certainly been at Arsinoë at the season when these were confined to the canals. The fluid was retained on the different levels by dams, the existence of some of which is even now traceable. *Seen from any point between Arsinoë and the Labyrinth*, the whole would appear like one enormous expanse of water, the difference of the levels not showing itself. And if we suppose Herodotus to have had the view of the district thus covered *from the top* of the Labyrinth, his description is intelligible enough. The indisputable evidence of its natural origin which the outline of the lake presented to Strabo would be entirely masked; its enormous seeming magnitude, apparently coextensive with the basin of the Faioum, would render the dimensions assigned to it not *primâ facie* absurd<sup>1</sup>; and, 100 stadia off, the colossi at Crocodilopolis would appear to stand out from the middle of the water. To these circumstances must be added the impression that the Faioum irrigation was the same simple process with which he was familiar in the neighbourhood of the Nile, and the fact that at the point where he was no part of the works was visible, but the main δῶρυξ with the Nile water flowing through it. And, finally, we may reasonably conceive that the dragoman, accustomed to the spectacle before the eyes of his companion, would not even think of the necessity of explaining to him the peculiar circum-

<sup>1</sup> The circumference of the lake itself is estimated roughly at 75 or 80 geographical miles. Herodotus makes it 3600 stades, about five times as much.

stances which gave rise to the ocular deception. In his mind the whole system of water-meadows would be connected together, and described as the work of Mæris, even supposing him undesirous of producing an exaggerated impression on the traveller ;—a supposition, however, which is at variance with the ordinary practice of *ciceroni* either in ancient or modern times.

If the above considerations have any truth in them, both Herodotus and Strabo must in this matter be entirely acquitted of the charge of inaccuracy in those points which came under their personal knowledge. Both the one and the other give a true account of the phenomena presented to them ; and both give a false explanation (philosophically speaking) of those phenomena. In the case of Herodotus the ocular deception was much the greater, and probably the informant whose explanation was adopted the more ignorant ; for the rank of Strabo's companions procured them the attentions of the chief authorities of Arsinoë, whereas the other would probably have no guide but a common *laquais de place*. If indeed we are determined to look upon him as some of the moderns insist on doing ; to regard him not as a simple traveller with the clear Hellenic eye for sensuous impressions, and the fresh Hellenic imagination for embodying them, but as a physical philosopher and historical critic of the nineteenth century, testing all that he heard and saw by independent observations and reference to known laws of nature, we must undoubtedly be content to regard his description of the lake Mæris as one of the most gigantic exaggerations to be found in the whole compass of literature.

reduced from the Map of  
**M. Linant de Bellefonds.**



*At Awurat el-Mada the bottom of the Bahr el-Yousef is mud.*



# ἩΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ

## ἹΣΤΟΡΙΩΝ ΤΡΙΤΗ.

### ΘΑΛΕΙΑ.

ἘΠΙ τοῦτον δὴ τὸν Ἀμασιν Καμβύσης ὁ Κύρου ἐστρατεύετο, <sup>1</sup>  
 ἄγων καὶ ἄλλους τῶν ἡρχε καὶ Ἑλλήνων Ἴωνάς τε καὶ Αἰολέας <sup>1</sup>, Cambyses  
 δι' αἰτίην τοιήνδε πέμφας Καμβύσης ἐς Αἴγυπτον κήρυκα, αἵτεε makes war  
 Ἀμασιν θυγατέρα· αἵτεε δὲ ἐκ συμβουλῆς ἀνδρὸς Αἰγυπτίου, <sup>2</sup> A Persian  
 μεμφόμενος Ἀμασιν ἔπρηξε ταῦτα, ὅτι μιν ἐξ ἀπάντων τῶν ἐν account of  
 Αἰγύπτῳ ἡτρῶν ἀποσπάσας ἀπὸ γυναικὸς τε καὶ τέκνων, of the quar-  
 ἔκδοτον ἐποίησε ἐς Πέρσας, ὅτε Κύρος πέμφας παρὰ Ἀμασιν rel  
 αἵτεε ἡτρὸν ὀφθαλμῶν δς εἷη ἄριστος τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ<sup>3</sup>.  
 ταῦτα δὴ ἐπιμεμφόμενος ὁ Αἰγύπτιος, ἐνήγε τῇ συμβουλίῃ  
 κελεύων αἰτέειν τὸν Καμβύσεα Ἀμασιν θυγατέρα· ἵνα ἢ δούς  
 ἀνῴγοι, ἢ μὴ δούς Καμβύσῃ ἀπέχθοιτο· ὁ δὲ Ἀμασις, τῇ  
 δυνάμει τῶν Περσέων ἀχθόμενος καὶ ἀρρωδέων, οὐκ εἶχε οὔτε  
 δοῦναι οὔτε ἀρνήσασθαι· εὖ γὰρ ἡπίστατο ὅτι οὐκ ὥς γυναῖκά  
 μιν ἔμελλε Καμβύσης ἔξειν ἀλλ' ὥς παλλακὴν ταῦτα δὴ ἐκ-  
 λογιζόμενος, ἐποίησε τάδε· ἦν Ἀπρίῳ τοῦ προτέρου βασιλέως  
 θυγάτηρ κάρτα μεγάλη τε καὶ εὐειδής<sup>3</sup>, μούνη τοῦ οἴκου λελειμ-  
 μένη· οὔνομα δὲ οἱ ἦν Νίτητις· ταύτην δὴ τὴν παῖδα ὁ Ἀμασις

<sup>1</sup> Ἑλλήνων Ἴωνάς τε καὶ Αἰολέας. See note 593 on i. 176. The thread of the narrative is resumed from ii. 1.

<sup>2</sup> ἡτρὸν ὀφθαλμῶν, δς εἷη ἄριστος τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ. For the extent to which medical science was carried in Egypt, and the division of the several branches of practice, see ii. 84.

<sup>3</sup> μεγάλη τε καὶ εὐειδής. The sister of the Pæonian brothers who attracted Darius's attention and produced the subjugation of her tribe is described in the same terms (v. 12). The word καλὸς applied to a woman always involved the notion of commanding stature as well as beauty of feature and complexion.

makes Nitetis the concubine of Cambyzes.

κοσμήσας ἐσθῆτί τε καὶ χρυσῷ<sup>4</sup>, ἀποπέμπει ἐς Πέρσας ὡς ἑωυτοῦ θυγατέρα· μετὰ δὲ χρόνον ὥς μιν ἡσπάζετο πατρόθεν οὐνομάζων, λέγει πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡ παῖς· “ὦ βασιλεῦ, διαβεβλημένος ὑπὸ Ἀμάσιος οὐ μαυθάνεις, ὃς ἐμέ σοι κόσμῳ ἀσκήσας ἀπέπεμψε ὡς ἑωυτοῦ θυγατέρα διδοὺς ἐοῦσαν τῇ ἀληθινή Ἀπρίῳ· τὸν ἐκείνος ἐόντα ἑωυτοῦ δεσπότηα μετ’ Αἰγυπτίων ἐπαναστάς ἐφόνευσε.” τοῦτο δὴ τὸ ἔπος καὶ αὕτη ἡ αἰτία ἐγγενομένη ἤγαγε Καμβύσεια τὸν Κύρου, μεγάλως θυμωθέντα, ἐπ’ Αἴγυπτον. οὕτω μὲν νυν λέγουσι Πέρσαι<sup>5</sup>.

2 An Egyptian account made Cambyzes a son of Nitetis by Cyrus.

Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ οἰκῆιόνται Καμβύσεια, φάμενοι μιν ἐκ ταύτης δὴ τῆς Ἀπρίῳ θυγατρὸς γενέσθαι<sup>6</sup>. Κύρον γὰρ εἶναι τὸν πέμψαντα παρὰ Ἀμασιν ἐπὶ τὴν θυγατέρα, ἀλλ’ οὐ Καμβύσεια. λέγοντες δὲ ταῦτα, οὐκ ὀρθῶς λέγουσι. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ λέληθε αὐτοῖς, (εἰ γάρ τινες καὶ ἄλλοι, τὰ Περσέων νόμιμα ὀρθῶς ἐπιστάται καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι,) ὅτι πρῶτα μὲν νόθον οὐ σφί νόμος ἐστὶ βασιλεύσαι, γησιῶν παρεόντος· αὐτὶς δὲ, ὅτι Κασσανδάνης τῆς Φαρνάσπεω<sup>7</sup> θυγατρὸς ἦν παῖς Καμβύσης, ἀνδρὸς Ἀχαιμενίδεω, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἐκ τῆς Αἰγυπτίης· ἀλλὰ παρατρέπουσι τὸν λόγον, προσποιούμενοι τῇ Κύρου

3 A third made Nitetis come as a concubine to Cyrus when Cambyzes was ten years old.

οἰκίῃ συγγενέας εἶναι<sup>8</sup>. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὧδε ἔχει. Λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὅδε ὁ λόγος, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιθανός· ὡς τῶν Περσίδων γυναικῶν ἐσελθοῦσά τις παρὰ τὰς Κύρου γυναῖκας, ὡς εἶδε τῇ Κασσανδάνῃ παρεστῶτα τέκνα εὐεidéα τε καὶ μεγάλα, πολλῶ ἐχράτο τῷ ἐπαύῳ ὑπερθωμάζουσα· ἡ δὲ Κασσανδάνη, ἐοῦσα τοῦ Κύρου γυνή, εἶπε τάδε· “τοιῶνδε μέντοι ἐμέ παιδων μητέρα ἐοῦσαν Κύρος ἐν ἀτιμῇ ἔχει τὴν δ’ ἀπ’ Αἰγύπτου ἐπικτήτου ἐν τιμῇ τίθεται.” τὴν μὲν ἀχθομένην τῇ Νιτήτι εἰπεῖν ταῦτα· τῶν δὲ οἱ παιδων τὸν

<sup>4</sup> κοσμήσας ἐσθῆτί τε καὶ χρυσῷ. A similar phrase occurs in the description of the infant Cyrus, κεκοσμημένον χρυσῷ τε καὶ ἐσθῆτι ποικίλῃ (i. 111).

<sup>5</sup> οὕτω μὲν νυν λέγουσι Πέρσαι. See note 338 on i. 95.

<sup>6</sup> φάμενοι μιν . . . γενέσθαι, “asserting that it was of this daughter of Apries after all that he was the son.” The claim of the conquered race to have some connexion with the conqueror is a trait of human nature which shows itself every where. MALCOLM (quoted by Kewrick) says that in the Persian traditions Alexander the Great is represented as the son of a Persian princess by Philip.

<sup>7</sup> Κασσανδάνης τῆς Φαρνάσπεω. It was

not however all the Persian accounts which made Cambyzes son of Cassandane. CTESIAS makes him son of Amytis,—and that this is not another name of Cassandane appears from the circumstance that he makes Amytis survive Cyrus, and only die shortly before the death of Cambyzes. See note on § 61.

<sup>8</sup> προσποιούμενοι τῇ Κύρου οἰκίῃ συγγενέας εἶναι. This was probably the reason of another story which DIONORUS (i. 33) relates: that Meroë, a city in the island of the Nile of the same name, built by Cambyzes, was so called after the name of his mother. It appears from STRABO (xvii. c. 1, p. 420) that others maintained Meroë to be his sister, and others again his wife.

πρεσβύτερον εἰπεῖν Καμβύσεια· “τοιγάρ τοι, ὦ μήτηρ, ἔπεαν ἐγὼ γένωμαι ἀνὴρ, Αἰγύπτου τὰ μὲν ἄνω κάτω θήσω, τὰ δὲ κάτω ἄνω.” ταῦτα εἰπεῖν αὐτὸν ἔτεα ὡς δέκα κου γεγονότα, καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἐν θωύματι γενέσθαι· τὸν δὲ διαμνημονεύοντα<sup>9</sup>, οὕτω δὴ, ἐπεὶ τε ἀνδρώθη καὶ ἔσχε τὴν βασιληὴν, ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἐπ’ Αἰγυπτὸν στρατηγὴν.

Συνήνευκε δὲ καὶ ἄλλο τι τοιοῦνδε πρήγμα γενέσθαι ἐς τὴν ἐπι- 4  
στράτευσιν ταύτην. ἦν τῶν ἐπικούρων τῶν Ἀμάσιος ἀνὴρ γένος μὲν Ἀλικαρνησσεύς, οὖνομα δὲ οἱ Φάνης, καὶ γνώμην ἱκανὸς καὶ τὰ πολέμια ἄλκιμος· οὗτος ὁ Φάνης μεμφόμενός κού τι Ἀμάσι, ἐκδι-  
δρήσκει πλοῖφ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου βουλόμενος Καμβύσῃ ἐλθεῖν ἐς λόγους· οἷα δὲ ἔοντα αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖσι ἐπικούροισι λόγου οὐ συμκροῦ ἐπιστά-  
μενόν τε τὰ περὶ Αἰγυπτὸν ἀτρεκέστατα μεταδιώκει ὁ Ἀμασις, σπουδὴν ποιούμενος ἐλεῖν· μεταδιώκει δὲ τῶν εὐνούχων τὸν πιστό-  
τατον ἀποστείλας τριήρεϊ κατ’ αὐτόν· ὃς αἰρέει μιν ἐν Λυκίῃ, ἐλὼν δὲ οὐκ ἀνίγαγε ἐς Αἰγυπτὸν· σοφίῃ γάρ μιν περιήλθε ὁ Φάνης·  
καταμεθύσας γὰρ τοὺς φυλάκους ἀπαλλάσσετο ἐς Πέρσας. ὥρμη-  
μένφ<sup>10</sup> δὲ στρατεύεσθαι Καμβύσῃ ἐπ’ Αἰγυπτὸν καὶ ἀπορέοντι τὴν ἔλασιν, ὅκως τὴν ἀνδρον διεκπερᾷ· ἐπελθὼν φράζει μὲν καὶ τᾶλλα  
τὰ Ἀμάσιος πρήγματα ἐξηγέται δὲ καὶ τὴν ἔλασιν, ὧδε παραι-  
νέων· πέμψαντα παρὰ τὸν Ἀραβίων βασιλέα δέεσθαι τὴν διέξοδόν  
οἱ ἀσφαλέα παρασχεῖν<sup>11</sup>. Μοῦνη δὲ ταύτῃ εἰσὶ φανεραὶ ἐσβολαὶ 5

Assistance in the invasion of Egypt is furnished to Cambyses by Phanes, a deserter from Amasis, and a native of Halicarnassus.

<sup>9</sup> τὸν δὲ διαμνημονεύοντα. It is curious, and illustrative of the way in which the ethical features of tradition remain constant, while the historic details shift and vary, that in all these accounts the revengeful and violent character of Cambyses is preserved. So it seems to have been in every other version of the story. CTESIAS'S account agreed with Herodotus's. DINON (in his *Persica*) and LYNGEAS of Naucratis (in his *Aegyptiaca*) agreed with the Egyptian account in making Cambyses son of Nitetis by Cyrus, but still they represent his expedition to Egypt as undertaken in a spirit of revenge: ἐκδικοῦντα τῇ μητρὶ (*Athenaeus* xiii. p. 24). Similarly, Ctesias related that Cambyses succeeded in conquering Egypt through treachery; but it is that of Combaphes, an eunuch who was in high office with the Egyptian sovereign, and who, on condition of being made by Cambyses satrap of the province,

betrayed to him τὰς τε γεφύρας καὶ τᾶλλα τῶν Αἰγυπτίων πρήγματα (cp. *Phoebus*, p. 37). The very nature of the difficulties varies with the country of the narratives. At the Persian court (where Ctesias picked up his story) the most familiar obstacle that could be presented to the course of an invader would be such as occurred often in the great road between Susa and Sardis,—streams crossed by bridges defended by strong fortifications,—and the form taken by treachery would be the unnecessary abandonment of these. See note on ii. 30.

<sup>10</sup> ὥρμημένφ. According to STRABO (xvi. c. 2, p. 368) the base of the operations of the Persian army in this invasion was Ake (Acre) which under the name Ptolemais was in his time “a great city.”

<sup>11</sup> τὴν διέξοδόν οἱ ἀσφαλέα παρασχεῖν, “to secure the means of transit for him.” This could only be effected by providing



The line of coast from Phœnicia to Egypt described.

ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἀπὸ γὰρ Φοινίκης μέχρι οὖρων τῶν Καδύτιος πόλιος, ἥ ἐστὶ Σύρων<sup>12</sup> τῶν Παλαιστινῶν καλεομένων ἀπὸ δὲ Καδύτιος<sup>13</sup>, εὐούσης πόλιος (ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκέει) Σαρδίων οὐ πολλῇ ἐλάσσονος, ἀπὸ

a supply of water for the army during the three days' march between Ienysus and the Serbonian marsh, as is plain from the end of this section compared with §§ 7 and 9. It is therefore clear that this district must have been under the command of an Arabian sheikh, and not of the Syrians. See note 44 on ii. 12.

<sup>12</sup> ἡ ἐστὶ Σύρων. Dobree would omit the word ἡ, Bekker change it into γῆ. But the whole passage is (I conceive) in confusion. See note 16, below.

<sup>13</sup> Καδύτιος. It seems clear that the city spoken of here is, in Herodotus's view, the same as that mentioned in ii. 159; and it has been concluded that the latter must be Jerusalem. But Jerusalem lies entirely out of the road *along the coast*, which, or rather the coast itself, appears here to be described; and a more plausible opinion is that by Kadytis Herodotus understands the city *Kedesh Naphthali*, near which the great commercial and military road from the south turned eastward, through Damascus, to the Euphrates. Against this it may be urged, that undoubtedly Necho did capture Jerusalem, or at least enforced its submission and dethroned the king. (2 *Chron.* xxxvi. 3.) But on the other hand it must be remembered that the war of Necho was not confined to a single campaign. His defeat on the banks of the Euphrates took place more than three years after the submission of Jerusalem (JEREMIAH xli. 2), and it was seven or eight years after that before the relative power of the Assyrian and Egyptian monarchs had so far changed that the former was enabled to recapture that city and carry off the vassal of the latter. There can be no doubt that in the course of the war many actions were fought and many cities captured,—Damascus probably among the rest, for the great road ran through that city, and from thence to Tadmor (Palmyra), and so to Thapsacus (*Heb.* Thipsach = *trajectus*), so called because there was a ferry over the Euphrates there (STRABO, xvi. p. 349; 1 *Kings* iv. 24; ix. 18; 2 *Chron.* viii. 4). But it is an error to look either in the Jewish annalist or the Greek historian for a complete account of the proceedings which took place, and no less a one to assume that the parts which they select

for mention must be identical. Great stress has been laid upon the fact that Kadytis is the Greek form of *Kedutia* (the Syrian equivalent of the Hebrew *Kedusha*, 'the holy'). But this argument leaves out of sight the circumstance that almost every city would have this name given to it by the worshippers of the deity to which it was dedicated, as the multitude of places called Hierapolis sufficiently proves. The same may be said of the numerous *Kadesh*-es. Compare *Josh.* xv. 23; 1 *Chron.* vi. 72 and 76.

Another view is that, although Kadytis may be a Kadesh, the description of its greatness has been transferred from Jerusalem. But if any such confusion has taken place, I should be disposed to conjecture that it is one of Jerusalem with Joppa, its port, from which the city was said to be visible (STRABO xvi. c. 2, p. 370). A very good reason may be given for the ignorance of the Hellenic navigators on this subject. Joppa was a nest of pirates, with which Carmel and the forests which covered the shore in the neighbourhood likewise swarmed. Accordingly the navigator going south would, on coming abreast of that mountain, be careful to preserve a good offing, and not come near enough to Joppa to make out distinctly what it was. He would probably run as direct as he could from Acre to Gaza, a port from whence there was a caravan route by Petra to Elana at the head of the east branch of the Arabian gulf. (STRABO, i. c.) Hugging the shore however a very little too much would bring him instead to Ascalon or Azotus, of both which places Herodotus has stories.

It is quite in accordance with the known habits of the Phœnicians that they should have endeavoured to hinder the commercial intercourse of the Hellenic merchants with these parts, and this might effectually be done by co-operating with the Joppa pirates. In this case the Hellenic navigator would naturally resort to the Philistine ports which lay nearer to Egypt, and to which the influence of that friendly power would extend. For some other cases in which the hostility growing out of commercial rivalry appears to have affected the sources of the author's information, see note on iv. 38.



ταύτης τὰ ἐμπόρια τὰ ἐπὶ θαλάσσης μέχρι Ἰηνύσου πόλιός ἐστι τοῦ Ἀραβίου ἀπὸ δὲ Ἰηνύσου, αὗτις Σύρων<sup>14</sup> μέχρι Σερβωνίδος λίμνης, παρ' ἣν δὴ τὸ Κάσιον ὄρος τείνει<sup>15</sup> ἐς θάλασσαν<sup>16</sup>. ἀπὸ δὲ Σερβωνίδος λίμνης, ἐν τῇ δὴ λόγος τὸν Τυφῶ κεκρύφθαι<sup>17</sup>, ἀπὸ ταύτης ἤδη Αἴγυπτος. τὸ δὴ μεταξὺ Ἰηνύσου πόλιος καὶ Κασίου τε οὖρεος καὶ τῆς Σερβωνίδος λίμνης, ἐὼν τοῦτο οὐκ ὀλίγον χωρίον ἀλλ' ὅσον τε ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ὁδὸν<sup>18</sup>, ἀνδρὸν ἐστὶ δεινῶς. Τὸ δὲ 8  
ὀλῆγοι τῶν ἐς Αἴγυπτον ναυτιλλομένων ἐννεκάκασι, τοῦτο ἔρχομαι Use made of wine jars since the Persians gained Egypt.  
φράσω<sup>19</sup> ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος πάσης, καὶ πρὸς, ἐκ Φοινίκης<sup>19</sup>, κέραμος ἐσάγεται πλήρης οἴνου δις τοῦ ἔτεος ἐκάστου καὶ

<sup>14</sup> αὗτις Σύρων. The manuscripts S and V have the variation πόλιος Συρίων, which perhaps contains a trace of the true reading. See note 16, below.

<sup>15</sup> παρ' ἣν δὴ τὸ Κάσιον ὄρος τείνει ἐς θάλασσαν. See the note 23 on ii. 6.

<sup>16</sup> ἐς θάλασσαν. I have little doubt that the whole of this passage is in confusion, and cannot be satisfactorily emended without the aid of other MSS. Perhaps Herodotus may have written ἀπὸ γὰρ Φοινίκης μέχρι οὖρων τῶν Καδύτιος πόλιος γῆ ἐστὶ Σύρων ἀπὸ δὲ Καδύτιος, εὐόσης πόλιος (ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ) Σαρδίων οὐ πολλὰ ἐλάσσονος, ἀπὸ ταύτης τὰ ἐμπόρια τὰ ἐπὶ θαλάσσης μέχρι Ἰηνύσου πόλιός ἐστι Σύρων τῶν Παλαιστίνων καλεσμένων ἀπὸ δὲ Ἰηνύσου, πόλιος Συρίων, μέχρι Σερβωνίδος λίμνης παρ' ἣν δὴ τὸ Κάσιον ὄρος τείνει ἐς θάλασσαν, τοῦ Ἀραβίου. The distinction of Syro-Phoenicians and Syro-Philistines is well known, and Herodotus seems to regard the domain of Kadytis as marking the separation of the line of coast inhabited by the Phoenicians from that inhabited by the Philistines, only it must be remembered he is speaking as a navigator might speak, not as a geographer. Such a one sailing along the coast southwards, after taking in his cargo at Poseideum (see note on § 97), would in turn come off Sidon and Tyre and their dependencies, backed by the ranges of Libanus. After rounding the headland of Mount Carmel he would run along a similar coast in which the Philistine towns lay. At the boundary between this cultivated coast and the desert was Ienysus (*Khan Iönes*, placed by RENNELL, p. 260, a few hours' journey to the south-west of Gaza). From thence nothing but sand would meet the eye as far

as his next land-mark, the truncated hummock of gravel on which stood the temple of Zeus Casius. From Gaza to Casium the coast is *λυπρὰ πᾶσα καὶ ἀμμάδης*. (STRABO, xvi. c. 2, p. 371.)

<sup>17</sup> ἐν τῇ δὴ λόγος τὸν Τυφῶ κεκρύφθαι. It seems not unlikely that the story of Typhon being overwhelmed in the Serbonian marsh arose from a confusion between that and the Dead Sea, which appears to have been the case with the authorities followed by STRABO (xvi. c. 2, p. 377). They make it 1000 *stadæ* in circumference. But the Serbonian marsh of Herodotus was a narrow salt lake about 200 *stadæ* long and 50 acres at the most, running parallel to the seashore, from which it was separated only by a narrow strip of sand; and through this at one time there was a mouth (STRABO xvi. p. 371). It is now entirely filled up.

<sup>18</sup> ἐὼν τοῦτο οὐκ ὀλίγον χωρίον ἀλλ' ὅσον τε ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ὁδὸν. From *Khan Iönes* to Mount Casius is about sixty geographical miles direct (RENNELL, p. 260), but the Serbonian marsh extends considerably further east, so that, taking a day's journey direct at seventeen miles, the statement is tolerably accurate. But between Mount Casius and the ancient Pelusium, the nearest point at which *drinkable water* could be obtained, the distance is thirty-nine or forty miles through the desert. It would seem from this that the estimate is one made by a navigator from his *run* at sea, using the common reduction for land distances, which he was in the habit of doing (see notes on ii. 6). Water had really to be provided by a land traveller for a march of five or six days at least.

<sup>19</sup> καὶ πρὸς, ἐκ Φοινίκης. In the time

ἐν κεράμιον οἶνηρόν ἀριθμῷ κείμενον οὐκ ἔστι (ὡς λόγῳ εἰπεῖν) ἰδέσθαι. κοῦ δῆτα, εἴποι τις ἂν, ταῦτα ἀνασιμούνται; ἐγὼ καὶ τοῦτο φράσω· δεῖ τὸν μὲν δήμαρχον<sup>20</sup> ἕκαστον ἐκ τῆς ἐαυτοῦ πόλιος συλλέξαντα πάντα τὸν κέραμον ἄγειν ἐς Μέμφιν τοὺς δὲ ἐκ Μέμφιος ἐς ταῦτα δὴ τὰ ἄνδρα τῆς Συρίας<sup>21</sup> κομίζειν πλήσαντας ὕδατος· οὕτω ὁ ἐπιφονιτέων κέραμος καὶ ἐξαιρέομενος ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἐπὶ τὸν παλαιὸν κομίζεται ἐς Συρίην. Οὕτω μὲν νυν Πέρσαι εἰσὶ οἱ τὴν ἐσβολὴν ταύτην παρασκευάσαντες ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον, κατὰ δὴ τὰ εἰρημένα σάξαντες ὕδατι, ἐπεὶ τε τάχιστα παρέλαβον Αἴγυπτον· τότε δὲ οὐκ ἔοντος καὶ ὕδατος ἐτοίμου, Καμβύσις πυθόμενος τοῦ Ἀλκαρινησσοῦ ξείνου, πέμψας παρὰ τὸν Ἀράβιον ἀγγέλους καὶ δεηθεὶς τῆς ἀσφαλείης ἔτυχε, πίστις δούς τε καὶ δεξάμενος παρ' αὐτοῦ.

- 8 Σίβονται δὲ Ἀράβιοι πίστις ἀνθρώπων ὁμοία τοῖσι μάλιστα<sup>22</sup>. ποιεῖνται δὲ αὐτὰς τρόπῳ τοιῷδε· τῶν βουλομένων τὰ πιστὰ ποιέεσθαι ἄλλος ἀνὴρ ἀμφοτέρων αὐτῶν ἐν μέσῳ ἑστώς, λίθῳ ὀξείῳ τὸ ἔσω τῶν χειρῶν παρὰ τοὺς δακτύλους τοὺς μεγάλους ἐπιτάμνει τῶν ποιευμένων τὰς πίστις· καὶ ἔπειτα λαβὼν ἐκ τοῦ ἱματίου ἑκατέρου κροκύδα<sup>23</sup>, ἀλείφει τῷ αἵματι ἐν μέσῳ κειμένους λίθους ἑπτὰ<sup>24</sup>. τοῦτο δὲ ποιέον ἐπικαλεῖ τὸν τε Διόνυσον καὶ τὴν Οὐρανίην ἐπιτελέσαντος δὲ τούτου ταῦτα, ὁ τὰς πίστις ποιησάμενος τοῖσι φίλοισι παρεγγυᾷ τὸν ξεῖνον, (ἡ καὶ τὸν ἀστὸν ἦν πρὸς ἀστὸν ποιέεται,) οἱ δὲ φίλοι καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰς πίστις δικαιοῦσι σέβεσθαι. Διόνυσον δὲ θεὸν μῦνον καὶ τὴν Οὐρανίην ἡγεύνται

The Arabs especially tenacious of their plighted faith.

of STRABO, almost all the wine imported into Alexandria, then the port of Egypt, came from Laodicea in Syria, where it was shipped (xvi. c. 2, p. 358). It must be remembered that at that time Tyre had been destroyed. Previously to that event, wine grown in the very same place would probably have been shipped in Tyrian bottoms and called Phœnician. See note on § 91, below.

<sup>20</sup> τὸν δήμαρχον, "the *aga*." See note 543 on ii. 177.

<sup>21</sup> ἐς ταῦτα δὴ τὰ ἄνδρα τῆς Συρίας. This expression applies in the mind of the narrator to the desert which lay between Ienysus and Mount Casius. But if only this route was supplied with water in this manner, it is extraordinary that Memphis, so high up on the Nile, should be the place where the wine-jars

were collected. There was, however, in early times, a caravan traffic from Petra to the coast of the Mediterranean, the line of which lay through the desert in great part, and probably the water-jars would be used for this also, although no route except the one by the coast would here have any interest for Herodotus. See note on § 111.

<sup>22</sup> ὁμοία τοῖσι μάλιστα. A similar expression is used below, § 87, ὁμοία τοῖσι πλουσιωτάτοις.

<sup>23</sup> κροκύδα. POLLUX (vii. 63) quotes Herodotus as using the accusative case κρόκυν.

<sup>24</sup> λίθους ἑπτὰ. The sacred character of the number seven among the tribes inhabiting the country between the Red Sea, the Dead Sea, and the Serbonian lake, is evidenced by the "seven ewe

εἶναι· καὶ τῶν τριχῶν τὴν κουρὴν κείρεσθαι φασὶ κατάπερ αὐτὸν τὸν Διόνυσον κεκάρθαι· κείρονται δὲ περιτρόχαλα <sup>25</sup>, περιξυρύντες τοὺς κροτάφους· οὐνομάζουσι δὲ τὸν μὲν Διόνυσον Ὀροτάλ <sup>26</sup>, τὴν δὲ Οὐρανίην Ἀλιλάτ.

Worship of Dionysus and Aphrodite Urania.

Ἐπεὶ ὦν τὴν πίστιν τοῖσι ἀγγέλοις τοῖσι παρὰ Καμβύσεω <sup>9</sup> ἀπυγμένοισι ἐποίησατο ὁ Ἀράβιος, ἐμμηχανᾶτο τοιάδε. ἀσκούς καμήλων <sup>27</sup> πλήσας ὕδατος, ἐπέσαξε ἐπὶ τὰς ζώας τῶν καμήλων πάσας· τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσας, ἤλασε ἐς τὴν ἀνυδρον, καὶ ὑπέμενε ἐνθαῦτα τὸν Καμβύσεω στρατόν. οὗτος μὲν ὁ πιθανώτερος τῶν λόγων <sup>28</sup> εἰρηται· δεῖ δὲ καὶ τὸν ἡσσον πιθανόν, ἐπεὶ γε δὴ λέγεται, ῥηθῆναι. ποταμός ἐστι μέγας ἐν τῇ Ἀραβίῃ τῷ οὐνομα Κόρυς· ἐκδιδοὶ δὲ οὗτος ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν καλεομένην θάλασσαν ἀπὸ τοῦτου δὴ ὦν τοῦ ποταμοῦ λέγεται τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Ἀραβίων, ῥαψάμενον τῶν ὠμοβοῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δερμάτων ὄχετον μήκει ἐπικνεύμενον ἐς τὴν ἀνυδρον, ἀγαγεῖν διὰ δὴ τοῦτου τὸ ὕδωρ· ἐν δὲ τῇ ἀνύδρῳ μεγάλας δεξαμενὰς ὀρύξασθαι, ἵνα δεκόμεναι τὸ ὕδωρ σώζωσι· (ὁδὸς δ' ἔστι δυώδεκα ἡμερέων ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐς ταύτην τὴν ἀνυδρον) ἄγειν δέ μιν διὰ ὄχετῶν τριῶν ἐς τριζὰ χωρία.

Mode in which the Arabians supplied the army of Cambyses with water.

Different account of the way in which assistance was rendered.

Ἐν δὲ τῷ Πηλουσίῳ καλεομένῳ στόματι τοῦ Νεῖλου ἐστρατο- 10

Amasis, after reign-

lambs" in the transaction between Abraham and Abimelech (*Gen.* xxi. 28), and the "seven altars" prepared for Balaam (*Numb.* xxiii. 1).

<sup>25</sup> κείρονται δὲ περιτρόχαλα. This custom is alluded to in *JEEREMIAH* (ix. 26 of the LXX. version) ἐπὶ πάντα περικειρόμενον τὰ κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ: xxiii. 9 (*Heb.* xxv. 23) τῶν περικεκαρμένων κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ. See also *Leviticus*, xix. 27.

<sup>26</sup> Ὀροτάλ. The MSS. vary between this form, Ὀροτάλ, and Οὐρατάλ. VON HAMMEK considers the word to be a corruption from Ὀουρατάλ, which is (he says) a genuine Arabic word. For Ἀλιλάτ two MSS have Ἀλιλάτ. The Græcised form Ἀλιλάττα is given by Herodotus in i. 131.

<sup>27</sup> ἀσκούς καμήλων, "skins of camel's hide." A somewhat similar expression is used vii. 26: ὁ τοῦ Μαρσύου ἀσκούς, "the sack made from Marsyas's skin."

<sup>28</sup> ὁ πιθανώτερος τῶν λόγων. RENNELL (*Geogr.* p. 257) does not consider

this account the more plausible of the two "It appears morally impossible to have supplied a Persian army, and its followers and beasts of burden, with water by means of skins, during the whole march. Arabia could scarcely have supplied skins enough." He asserts that the Arabs know well where to obtain water in the desert, but they have in many cases stopt up the wells, to further their predatory schemes. He supposes that really the army of Cambyses made a *détour*, being guided by the Arabs to springs and wells more inland, where too a supply had possibly been accumulated in tanks at the end of each day's march. As for the river Corys, it is in vain to seek for it in Arabia. RITTER (*Vorhalle*, p. 82) conceives it to be etymologically equivalent to κύρος or κόρος, words which mean in the language of the nomads "sacred to the sun." The skins were perhaps used for lining the wooden sides of wells sunk in the sand, or channels from a spring to a tank.

ing forty-four years, dies, and is succeeded by his son Psammenitus, under whom rain falls at Thebes for the first and last time.

## 11

The allies of the Egyptian king sacrifice the children of Phanes before engaging the Persians,

πεδεύετο Ψαμμήνιτος<sup>20</sup> ὁ Ἀμάσιος παῖς, ὑπομένων Καμβύσεια·  
 "Αμασιὺν γὰρ οὐ κατέλαβε ζῶντα Καμβύσης ἐλάσας ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον  
 ἀλλὰ βασιλεύσας ὁ Ἀμασις τέσσερα καὶ<sup>21</sup> τεσσαράκοντα ἔτα  
 ἀπέθανε· ἐν τοῖσι οὐδέν οἱ μέγα ἀνάρσιον πρῆγμα συνεείχθη·  
 ἀποθανὼν δὲ καὶ ταριχευθεὶς, ἐτάφη ἐν τῇσι ταφῇσι<sup>21</sup> τῇσι ἐν τῷ  
 ἱρῷ τὰς αὐτὸς οἰκοδομήσατο. ἐπὶ Ψαμμήνιτου δὲ τοῦ Ἀμάσιος  
 βασιλεύοντος Αἰγύπτου, φάσμα Αἰγυπτίοισι μέγιστον δὴ ἐγένετο·  
 ὕσθησαν γὰρ Θῆβαι<sup>22</sup> αἱ Αἰγύπτιαι, οὔτε πρότερον οὐδαμὰ ὑσθεῖ-  
 σαι οὔτε ὕστερον τὸ μέχρι ἐμεῦ, ὡς λέγουσι αὐτοὶ Θηβαῖοι. οὐ  
 γὰρ δὴ ὕεται τὰ ἄνω τῆς Αἰγύπτου τὸ παράπαν ἀλλὰ καὶ τότε  
 ὕσθησαν αἱ Θῆβαι ψακάδι. Οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἐπεὶ τε διεξελάσαντες  
 τὴν ἀνδρὸν ἔζοντο πέλας τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ὡς συμβαλέοντες,  
 ἐνθαῦτα οἱ ἐπικούροι οἱ τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου, ἔοντες ἄνδρες Ἕλληνές  
 τε καὶ Κᾶρες<sup>23</sup>, μεμφόμενοι τῷ Φάνη ὅτι στρατὸν ἤγαγε ἐπ' Αἴγυ-  
 πτον ἀλλόθροον, μηχανῶνται πρῆγμα ἐς αὐτὸν τοιούδε ἦσαν τῷ  
 Φάνη παῖδες ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καταλελειμμένοι· τοὺς ἀγαγόντες ἐς τὸ  
 στρατόπεδον καὶ ἐς ὄψιν τοῦ πατρὸς<sup>24</sup>, κρητῆρα ἐν μέσῳ ἔστησαν

<sup>20</sup> *ἐστρατοπεδεύετο Ψαμμήνιτος*. At Pelusium was the nearest point at which water was abundant, and it therefore constituted the key of Egypt. By the continual shifting of the bed of the river westward, this tract has become desert, and the nearest point at which water can be obtained is now Salahiah (107 geographical miles from Khan Iōnes). This place was occupied in force by the French when in Egypt, just as Pelusium was by Psammenitus and by the priest of Hephæstus (ii. 141).

<sup>21</sup> *τέσσερα καὶ*. These words do not exist in the manuscripts S and V.

<sup>22</sup> *ἐν τῇσι ταφῇσι*. See ii. 169.

<sup>23</sup> *ὕσθησαν γὰρ Θῆβαι*. WILKINSON (*Thebes*, p. 75) says that the lions on the cornices here have spouts in their mouths to let the rain run off, a convincing proof of the exaggeration of the Thebans. Every eight or ten years heavy rain falls, which fills the torrent beds of the mountains, and every year showers fall, perhaps four or five upon an average. Compare the account of the earthquake at Delos, vi. 98, and the note there.

<sup>24</sup> *Ἕλληνές τε καὶ Κᾶρες*. These were apparently a force gradually gathered around the descendants of the piratical adventurers mentioned above (ii. 152) forming a species of pretorian guard. They them-

selves were doubtless from various parts of Greece, and hence the expression *πάντες οἱ ἐπικούροι* below (i.e. the leaders, or principal officers, of the several bands of *condottieri*). The expression *στρατὸς ἀλλόθροος* applied to the invaders would seem rather due to the Egyptian narrator of the story.

<sup>24</sup> *ἐς ὄψιν τοῦ πατρὸς*. This feature of ferocity must not make us suppose that the proceeding of the allies had not a meaning in it independent of their indignation at Phanes. Their act was doubtless a formal religious ceremony in honour of the deity whom they jointly acknowledged. This it can hardly be questioned would be a warlike deity, analogous to the Ζεὺς Στρατίος of Labranda (v. 119), to the national deity of the Caunians (see note 578 on i. 172), or to the "brazen man," ὁ γυῖοχαλκος, Talus, the primeval guardian of Crete, of whose ritual a relic remained in the ancient practice of the Curetes, who offered human victims, especially children, to Cronus. (ISTEA, *ap. Porphy.* *De Abstinentiâ*, ii. 56; EUSEBIUS, *Præp. Evang.* iv. 16.) See too the note on iv. 70. The story of Sesostris related in ii. 109, looks very like the perversion of a scene in the Moloch ritual. And it will be observed that the locality assigned to it is this very one,—

ἀμφοτέρων τῶν στρατοπέδων μετὰ δέ, ἀγινέοντες κατὰ ἕνα<sup>22</sup>  
 ἕκαστον τῶν παίδων ἔσφαζον ἐς τὸν κρητῆρα· διὰ πάντων δέ  
 διεξελλόντες τῶν παίδων<sup>23</sup>, οἰόν τε καὶ ὕδωρ ἐσεφόρεον ἐς αὐτόν  
 ἐμπύοντες δὲ τοῦ αἵματος πάντες οἱ ἐπικούροι οὕτω δὴ<sup>24</sup> συνέβαλον.  
 μάχης δὲ γενομένης καρτερῆς καὶ πεσόντων ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν who defeat  
them.  
 στρατοπέδων πλήθει πολλῶν, ἐτράποντο οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι.

Θῶμα δὲ μέγα ἶδον πυθόμενος παρὰ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων τῶν γὰρ 12  
 ὁστέων περιεχυμένων χωρὶς ἑκατέρων τῶν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ταύτῃ Difference  
between the  
substance of  
Egyptian  
and Persian  
skulls ac-  
counted for.  
 πεσόντων (χωρὶς μὲν γὰρ τῶν Περσέων ἐκέετο τὰ ὁστέα, ὥς  
 ἐχωρίσθη κατ' ἀρχὰς, ἐτέρωθι δὲ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων) αἱ μὲν τῶν  
 Περσέων κεφαλαὶ εἰσι ἀσθενέες οὕτω, ὥστε εἰ θέλεις ψήφῳ μούνη  
 βαλλέειν διατετρανέεις· αἱ δὲ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων οὕτω δὴ τι ἰσχυραὶ,  
 μόγις ἂν λίθῳ παίσας διαρρήξῃς. αἴτιον δὲ τούτου τόδε ἔλεγον,  
 καὶ ἐμέ γ' εὐπετέως ἔπειθον ὅτι Αἰγύπτιοι μὲν αὐτίκα ἀπὸ παι-  
 δίων ἀρξάμενοι ξυρεῦνται τὰς κεφαλὰς, καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον παχύ-  
 νεται τὸ ὁστέον· τῶντὸ δὲ τούτου καὶ τοῦ μὴ φαλακροῦσθαι αἰτίον  
 ἐστὶ· Αἰγυπτίων γὰρ ἂν τις ἐλαχίστους ἴδοιτο φαλακροὺς πάντων The Egypt-  
ians are  
rarely bald.  
 ἀνθρώπων· τούτοις μὲν δὴ τούτῳ ἐστὶ αἴτιον ἰσχυρὰς φορέειν τὰς  
 κεφαλὰς. τοῖσι δὲ Πέρσησι ὅτι ἀσθενέας φορέουσι τὰς κεφαλὰς,  
 αἴτιον τόδε· σκιητροφέουσι ἐξ ἀρχῆς πῖλους τιάρας<sup>25</sup> φορέοντες.  
 ταῦτα μὲν νυν τοιαῦτα ἔοντα ἶδον· ἶδον δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ὁμοῖα τούτοις  
 ἐν Παπρήμῃ<sup>26</sup>, τῶν ἅμα Ἀχαιμένει τῷ Δαρείῳ διαφθαρέντων  
 ὑπὸ Ἰνάρῳ τοῦ Λίβυος<sup>27</sup>.

the camp near Pelusium. Moloch was (as is notorious) the Cronus of the Phœnician race.

<sup>22</sup> ἀγινέοντες κατὰ ἕνα. These words are to be taken together, and ἕκαστον made to follow ἔσφαζον, "bringing them up separately they cut each child's throat over the vase."

<sup>23</sup> ἔσφαζον . . . παῖδων. These words are omitted in S, obviously from the eye of the transcriber falling upon the word παῖδων in the archetypal codex, and mistaking it for the same word that had occurred a couple of lines before.

<sup>24</sup> οὕτω δὴ, "then and not before." See note 22 on i. 5. The proceeding of the allies, or more probably of their officers, is well illustrated by that of the seven confederate chiefs against Thebes, which itself was a preliminary to engaging. ÆSCHYLUS, *Theb.* 42:—

ἄνδρες γὰρ ἐπὶ θούριον λοχαγέται,  
 ταυροσφαγόντες ἐς μελάνδρον σάκος,  
 καὶ θιγγάνοντες χερσὶ ταυροῦ φόνον,  
 Ἄρη τ' Ἐνὸς καὶ φιλαίματος Φόβον  
 ἐρκωμότησαν, κ.τ.λ.

It must be remembered that without a common deity there could be no common ὄρκος, and the only common deity of mercenaries gathered from countries with different local religions would be a martial one.

<sup>25</sup> πῖλους τιάρας. Some of the MSS have πῖλους τιάρας τε. Perhaps this is another instance of two alternative readings united, or of a gloss taken into the text.

<sup>26</sup> ἐν Παπρήμῃ. The site of this city is unknown, Herodotus being the only ancient writer who makes mention of it, which he does in several passages (ii. 63.

## 13 Οἱ δὲ Αἰγύπτιοι ἐκ τῆς μάχης, ὡς ἐτράποντο, ἔφευγον οὐδενὶ

The Egyptian fugitives retreat on Memphis, which is taken after a long siege.

κόσμῳ. κατειληθέντων δὲ ἐς Μέμφιν, ἔπεμπε ἀνὰ ποταμὸν Καμβύσης νέα Μυτιληναίην κήρυκα ἄγουσας ἄνδρα Πέρσην, ἐς ὁμολογίην προκαλούμενος Αἰγυπτίους· οἱ δὲ, ἐπεὶ τε τὴν νέα ἴδον ἐσελθοῦσαν ἐς τὴν Μέμφιν, ἐκχυθέντες ἀλῆες ἐκ τοῦ τείχεος, τὴν τε νέα διέφθειραν καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας κρεουργηδὸν διασπᾶσαντες ἐφόρεον ἐς τὸ τεῖχος. καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι μὲν μετὰ τοῦτο πολιορκούμενοι, χρόνῳ παρέστησαν<sup>41</sup>. οἱ δὲ προσεχέες Λίβυες, δεισάντες τὰ περὶ τὸν Αἰγυπτὸν γεγονότα, παρέδσαν σφέας αὐτοὺς ἀμαχητὶ· καὶ φόρον τε ἐτάξαντο<sup>42</sup> καὶ δῶρα ἔπεμπον. ὧς δὲ Κυρηναῖοι καὶ Βαρκαῖοι δεισάντες ὁμοίως [ἃ καὶ οἱ Λίβυες, ἕτερα τοιαῦτα<sup>43</sup>] ἐποίησαν, Καμβύσης δὲ τὰ μὲν παρὰ Λιβύων ἐλθόντα δῶρα φιλοφρόνως ἐδέξατο, τὰ δὲ παρὰ Κυρηναίων ἀπικόμενα μεμφθεῖς<sup>44</sup>, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, ὅτι ἦν ὀλίγα—ἔπεμψαν γὰρ δὴ πεντηκοσίας μνέας ἀργυρίου οἱ Κυρηναῖοι—ταύτας δρασσόμενος, αὐτοχειρὶ διέσπειρε τῇ στρατιῇ.

*Libya, Cyrene, and Barca submit to Cambyses.*

## 14 Ἡμέρῃ δὲ δεκάτῃ ἀπ' ἧς παρέλαβε τὸ τεῖχος τὸ ἐν Μέμφι Καμβύσης, κατίσας ἐς τὸ πρόστειον ἐπὶ λύμῃ τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Αἰγυπτίων Ψαμμήνιτον, βασιλεύσαντα μῆνας ἕξ, τοῦτον κατίσας σὺν ἄλλοισι Αἰγυπτίοισι διεπειρᾶτο αὐτοῦ τῆς ψυχῆς, ποιέων τοιάδε. στείλας αὐτοῦ τὴν θυγατέρα ἐσθίῃ δουλητῇ, ἐξέπεμπε ἐπ' ὕδωρ ἔχουσαν ὑδρήϊον συνέπεμπε δὲ καὶ ἄλλας παρθένους,

Ethical anecdote of Psammetichus,

64. 71. 165). But it must have been somewhere in the western region of the Delta, for it appears from THUCYDIDES (i. 104) that *Marea*, very near the subsequent Alexandria, was the base of Inarus's operations, and that the retreating Persians took refuge in Memphis, two-thirds of which Inarus, with the aid of an Athenian squadron, succeeded in capturing. Papremis therefore would lie between Marea and Memphis. From the order in which Herodotus speaks of the two collections of skulls, it would seem as if he entered Egypt near Pelusium and left it near Papremis, and this accords with some other notices. See note 63 on ii. 18.

<sup>40</sup> ὑπὸ Ἰνάρῳ τοῦ Λίβυος. Herodotus mentions this circumstance again in vii. 7. The success of Inarus took place in, or very soon after, the year 460 B.C. The Persians recovered the whole of Egypt except the marshes in the year 455. This

region still held out under Amyrtaeus. (THUCYDIDES i. 110.) It is clear from this passage that the visit of Herodotus to Egypt was later than the year 460,—but how much later does not appear. See note 49, below, and also note 91 on ii. 30.

<sup>41</sup> παρέστησαν, "yielded." The ellipse is of *ἐαυτοῖς*. See v. 65: *παρίστησαν ἐπ' οἷσι ἐβούλοντο οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι*. vi. 140: *ἐπολιορκίοντο ἐς δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ παρέστησαν*. iii. 155: *θάσσον οἱ πόλεμοι παραστήσονται*, in which last passage is no ellipse.

<sup>42</sup> φόρον ἐτάξαντο, "agreed to the imposition of a tribute." See the note on § 89.

<sup>43</sup> [ἃ καὶ οἱ Λίβυες, ἕτερα τοιαῦτα.] The MSS vary between these words and *ὡς καὶ οἱ Λ. ἕτερα τοιαῦτα*, or *ἃ καὶ οἱ Λ. τοιαῦτα*. The several variations appear to me only glosses of *ὁμοίως*, and I have therefore included them between brackets.

<sup>44</sup> μεμφθεῖς. See note 267 on i. 77.

ἀπολέξας ἀνδρῶν τῶν πρώτων, ὁμοίως ἐσταλμένας τῇ τοῦ βασιλέως· ὡς δὲ βοῇ τε καὶ κλαυθμῷ παρήσαν αἱ παρθένοι κατὰ τοὺς πατέρας<sup>45</sup>, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πατέρες ἀνεβόων τε καὶ ἀντέκλαιον, ὁρέοντες τὰ τέκνα κεκακωμένα· ὁ δὲ Ψαμμήνιτος προιδὼν καὶ μαθὼν, ἔκυψε ἐς τὴν γῆν παρεξελθουσέων δὲ τῶν ὑδροφόρων, δευτέρα οἱ τὸν παῖδα ἔπεμπε μετ' ἄλλων Αἰγυπτίων δισχιλίῳ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡλικίην ἔχόντων, τοὺς τε αἰχένας κάλῳ δεδεμένους καὶ τὰ στόματα ἐγκεχαλινωμένους· ἄγοντο δὲ ποιῆν τίσοντας Μυτιληναίων τοῖσι ἐν Μέμφι ἀπολομένοισι σὺν τῇ νηϊ ταῦτα γὰρ ἐδίκασαν οἱ βασιλῆοι δικασταί, ὑπὲρ ἀνδρὸς ἐκάστου δέκα Αἰγυπτίων τῶν πρώτων ἀναπόλλυσθαι· ὁ δὲ ἰδὼν παρεξίοντας, καὶ μαθὼν τὸν παῖδα ἡγεόμενον ἐπὶ θάνατον, τῶν ἄλλων Αἰγυπτίων τῶν περικατημένων αὐτὸν κλαίοντων καὶ δεινὰ ποιούντων, τὸντο ἐποίησε τὸ καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ θυγατρὶ παρελθόντων δὲ καὶ τούτων, συνήνεικε ὥστε τῶν συμποτέων οἱ ἄνδρα ἀπηλικέστερον, ἐκπεπτωκότα ἐκ τῶν ἑόντων, ἔχοντά τε οὐδὲν εἰ μὴ ὅσα πτωχὸς καὶ προσαίτεοντα τὴν στρατιὴν, παρίεναι Ψαμμήνιτόν τε τὸν Ἀμάσιος καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ κατημένους τῶν Αἰγυπτίων· ὁ δὲ Ψαμμήνιτος ὡς ἶδε, ἀνακλαύσας μέγα καὶ καλέσας οὐνόματι τὸν ἐταῖρον, ἐπλήξατο τὴν κεφαλὴν· ἦσαν δ' ἄρα αὐτοῦ φύλακοι, οἱ τὸ ποιούμενον πᾶν ἐξ ἐκείνου ἐπ' ἐκάστη ἐξόδῳ Καμβύσῃ ἐσήμαινον θωυμάσας δὲ ὁ Καμβύσης τὰ ποιούμενα, πέμψας ἄγγελον εἰρώτα αὐτὸν, λέγων τάδε· “Δεσπότης σε Καμβύσης, Ψαμμήνιτε, εἰρωτᾷ, διότι δὴ τὴν μὲν θυγατέρα ὁρέων κεκακωμένην, καὶ τὸν παῖδα ἐπὶ θάνατον στείχοντα, οὔτε ἀνέβωσας οὔτε ἀπέκλαυσας· τὸν δὲ πτωχὸν οὐδὲν σοι προσήκοντα, ὡς ἄλλων πυνθάνομαι<sup>46</sup>, ἐτίμησας;” ὁ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐπειρώτα, ὁ δ' ἀμείβετο τοῖσδε· “ὦ παῖ Κύρου, τὰ μὲν οἰκῆια ἦν μέζω κακὰ ἢ ὥστε ἀνακλαίειν τὸ δὲ τοῦ ἐταίρου πένθος, ἄξιον ἦν δακρύων ὅς ἐκ πολλῶν τε καὶ εὐδαιμόνων ἐκπεσῶν ἐς πτωχήτην ἀπίκται ἐπὶ γήραος οὐδῶ.” καὶ ταῦτα ὡς ἀπενειχθέντα<sup>47</sup> ὑπὸ

<sup>45</sup> κατὰ τοὺς πατέρας. The use of the preposition κατὰ here illustrates such phrases as κατὰ Συνόπην πόλιν (i. 76); κατὰ Κροκοδείλου πόλιν (ii. 148), “as the maidens came wailing and weeping over against their fathers.” See note 195 on ii. 75.

<sup>46</sup> πυνθάνομαι. Gaisford adopts this

reading on the authority of the minority of MSS. The greater number have πυνθάνεται.

<sup>47</sup> ὡς ἀπενειχθέντα, “upon their being reported, as they were.” The full expression would be καὶ ταῦτα ὡς ἀπηνέχθη ὑπὸ τούτων, ἀπενειχθέντα εἰς δ. εἰρ. See note 337 on ii. 120.

τούτου, εὖ δοκέειν οἱ εἰρήσθαι· ὥς δὲ λέγεται ὑπ' Αἰγυπτίων, δακρύειν μὲν Κροῖσον, (ἐτετεύχεε γὰρ καὶ οὗτος ἐπισπόμενος Καμβύσῃ ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον,) δακρύειν δὲ Περσέων τοὺς παρόντας· αὐτῷ τε Καμβύσῃ ἐσελθεῖν οἰκτὸν τινα, καὶ αὐτίκα κελεύειν τὸν τε οἱ παῖδα ἐκ τῶν ἀπολλυμένων σώζειν καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ προαστείου ἀναστήσαντας ἄγειν παρ' ἐωυτὸν τὸν μὲν δὴ παῖδα εὖρον οἱ μετιόντες οὐκέτι περιέοντα, ἀλλὰ πρῶτον κατακοπέντα· αὐτὸν δὲ Ψαμμήνιτον ἀναστήσαντες ἦγον παρὰ Καμβύσεα· ἔνθα τοῦ λοιποῦ διατῆτο ἔχων οὐδὲν βίαιον εἰ δὲ καὶ ἡπιστήθη μὴ πολυπρηγμονεῖν, ἀπέλαβε ἂν Αἴγυπτον ὥστε ἐπιτροπενεῦν αὐτῆς<sup>48</sup>. ἐπεὶ τιμᾶν ἐώθασι Πέρσαι τῶν βασιλέων τοὺς παῖδας· τῶν, ἣν καὶ σφῶν ἀποστέωσι, ὅμως τοῖσί γε παισὶ αὐτῶν ἀποδιδούσι τὴν ἀρχήν· πολλοῖσι μὲν νυν καὶ ἄλλοις ἐστι σταθμώσασθαι, ὅτι τοῦτο οὕτω νενομίκασι ποιεῖν, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ τῷδε, τῷ Αἰβύσῳ Ἰνάρῳ παιδὶ Θαννύρῃ, ὃς ἀπέλαβε τὴν οἱ ὁ πατὴρ εἶχε ἀρχήν καὶ τῷ Ἀμυρταίου Πανσίρῃ<sup>49</sup>. καὶ γὰρ οὗτος ἀπέλαβε τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ἀρχήν. καίτοι Ἰνάρῳ τε καὶ Ἀμυρταίου οὐδαμοὶ καὶ Πέρσας κακὰ πλέω ἐργάσαντο. νῦν δὲ<sup>50</sup> μηχανώμενος κακὰ ὁ Ψαμμήνιτος ἔλαβε τὸν μισθὸν· ἀπιστὰς γὰρ Αἰγυπτίους ἦλ'ω· ἐπεὶ τε δὲ ἐπαύστος ἐγένετο ὑπὸ Καμβύσει, αἷμα ταύρου πίων ἀπέθανε παραχρήμα. οὕτω δὴ οὗτος ἐτελεῦτ' ἔσχε.

16

Cambyzes burns the body of Amasis, and by so doing shocks the religious feelings both of Persians and Egyptians.

Καμβύσης δὲ ἐκ Μέμφιος ἀπῆκετο εἰς Σαῖν πόλιν, βουλόμενος ποιῆσαι τὰ δὴ καὶ ἐποίησε. ἐπεὶ τε γὰρ ἐσήλθε εἰς τὰ τοῦ Ἀμάσιος οἰκία<sup>51</sup>, αὐτίκα ἐκέλευε ἐκ τῆς ταφῆς τὸν Ἀμάσιος νέκυν ἐκφέρειν ἔξω· ὥς δὲ ταῦτά οἱ ἐπιτελέα ἐγένετο, μαστιγοῦν<sup>52</sup> ἐκέλευε, καὶ τὰς τρίχας ἀποτίλλειν, καὶ κεντοῦν τε καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα λυμαινέσθαι· ἐπεὶ τε δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἔκαμον ποιούντες, (ὁ γὰρ δὴ νεκρὸς, ἅτε τεταριχευμένος, ἀντείχε τε καὶ οὐδὲν διεχέετο,) ἐκέ-

<sup>48</sup> ἀπέλαβε ἂν Αἴγυπτον ὥστε ἐπιτροπενεῦν αὐτῆς. Ctesias in his *Persica* related that Cambyses did no other harm to the Egyptian king—whom he makes to be Amyrtæus—than sending him to Susa with six thousand of the principal Egyptians (*ap. Photium, Biblioth.* p. 37). See the note 9, above.

<sup>49</sup> Πανσίρῃ. Unless this passage is a later addition, we must suppose Herodotus's visit to Egypt to have been subsequent to the complete recovery of that country by the Persians, and consequently

after (perhaps long after) B.C. 449. (See CLINTON, *F. H.* on year 455 B.C.) On the other hand compare note 91 on ii. 30.

<sup>50</sup> νῦν δὲ, "but as the case was." So below, § 25, νῦν δὲ λόγον οὐδένα ποιέμενος ἦτε αἰεὶ ἐς τὸ πρῶτον, "but as it was he took no account of the matter and kept on advancing farther."

<sup>51</sup> οἰκία. The manuscript S has οἰκήθια. See above, note 515 on ii. 169.

<sup>52</sup> μαστιγοῦν. Some MSS. add τὸν νέκυν.



λευσέ μιν ὁ Καμβύσης κατακαῖσαι, ἐντελλόμενος οὐκ ὄσια· Πέρσαι γὰρ θεὸν νομίζουσι εἶναι πῦρ· τὸ ὦν κατακαίειν γε τοὺς νεκροὺς οὐδαμῶς ἐν νόμῳ οὐδετέροισί ἐστι· Πέρσῃσι μὲν, δι' ὅπερ εἴρηται, θεῷ οὐ δίκαιον εἶναι λέγοντες νέμειν νεκρὸν ἀνθρώπου<sup>15</sup>. Αἰγυπτίοισι δὲ νενομισται πῦρ θηρίων εἶναι ἔμφυχον, πάντα δὲ αὐτὸ κατεσθίειν τά περ ἂν λάβῃ πλησθὲν δὲ αὐτὸ τῆς βορῆς συναποθνήσκειν τῷ κατεσθιομένῳ· οὐκ ὡν θηρίοισι νόμος οὐδαμῶς σφί ἐστι τὸν νέκυν διδόναι· καὶ διὰ ταῦτα ταριχεύουσι, ἵνα μὴ κείμενος ὑπὸ εὐλέων καταβρωθῇ. οὕτω δὴ οὐδετέροισι νομιζόμενα ἐνετέλετρο ποιεῖν ὁ Καμβύσης. ὥς μέντοι Αἰγύπτιοι λέγουσι, οὐκ Ἄμασις ἦν ὁ ταῦτα παθὼν ἀλλὰ ἄλλος τῶν τις Αἰγυπτίων, ἔχων τὴν αὐτὴν ἡλικίην Ἀμάσι· φ' λυμαινόμενοι Πέρσαι ἐδόκεον Ἄμασιν λυμαίνεσθαι· λέγουσι γὰρ, ὥς πυθόμενος ἐκ μαντητοῦ ὁ Ἄμασις τὰ περὶ ἐκείνων μέλλοι ἀποθανόντα γίνεσθαι, οὕτω δὴ ἀκείμενος τὰ ἐπιφερόμενα, τὸν μὲν ἄνθρωπον τοῦτον τῶν μαστιγωθέντα ἀποθανόντα ἔθαψε ἐπὶ τῇσι θύρῃσι ἐντὸς<sup>16</sup> τῆς ἐκείνου θήκης, ἐκείνων δὲ ἐνετείλατο τῷ παιδί ἐν μυχῇ τῆς θήκης ὥς μάλιστα θείναι. αἱ μὲν νυν ἐκ τοῦ Ἀμάσιος ἐντολαὶ αὗται, αἱ ἐς τὴν ταφήν τε καὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἔχουσαι, οὐ μοι δοκεῖν ἀρχὴν γενέσθαι, ἀλλ' ὡς αὐτὰ Αἰγύπτιοι σεμνοῦν.

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα<sup>17</sup> ὁ Καμβύσης ἐβουλεύσατο τριφασίας στρατηγίας, ἐπὶ τε Καρχηδονίους καὶ ἐπὶ Ἀμμωνίους καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς Μακροβίους Αἰθίοπας, οἰκημένους δὲ Διβύης ἐπὶ τῇ νοτίῃ θαλάσῃ. βουλευομένων δὲ οἱ ἔδοξε ἐπὶ μὲν Καρχηδονίους τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατὸν ἀποστέλλειν ἐπὶ δὲ Ἀμμωνίους τοῦ πεζοῦ ἀποκρίναντα· ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς Αἰθίοπας κατόπτας πρῶτον, ὄφρομένους τε τὴν ἐν τούτοις τοῖσι Αἰθίοφι λεγομένην εἶναι ἡλίον τράπεζαν εἰ ἐστι ἀληθῆως, καὶ πρὸς ταύτην τὰ ἄλλα κατοικομένους, δῶρα δὲ τῷ λόγῳ φέροντας τῷ βασιλεῖ αὐτῶν. Ἡ δὲ τράπεζα τοῦ ἡλίου 18

Cambyses projects expeditions against Carthage, Ammon, and Ethiopia.

<sup>15</sup> θεῷ οὐ δίκαιον εἶναι λέγοντες νέμειν νεκρὸν ἀνθρώπου. Some MSS have λέγουσι for λέγοντες, in order, no doubt, to make the construction run more clearly. But I conceive the clause to have dropt out of its proper place after πῦρ. If it be replaced, the sentence will be perfectly regular with a proper punctuation: Πέρσαι γὰρ θεὸν νομίζουσι εἶναι πῦρ, θεῷ οὐ δίκαιον εἶναι λέγοντες νέμειν νεκρὸν ἀνθρώπου· τὸ ὦν κατακαίειν γε τοὺς νεκροὺς οὐδαμῶς ἐν

νόμῳ οὐδετέροισί ἐστι, Πέρσῃσι μὲν δι' ὅπερ εἴρηται, Αἰγυπτίοισι δὲ κ.τ.λ.

<sup>16</sup> ἐντὸς. S and V have ἐκτός.

<sup>17</sup> μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα. The account which follows of the transactions of Cambyzes in Upper Egypt appears to rest on local Theban traditions. The Greek auxiliaries are represented as left behind at Memphis, and as being sent home by Cambyzes immediately on his return (§ 26).

The "Table  
of the Sun"  
in Ethiopia.

τοιήδε τις λέγεται εἶναι· λειμών ἐστι ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ ἐπίπλεος κρεῶν ἐφθῶν πάντων τῶν τετραπόδων, ἐς τὸν τὰς μὲν νύκτας ἐπιτηδεύοντας τιθέναι τὰ κρέα τοὺς ἐν τέλει ἐκάστους ὄντας τῶν ἀστῶν, τὰς δὲ ἡμέρας δαίνυσθαι προσίοντα τὸν βουλόμενον φάναι δὲ τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους ταῦτα τὴν γῆν αὐτὴν ἀναδιδόναι" ἐκάστοτε. ἡ

19 μὲν δὴ τράπεζα τοῦ ἡλίου καλεομένη λέγεται εἶναι τοιήδε. Καμβύσης δὲ ὡς ἔδοξε πέμπειν τοὺς κατασκόπους, αὐτίκα μετεπέμπετο ἐξ Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλιος τῶν Ἰχθυοφάγων ἀνδρῶν τοὺς ἐπιστάμενους τὴν Αἰθιοπίδα γλῶσσαν· ἐν φ' δὲ τούτους μετήισαν, ἐν τούτῳ ἐκέλευε ἐπὶ τὴν Καρχηδόνα πλέειν τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατὸν Φοινίκης δὲ οὐκ ἔφασαν ποιήσῃν ταῦτα· ὀρκιοῖσι τε γὰρ μεγάλῳσι ἐνδεδέσθαι καὶ οὐκ ἂν ποίειν ὅσα ἐπὶ τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς ἐωντῶν στρατευόμενοι· Φοινίκων δὲ οὐ βουλομένων, οἱ λοιποὶ οὐκ ἀξιόμαχοι ἐγίνοντο. Καρχηδόνιοι μὲν νυν οὕτω δουλοσύνην διέφυγον πρὸς Περσέων Καμβύσης γὰρ βίην οὐκ ἔδικαλον προσφέρειν Φοινίξι, ὅτι σφέας τε αὐτοὺς ἐδεδώκεσαν Πέρσῃσι καὶ πᾶς ἐκ Φοινίκων ἥρτητο ὁ ναυτικὸς στρατός. δόντες δὲ καὶ Κύπριοι σφέας αὐτοὺς Πέρσῃσι ἐστρατεύοντο ἐπ' Ἀγυπτὸν<sup>a</sup>. Ἐπεὶ τε

The Phœnicians refuse to sail against Carthage.

20 Cambyses sends certain Ichthyophagi with presents to the Ethiopians.

δὲ τῷ Καμβύσῃ ἐκ τῆς Ἐλεφαντίνης ἀπίκοντο οἱ Ἰχθυοφάγοι, ἔπεμπε αὐτοὺς ἐς τοὺς Αἰθίοντας ἐντειλάμενος τὰ λέγειν χρῆ, καὶ δῶρα φέροντας πορφύρεόν τε εἶμα καὶ χρύσειον στρεπτὸν περιανχένιον καὶ ψέλια καὶ μύρου ἀλάβαστρον καὶ φοινικηίου οἴνου

<sup>a</sup> τὴν γῆν αὐτὴν ἀναδιδόναι. The em-  
placement of these Ethiopians is an ex-  
tremely hopeless matter; but it is plain  
that the fertility of the country, or the  
richness of the products which were re-  
puted to come from thence, and did really  
come from that direction, caused them to  
be described as inhabitants of a sort of *pays*  
*de Cocagne*, just as was the case with the  
Tartessians. The long life attributed to  
them is probably a part of the same notion.  
See STRABO, cited in the note 540 on i. 163,  
and the description of the *Hyperboreans*  
by PINDAR (*Pyth.* x. 57):

Μοῖσα δ' οὐκ ἀποδαμεί  
τρώποις ἐπὶ σφετέροισι· πα-  
τῶ δὲ χοροὶ παρθένων  
λυρῶν τε βοᾷ καναχὰι τ' αὐλῶν δονέονται·  
δάφνι τε χρυσῇ κό-  
μας ἀναθήσαντες εἰλα-  
πινάξουσιν εὐφρόνως.

νόσοι δ' οὐτε γῆρας οὐλόμενον  
κέκραται ἱερῇ γενεῇ· πόνοι  
δὲ καὶ μαχῶν ἄτερ  
οἰκίοισι, φυγόντες  
ὑπέρδικον Νέμεσιν.

Kenrick well remarks on the common tendency of men, groaning under the burdens of the social state, to draw such pictures as these, and refer them to times before the origin of history, and to countries beyond the limits of geographical knowledge.

<sup>a</sup> Cyprus, according to Herodotus (ii. ult.), had been reduced to the condition of a tributary by Amasis; and according to the authorities followed by DIONYSIUS (i. 68), was an ally of Phœnicia in the war with Apries (mentioned by Herodotus ii. 161). These circumstances would be favourable to Cambyses in his designs against Egypt, as the attack would be made on a common enemy.

κάδον. οἱ δὲ Αἰθίοπες οὗτοι, ἐς τοὺς ἀπέπεμπε ὁ Καμβύσης, λέγονται εἶναι μέγιστοι καὶ κάλλιστοι<sup>57</sup> ἀνθρώπων πάντων νόμοισι δὲ καὶ ἄλλοισι χρᾶσθαι αὐτοὺς φασὶ κεχωρισμένοις τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων, καὶ δὴ καὶ κατὰ τὴν βασιλιήν τοιῷδε<sup>58</sup> τὸν ἀν τῶν ἀστῶν κρίνωσι μέγιστόν τε εἶναι<sup>59</sup> καὶ κατὰ τὸ μέγαθος ἔχειν τὴν ἰσχύν, τοῦτον ἀξιούσι βασιλεύειν.

The beauty of the race, their stature, and peculiar customs.

Ἐς τούτους δὴ ὦν τοὺς ἄνδρας ὡς ἀπίκοντο οἱ Ἰχθυοφάγοι, 21

διδόντες τὰ δῶρα τῷ βασιλεῖ αὐτῶν, ἔλεγον τάδε “Βασιλεὺς ὁ Περσέων Καμβύσης, βουλόμενος φίλος τοι καὶ ξείνος γενέσθαι, ἡμέας τε ἀπέπεμψε ἐς λόγους τοι ἐλθεῖν κελεύων, καὶ δῶρα ταῦτά τοι διδοῖ τοῖσι καὶ αὐτὸς μάλιστα ἥδεται χρεώμενος.” ὁ δὲ Αἰθίοψ μαθὼν ὅτι κατόπται ἤκοιεν, λέγει πρὸς αὐτοὺς τοιάδε “οὔτε ὁ Περσέων βασιλεὺς δῶρα ὑμέας ἔπεμψε φέροντας προτιμῶν πολ-

Anecdote of the king of the Ethiopians, on receiving the envoys.

λοῦ ἐμοὶ ξείνος γενέσθαι, οὔτε ὑμεῖς λέγετε ἀληθέα, (ἤκετε γὰρ κατόπται τῆς ἐμῆς ἀρχῆς,) οὔτε ἐκεῖνος ἀνὴρ ἐστὶ δίκαιος· εἰ γὰρ ἦν δίκαιος, οὐτ’ ἂν ἐπεθύμησε χώρας ἄλλης ἢ τῆς ἑωυτοῦ οὐτ’ ἂν ἐς δουλοσύνην ἀνθρώπους ἔγε ὑπ’ ὧν μηδὲν ἡδίκηται· νῦν δὲ αὐτῷ τόξον τόδε δίδοντες τάδε ἔπεα λέγετε· Βασιλεὺς ὁ Αἰθιοπῶν συμβουλεύει τῷ Περσέων βασιλεῖ, ἔπειαν οὕτω εὐπετέως ἔλκωσι τὰ τόξα Πέρσαι ἐόντα μεγάθει τοσαῦτα, τότε ἐπ’ Αἰθιοπας τοὺς Μακροβλοῦς<sup>60</sup> πλήθει ὑπερβαλλόμενον στρατεῦσθαι μέχρι δὲ τούτου θεοῖσι εἰδέναι χάριν, οἳ οὐκ ἐπὶ νόον τρέπουσι Αἰθιοπῶν παισὶ<sup>61</sup> γῆν ἄλλην προσκτᾶσθαι τῇ ἑωυτῶν.” Ταῦτα δὲ εἰπας, 22 καὶ ἀνείς τὸ τόξον, παρέδωκε τοῖσι ἤκουσι· λαβὼν δὲ τὸ εἶμα τὸ πορφύρεον, εἰρώτα ὃ τι εἶη καὶ ὅκως πεποιημένον; εἰπάντων δὲ τῶν Ἰχθυοφάγων τὴν ἀληθινήν περὶ τῆς πορφύρης καὶ τῆς βαφῆς, δολεροῦς μὲν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἔφη εἶναι δολερά δὲ αὐτῶν τὰ εἴματα· δεύτερα δὲ, τὸν χρυσοῦν εἰρώτα στρεπτόν τὸν περιαιχένιον καὶ τὰ

<sup>57</sup> μέγιστοι καὶ κάλλιστοι. HUMPHREY (ap. Walpole, Turkey, p. 382) says that the Ethiopian women brought to Egypt for sale, though black, are extremely beautiful. Their features are regular and their eyes full of expression. A great number of them were purchased by the French during their stay in Egypt, and they fetched from 80 to 100 dollars, while Arab women might be purchased for as little as ten.

<sup>58</sup> τὸν ἀν τῶν ἀστῶν κρίνωσι μέγιστόν

τε εἶναι. The foundation of this notion perhaps was the circumstance of the chiefs belonging to a different race from their subjects. ARISTOTLE (*Polit.* vii. p. 1332. l. 24) quotes Scylax as relating that the “Indian” chiefs differed unmistakably from those whom they governed.

<sup>59</sup> τοὺς Μακροβλοῦς. See the note 540 on i. 163.

<sup>60</sup> οἳ οὐκ ἐπὶ νόον τρέπουσι Αἰθιοπῶν παισὶ. See note 341 on i. 71.

ψέλια· ἐξηγεομένων δὲ τῶν Ἰχθυοφάγων τὸν κόσμον αὐτῶν, γελάσας ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ νομίσας εἶναι σφραγίδας, εἶπε ὡς παρ' ἐκαστοῖς εἰσι ῥωμαλεώτεραι τούτων πέδαι· τρίτον δὲ, εἰρώτα τὸ μύρον εἰπάντων δὲ τῆς ποιήσιος πέρι καὶ ἀλεξήμιος, τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον τὸν καὶ περὶ τοῦ εἵματος εἶπε· ὥς δὲ ἐς τὸν οἶνον ἀπίκτετο καὶ ἐπύθετο αὐτοῦ τὴν ποιήσιν, ὑπερησθεὶς τῇ πόματι ἐπείρετο ὃ τι τε σιτέται ὁ βασιλεὺς, καὶ χρόνον ὁκόσον μακρότατον ἀνὴρ Πέρσης ζῶει; οἱ δὲ σιτέεσθαι μὲν τὸν ἄρτον εἶπαν, ἐξηγησάμενοι τῶν πυρῶν τὴν φύσιν, ὀγδώκοντα δ' ἔτεα ζῆς πλήρωμα ἀνδρὶ μακρότατον προκέεσθαι· πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Αἰθίοψ ἔφη, οὐδὲν θωυμάζειν εἰ σιτέμενοι κόπρον ἔτεα ὀλίγα ζῶουσιν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν τοσαῦτα δύνασθαι ζῶειν σφέας εἰ μὴ τῇ πόματι ἀνέφερον<sup>61</sup>, φράζων τοῖσι Ἰχθυοφάγοις τὸν οἶνον τοῦτο γὰρ ἐκαστοῖς ὑπὸ Περσέων ἐσσοῦσθαι. Ἀντειρομένων δὲ τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Ἰχθυοφάγων τῆς ζῆς καὶ διαίτης πέρι, ἔτεα μὲν ἐς εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν<sup>62</sup> τοὺς πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἀπικνεέσθαι, ὑπερβάλλειν δὲ τινας καὶ ταῦτα· σίτησιν δὲ εἶναι κρέα ἐφθὰ, καὶ πόμα γάλα· θάυμα δὲ ποιευμένων τῶν κατασκόπων περὶ τῶν ἐτέων, ἐπὶ κρήνην σφί ἡγήσασθαι<sup>63</sup>. ἀπ' ἧς λουόμενοι λιπαρώτεροι ἐγίνοντο, κατὰπερ εἰ ἐλαίου εἴη· ὅζω δὲ ἀπ' αὐτῆς ὥσει ἰών. ἀσθενὲς δὲ τὸ ὕδωρ τῆς κρήνης ταύτης οὕτω δὴ τι ἔλεγον εἶναι οἱ κατὰσκοποι, ὥστε μηδὲν οἷον τε εἶναι ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ἐπιπλέειν, μήτε ξύλον<sup>64</sup> μήτε τῶν ὅσα ξύλου ἐστὶ ἐλαφρότερα, ἀλλὰ πάντα σφέα χωρεῖν ἐς βυσσόν· (τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ τοῦτο<sup>65</sup> εἰ σφί ἐστι ἀληθῶς οἷον τι λέγεται,

<sup>61</sup> ἀνέφερον. The MSS vary between this reading, ἀναφέρων, and ἀνέφυρον.

<sup>62</sup> ἐς εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν. The same duration of life is ascribed to Argantho-nius, the king of the Tartessians (i. 163). See note 56, above.

<sup>63</sup> ἡγήσασθαι. This infinitive is to be taken after ἔρασαν or some such word, of which the subject is οἱ Ἰχθυοφάγοι, whereas the infinitives in the preceding sentence would follow ἀντέλεγε or some such word, of which the subject would be ὁ βασιλεὺς. The transition from the direct form to the oblique at the beginning of this section gives the impression of an author making an abstract of an account before him, which would naturally of itself produce a certain slovenliness of construction.

<sup>64</sup> μήτε ξύλον. It seems not impossible that the belief in the extreme rarity

of this water may partly arise from the circumstance that the wood of the cocoa-tree, which would be the commonest of all in many regions of Africa, is of a greater specific gravity than water, and consequently would sink in it. So also would ebony and lignum vitae, and some other woods.

<sup>65</sup> τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ τοῦτο. This sentence is not to be regarded as a part of the missionaries' story, but as an inference of the author's from the rarity of the water. The Ichthyophagi rather regarded the spring as a magical one, making those who bathed in it vigorous, of which the outward mark was the sleek, shining appearance of their skin. Their narrative is renewed in the next sentence by the appropriate change to an indirect form of construction.

23  
Longevity  
of the  
Ethiopians.

Wonders  
of the  
country.

διὰ τοῦτο ἂν εἰεν, τούτῳ τὰ πάντα χρεώμενοι, μακρόβιοι) ἀπὸ τῆς κρήνης δὲ ἀπαλλασσομένων, ἀγαγεῖν σφέας ἐς δεσμοτήριον ἀνδρῶν, ἔνθα τοὺς πάντας ἐν πέδῃσι χρυσέσῃ δεδέσθαι· ἔστι δὲ ἐν τούτοις τοῖσι Λιβύοι πάντων ὁ χαλκὸς σπανιώτατον καὶ τιμώτατον· θεσάμενοι δὲ καὶ τὸ δεσμοτήριον, ἐθέσαντο καὶ τὴν τοῦ Ἑλλίου λεγομένην τράπεζαν. Μετὰ δὲ ταύτην, τελευταίας ἐθέ- 24 ῆσαντο τὰς θήκας αὐτῶν, αἱ λέγονται σκευάζεσθαι ἐξ ὕλου τρόπῳ τοιῷδε· ἐπεὶ τὸν νεκρὸν ἰσχυρήσῃ, εἴτε δὴ κατὰπερ Αἰγύπτῳ εἴτε ἄλλως κως, γυψώσαντες ἅπαντα αὐτὸν γραφῇ κοσμέουσι, ἐξομοιούντες τὸ εἶδος ἐς τὸ δυνατόν· ἔπειτα δὲ οἱ περιστᾶσι στήλην ἐξ ὕλου πεποιημένην κοίλην ἢ δὲ σφί πολλή καὶ εὐεργὸς ὀρύσσεται· ἐν μέσῃ δὲ τῇ στήλῃ ἐνεὼν διαφαίνεται ὁ νέκυς, οὔτε ὁδμήν οὐδεμίαν ἄχαριν παρεχόμενος οὔτε ἄλλο ἀεικὲς οὐδὲν, καὶ ἔχει πάντα φανερά ὁμοίως αὐτῷ [τῷ νέκυϊ<sup>66</sup>]. ἐνιαυτὸν μὲν δὴ ἔχουσι τὴν στήλην ἐν τοῖσι οἰκίοις οἱ μάλιστα<sup>67</sup> προσήκοντες, πάντων τε ἀπαρχόμενοι καὶ θυσίας οἱ προσάγοντες· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐκκομίσαντες ἰσθᾶσι περὶ τὴν πόλιν.

Θεσάμενοι δὲ τὰ πάντα οἱ κατὰσκοποι, ἀπαλλάσσοντο ὀπίσω 25 ἀπαγγειλάντων δὲ ταῦτα τούτων, αὐτίκα ὁ Καμβύσης ὀργήν<sup>68</sup> Cambyzes invades the ποιοῦσάμενος ἐστρατεύετο ἐπὶ τοὺς Λιβύοις, οὔτε παρασκευὴν σίτου οὐδεμίαν παραγγελίας οὔτε λόγον ἑωυτῷ δοὺς ὅτι ἐς τὰ ἔσχατα τῆς γῆς ἔμελλε στρατεῦσθαι· οἱ δὲ ἐμμανὴς τε ἔων καὶ οὐ φρενῆρης, ὥς ἤκουε τῶν Ἰχθυοφάγων, ἐστρατεύετο Ἑλλήνων μὲν τοὺς παρεόντας αὐτοῦ ταύτη<sup>69</sup> τάξας ὑπομένειν, τὸν δὲ πεζὸν πάντα ἄμα ἀγόμενος· ἐπεὶ τε δὲ στρατεύομενος ἐγένετο ἐν Θήβῃσι, At Thebes he detaches 50,000 men ἀπέκρινε τοῦ στρατοῦ ὡς πέντε μυριάδας· καὶ τούτοις μὲν ἐνετέλ-

<sup>66</sup> [τῷ νέκυϊ.] These words appear to me to be a gloss from a misunderstanding of the meaning of the passage, which I should render, "and yet has every feature distinct like the man himself," i. e. when he was alive.

<sup>67</sup> οἱ μάλιστα. One MS (R) adds the words αὐτῷ τῷ νέκυϊ, which Wesseling adopts, and strikes out the same two lines back. I should rather conjecture that after τῷ νέκυϊ in that place had become incorporated with the text, a subsequent transcriber shifted them to this position. On the transcript being collated by a different person, the change would

be observed, and a marginal note would be added to show where they ought to have been. Then would come the transcriber of R, or its archetype, and put them in both places.

<sup>68</sup> ὀργήν. The manuscripts S and V have ἀρχήν, which is perhaps the true reading.

<sup>69</sup> αὐτοῦ ταύτη. The same expression occurs i. 214; iv. 135. But it seems doubtful whether it does not here arise from an aggregation of two alternative readings. Here only S has αὐτοῦ ταύτη, while M, V have αὐτῷ, and P, K, F αὐτοῦ without ταύτη.

against Am-  
mon.

The main  
army is  
baffled by  
want of sup-  
plies, and  
suffers ter-  
ribly.

## 26

The detach-  
ment  
reaches the  
Oasis (*El  
Wah*), but  
perishes  
midway  
between that  
place and  
Ammon.

λετο Ἀμμωνίους ἑξανδραποδισαμένους τὸ χρηστήριον τὸ τοῦ Διὸς ἐμπρῆσαι, αὐτοὺς δὲ τὸν λοιπὸν ἄγων στρατὸν ἦγε ἐπὶ τοὺς Αἰθίο-  
πας· πρὶν δὲ τῆς ὁδοῦ τὸ πέμπτον μέρος διεληλυθῆναι τὴν στρα-  
τιῇν, αὐτίκα πάντα αὐτοὺς τὰ εἶχον σιτίων ἐχόμενα ἐπελελοίπεε·  
μετὰ δὲ τὰ σιτία, καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια ἐπέλιπε κατεσθιόμενα· εἰ μὲν  
νυν μαθὼν ταῦτα ὁ Καμβύσης ἐγνωσιμάχῃ, καὶ ἀπῆγε ὀπίσω τὸν  
στρατὸν, ἐπὶ τῇ ἀρχῇθεν γενομένη ἀμαρτιάδι ἦν<sup>70</sup> ἀνὴρ σοφός· νῦν  
δὲ οὐδένα λόγον ποιούμενος ἦγε αἰεὶ ἐς τὸ πρόσω· οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται,  
ἕως μὲν τι εἶχον ἐκ τῆς γῆς λαμβάνειν ποιηφαγέοντες διέζων· ἐπεὶ  
δὲ ἐς τὴν ψάμμον ἀπίκοντο, δεινὸν ἔργον αὐτῶν τινὲς ἐργάσαντο  
ἐκ δεκάδος γὰρ ἕνα σφέων αὐτῶν ἀποκληρώσαντες κατέφαγον.  
πυθόμενος δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Καμβύσης, δέσας τὴν ἀλληλοφαγίην, ἀπῆλ-  
θὼν ἐπ' Αἰθιοπίας στόλον ὀπίσω ἐπορεύετο καὶ ἀπικνέεται ἐς Θήβας  
πολλοὺς ἀπολέσας τοῦ στρατοῦ· ἐκ Θηβῶν δὲ καταβὰς ἐς Μέμ-  
φιν, τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἀπῆκε ἀποπλέειν<sup>71</sup>. ὁ μὲν ἐπ' Αἰθιοπίας  
στόλος οὕτω ἔπρηξε. Οἱ δ' αὐτῶν ἐπ' Ἀμμωνίους ἀποσταλέντες  
στρατεύεσθαι, ἐπεὶ τε ὀρμηθέντες ἐκ τῶν Θηβῶν ἐπορεύοντο  
ἔχοντες ἄγωγους, ἀπικόμενοι μὲν φανεροί εἰσι ἐς Ὅασιν πόλιν,  
τὴν ἔχουσι μὲν Σάμιοι<sup>72</sup> τῆς Αἰσχρινῆς φυλῆς λεγόμενοι εἶναι·  
ἀπέχουσι δὲ ἑπτὰ ἡμέρων ὁδὸν ἀπὸ Θηβῶν<sup>73</sup> διὰ ψάμμου οὐνο-  
μάζεται δὲ ὁ χώρος οὗτος κατὰ Ἑλλήνων γλῶσσαν Μακάρων  
νῆσος· ἐς μὲν δὴ τοῦτον τὸν χώρον λέγεται ἀπικέσθαι τὸν στρα-  
τὸν· τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ, ὅτι μὴ αὐτοὶ Ἀμμώνιοι καὶ οἱ τούτων ἀκού-  
σαντες, ἄλλοι οὐδένας οὐδὲν ἔχουσι εἰπεῖν περὶ αὐτῶν· οὔτε γὰρ ἐς  
τοὺς Ἀμμωνίους ἀπίκοντο οὔτε ὀπίσω ἐνόστησαν· λέγεται δὲ καὶ  
τάδε ὑπ' αὐτῶν Ἀμμωνίων ἐπειδὴ ἐκ τῆς Ὀάσιος ταύτης ἵεναι  
διὰ τῆς ψάμμου ἐπὶ σφέας, γενέσθαι τε αὐτοὺς μεταξὺ κου

<sup>70</sup> ἦν. Gaisford, with the majority of MSS, adds *ἦν*.

<sup>71</sup> τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἀπῆκε ἀποπλέειν. This is extraordinary, as by such a proceeding he would appear to have been entirely left without troops, the main army having suffered so much, and the detached division of 50,000 having totally perished.

<sup>72</sup> τὴν ἔχουσι μὲν Σάμιοι. There is no means of saying when this settlement took place, but it will probably have been coincident with the extension of Samian enterprise to Egypt. For evi-

dence of a commercial connexion between Samos, Elis, Cyrene, and Egypt, see notes 296 b on ii. 86 and 554 on ii. 182.

<sup>73</sup> ἑπτὰ ἡμέρων ὁδὸν ἀπὸ Θηβῶν. It is nearly in the same latitude with Thebes, and lies in the caravan track from that city to the Oasis of Ammon. Its modern name is *El Wah* (the habitation), and it really consists of two oases, *El Kargeh* and *El Dakel*. It may be observed from the varying account of the distances that it is unlikely this story belongs to the same cycle as the one in iv. 181.

μάλιστα αὐτῶν τε καὶ τῆς Ὀάσιος, ἀριστον αἵρεομένοισι αὐτοῖσι ἐπιπνεῦσαι νότον μέγαν τε καὶ ἐξάλσιον, φορέοντα δὲ θίνας τῆς ψάμμου καταχῶσαι σφεας καὶ τρόπῳ τοιοῦτῳ ἀφανισθῆναι. Ἀμμώνιοι μὲν οὕτω λέγουσι γενέσθαι περὶ τῆς στρατιῆς ταύτης.

Ἀπιγμένον δὲ Καμβύσῳ ἐς Μέμφιν ἐφάνη Αἰγυπτίοισι ὁ 27

Ἄπις, τὸν Ἕλληνας Ἐπαφὸν καλέουσι.<sup>74</sup> ἐπιφανέος δὲ τούτου Cambyses, on occasion of the appearance of Apis, is angry at the festivities of the people. γενομένου, αὐτίκα οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι εἴματά τε ἐφόρεον τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ ἦσαν ἐν θαλίῃσιν· ἰδὼν δὲ ταῦτα τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ποιεῦντας ὁ Καμβύσης, πάγχυ σφέας καταδόξας ἐνωτοῦ κακῶς πρήξαντος χαρμόσυνα ταῦτα ποιεῖν, ἐκάλεε τοὺς ἐπιτρόπους<sup>75</sup> τῆς Μέμφιος·

ἀπικομένους δὲ ἐς ὅσιν εἶρετο ὃ τι πρότερον μὲν ἐόντος αὐτοῦ ἐν Μέμφι, ἐπόλεον τοιοῦτον οὐδὲν Αἰγύπτιοι, τότε δὲ, ἐπεὶ αὐτὸς παρεῖη τῆς στρατιῆς πλήθός τι ἀποβαλὼν· οἱ δὲ ἔφραζον ὥς σφι θεὸς εἴη φανείς διὰ χρόνου πολλοῦ ἐωθὼς ἐπιφαίνεσθαι, καὶ ὥς ἐπεὰν φανῇ, τότε πάντες οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι κεχαρηκότες ὀρτάζοιεν ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ Καμβύσης ἔφη ψεύδεσθαι σφεας καὶ ὥς ψευδο- μένους θανάτῳ ἐξῆμίου. Ἀποκτείνας δὲ τούτους, δεύτερα τοὺς 28

ἱρέας ἐκάλεε ἐς ὅσιν λεγόντων δὲ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ τῶν ἱρέων, οὐ λήσειεν ἔφη αὐτὸν εἰ θεὸς τις χειροθήης ἀπιγμένος εἴη Αἰγυπτίοισιν· τοσαῦτα δὲ εἶπας, ἐπάγειν ἐκέλευε τὸν Ἄπιν τοὺς ἱρέας· οἱ μὲν δὴ μετήϊσαν ἄζοντες· (ὁ δὲ Ἄπις οὗτος [ὁ Ἐπαφος<sup>76</sup>,] γίνεται Description of Apis. μόσχος ἐκ βοδὸς ἥτις οὐκέτι οἷη τε γίνεται ἐς γαστέρα ἄλλον βάλ- λεσθαι<sup>77</sup> γόνον Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ λέγουσι σέλας ἐπὶ τὴν βούν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ<sup>78</sup> κατίσχειν, καὶ μιν ἐκ τούτου τίκτειν τὸν Ἄπιν· ἔχει δὲ

<sup>74</sup> τὸν Ἕλληνας Ἐπαφὸν καλέουσι. The meaning of this is that the Egyptian Apis is, as regards his ritual, identical with the Hellenic Epaphus. Above (ii. 163) the author expresses the same thing in other words, on which passage see the note 467. See also the note 32 on i. 7.

<sup>75</sup> τοὺς ἐπιτρόπους. See note 105, below.

<sup>76</sup> [ὁ Ἐπαφος.] These words appear to be a gloss. The manuscripts S and V omit the word οὗτος, and thus show this more distinctly. See § 27.

<sup>77</sup> βάλλεσθαι. This is the reading adopted by Gaisford from the majority of MSS. But S and V have βαλέσθαι, which seems to suggest λαβέσθαι as the original reading.

<sup>78</sup> ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. It does not seem likely, judging from this expression, that

in the time of Herodotus the generific beam was regarded as proceeding from any especial luminary. But in the time of PLUTARCH it was said to come from the Moon, and a strange myth appears to have been connected with the notion; viz. that Osiris was both the son and the husband of Isis. (*De Isid. et Os.* p. 368.) Another legend, in reference to the same notion, attached to Isis an *androgynous* character. These two myths are undoubtedly of late growth and obviously coined for the purpose of connecting together diverse rituals. There was in Egypt a festival (kept on the *new-moon* in the month *Phamenoth*), of which the name interpreted was "*the entrance of Osiris into the Moon*." (PLUTARCH, l. c.) This seems not unlikely to have had regard to

29  
Cambyses' sacrilege.

30  
From this time his madness comes to a head.

ὁ μόσχος οὗτος, ὃ Ἄπις καλεόμενος, σημήϊα τοιάδε ἔων μέλας ἐπὶ μὲν τῷ μετώπῳ λευκὸν τετράγωνον<sup>79</sup>, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ νώτου<sup>80</sup> αἰετὸν εἰκασμένον, ἐν δὲ τῇ οὐρῇ τὰς τρίχας διπλᾶς, ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ γλώσσει<sup>81</sup> κάνθαρον<sup>82</sup>.) Ὡς δὲ ἤγαγον τὸν Ἄπιν οἱ ἱρέες, ὁ Καμβύσης οἷα ἔων ὑπομαργότερος σπασάμενος τὸ ἐγχειρίδιον, θέλων τύψαι τὴν γαστέρα τοῦ Ἄπιος παλεῖ τὸν μηρὸν γελᾶσας δὲ, εἶπε πρὸς τοὺς ἱρέας· “ὦ κακαὶ κεφαλᾶι, τοιοῦτοι θεοὶ γίνονται, ἔναιμοί τε καὶ σαρκώδεις καὶ ἐπαίνοντες σιδηρίων<sup>83</sup>; ἄξιός μὲν Αἰγυπτίων οὗτός γε ὁ θεός· ἀτάρ τοι ὑμεῖς γε οὐ χαίροντες γέλῳτα ἐμὲ θήσεσθε.” ταῦτα εἰπας, ἐντετεῖλατο τοῖσι ταῦτα πρήσσουσι, τοὺς μὲν ἱρέας ἀπομαστυγῶσαι, Αἰγυπτίων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων τὸν ἄν λάβωσι ὀρτάζοντα κτείνεω. ὀρτὴ μὲν δὴ διελέλυτο Αἰγυπτίοισι· οἱ δὲ ἱρέες ἐδίκαιευντο· ὁ δὲ Ἄπις πεπληγμένος τὸν μηρὸν, ἐφθιψε ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ κατακείμενος. καὶ τὸν μὲν, τελευτήσαντα ἐκ τοῦ τρώματος ἔθαψαν οἱ ἱρέες λάβρη Καμβύσεω· Καμβύσης δὲ, ὡς λέγουσι Αἰγύπτιοι, αὐτίκα διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἀδίκημα ἐμάνη, ἔων οὐδὲ πρότερον φρενήρης· καὶ πρῶτα μὲν τῶν κακῶν ἐξεργάσατο τὸν ἀδελφεὸν Σμέρδιν<sup>84</sup> ἔοντα πατρὸς καὶ μητρὸς τῆς αὐτῆς, τὸν ἀπέπεμψε ἐς Πέρσας<sup>85</sup> φθόνῳ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου, ὅτι τὸ τόξον μούνος Περσέων δσον

that phenomenon which our old ballad calls “the new Moon with the auld Moon in her arm,” the dark portion of the planet being taken for the Sun, which had been seen to set. Again, the influence of the Moon on the growth of various productions was a firm belief in Egypt. (PLUTARCH, *De Is. et Os. passim*.) Nothing therefore could be more easy than to derive the emanation by which the mother of Apis was supposed to be impregnated from thence.

<sup>79</sup> τετράγωνον. CATULUS conjectures τὴν τρίγωνον.

<sup>80</sup> ἐπὶ τοῦ νώτου, “over his back,” not “on the top of his back,” which would be denoted by the dative case.

<sup>81</sup> ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ γλώσσει κάνθαρον. The scarabæus was probably regarded as a sacred symbol from the same cause as the shrewmouse. (See note 422 on ii. 141.) It appeared to be produced from the earth. As in the case of the other animal, the ingenuity of later times suggested a variety of mystical reasons.

<sup>82</sup> ἐπαίνοντες σιδηρίων. See note on i. 71.

<sup>83</sup> τὸν ἀδελφεὸν Σμέρδιν. This name,

in its milder form *Merdis* (=Μάρδης=Μέρδης), is identical etymologically with the *Barisus* (=Βάρδης=Βέρδης) of the Behistun Inscriptions, who is there represented as having had the same father and mother as Cambyzes (*Kabujiya*), as having excited troubles in the state, and as having been slain by Cambyzes. But the inscription expressly goes on to say that it was *after this* that Cambyzes went to Egypt. For the difference in the chronology of the Egyptian accounts see note 107, below.

<sup>84</sup> ἐς Πέρσας. The seat of the troubles excited by the brother of Cambyzes is by Herodotus supposed to be Persia. This country does not however appear to have been the seat of the imperial government before the reign of Darius. That was *Agbatana* in the time of Cyrus (i. 153), and of Cambyzes (iii. 64). Smerdis therefore was sent to Persia as to a province, perhaps in the position of a viceroy. And this is in harmony with a notice in Ctesias, who represents the younger brother (though he gives him the name Tanyoxarces) as being left by his father with independent authority over certain pro-



τε ἐπὶ δύο δακτύλους εἵρυσσε, τὸ παρὰ τοῦ Αἰθίοπος ἦνευκαν οἱ Ἰχθυοφάγοι· τῶν δὲ ἄλλων Περσέων οὐδεὶς οἷός τε ἐγένετο. ἀποικομένου ὦν ἐς Πέρσας τοῦ Σμέρδιος, ὅψιν εἶδε ὁ Καμβύσης ἐν τῷ ὑπνῷ τοιήνδε· ἔδοξέ οἱ ἄγγελον ἐλθόντα ἐκ Περσέων ἀγγέλλειν, ὡς ἐν τῷ θρόνῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ ἰζόμενος Σμέρδις, τῇ κεφαλῇ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ψαύσει· πρὸς ὧν ταῦτα, δέσας περὶ ἑωυτοῦ μή μιν ἀποκτεῖνας ὁ ἀδελφεὸς ἄρχῃ, πέμπει Πρηξάσπεα ἐς Πέρσας<sup>55</sup>, ὃς ἦν οἱ ἀνὴρ Περσέων πιστότατος, ἀποκτενέοντά μιν ὁ δὲ ἀναβὰς ἐς Σούσα ἀπέκτεινε Σμέρδιν, οἱ μὲν λέγουσι ἐπ' ἄγρην ἐξαγαγόντα, οἱ δὲ, ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν προσαναγόντα<sup>56</sup> καταποντῶσαι.

He first causes the death of his brother :

Πρῶτον μὲν δὴ λέγουσι Καμβύσῃ τῶν κακῶν ἄρξαι τοῦτο<sup>57</sup>. 31  
δεύτερα δὲ ἐξεργάσατο τὴν ἀδελφεήν, ἐπισπομένην οἱ ἐς Αἴγυπτον, τῇ καὶ συνοίκεε· καὶ ἦν οἱ ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων ἀδελφεῇ· ἔγημε δὲ αὐτὴν ὠδε· οὐδαμῶς γὰρ ἐώθησαν πρότερον τῇσι ἀδελφεῇσι συνοικέειν Πέρσαι· ἡράσθη μὴς τῶν ἀδελφεῶν<sup>58</sup> Καμβύσης, καὶ ἔπειτα βουλόμενος αὐτὴν γῆμαι (ὅτι οὐκ ἐωθότα ἐπενόεε ποιήσειν) εἶρετο καλέσας τοὺς βασιλεῖς δικαστὰς<sup>59</sup> εἰ τίς ἐστι κωλύων<sup>60</sup> νόμος

Next, of his sister, with whom he had cohabited.

vines, although the title βασιλεὺς was confined to Cambyses.

<sup>55</sup> ἐς Πέρσας. These words are omitted in S and V.

<sup>56</sup> προσαναγόντα. Bekker conjectures προαναγόντα, which would render the construction more regular; but there is no occasion to alter the reading of the MSS. Translate: "And he went up to Susa and slew Smerdis, some say while going out to hunt, but others, that he took him to the Erythraean sea and drowned him in it." The participle ἐξαγαγόντα has for its subject Smerdis, and is used as a neuter verb, while προσαναγόντα has for its subject Prexaspes, and is an active verb.

<sup>57</sup> πρῶτον μὲν δὴ λέγουσι Καμβύσῃ τῶν κακῶν ἄρξαι τοῦτο. The article before κακῶν is to be remarked. The miseries of Cambyses,—acts wrought in a madness supposed to be inspired by the gods, an idea which the Greeks expressed by the word κακοδαμονία,—were matters of notoriety; all the difference was in the details, which the Egyptians represented in one way and the Persians in another. The sentence is to be translated, "The first beginning now of his woes to Cambyses, they say, was this." Cleomenes, the Spartan king, was a parallel instance of notorious insanity, accounted for very

differently by different people (see vi. 75). That the pure Persian traditions represented by the Behistun Inscriptions put the death of Smerdis on quite other grounds is plain from what is cited in the note 84, above.

<sup>58</sup> μὴς τῶν ἀδελφεῶν. Possibly this was Atossa, his sister by the father's side, if not the mother's also. See note on § 68, below.

<sup>59</sup> τοὺς βασιλεῖς δικαστὰς. See above, § 14.

<sup>60</sup> κωλύων. All the MSS have κελεύων, and a few lines below κελεύει, and Gaisford follows them. But the gist of the story is lost by this reading. Cambyses wished to violate the common law (οὐκ ἐωθότα ποιῆν), and asked his advisers whether there was a positive statute against the crime he meditated. They were able to answer in the negative; and they further saved the king's conscience by suggesting to him another positive statute which gave him absolute authority formally, although of course no such matter was contemplated by it. A similar dishonesty was exhibited by Anaxarchus,—a pagan precursor of Hobbes and Filmer,—who endeavoured to comfort the conscience-stricken Alexander after the death of Clitus, by telling him that Δίκη and Θέμις were represented as the assessors

Tempo-  
rising con-  
duct of the  
Persian  
lawyers in  
this matter.

32

Double ac-  
count of the  
occasion of  
the sister's  
death.

τὸν βουλόμενον ἀδελφεῇ συνοικέειν; οἱ δὲ βασιλῆῃσι δικασταὶ κεκριμένοι ἄνδρες γίνονται Περσέων, ἐς οὐ ἀποθάνωσι ἢ σφί παρευρεθῇ τι ἄδικον, μέχρι τούτου οὔτοι δὲ τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι δίκας δικάζουσι καὶ ἐξηγηταὶ τῶν πατρίων θεσμῶν γίνονται· καὶ πάντα ἐς τούτους ἀνακέαται· εἰρομένου ὧν τοῦ Καμβύσεω, ἵπεκρίνοντο αὐτῷ οὔτοι καὶ δίκαια καὶ ἀσφαλέα, φάμενοι νόμον οὐδένα ἐξευρίσκειν ὃς κωλύει ἀδελφεῇ συνοικέειν ἀδελφεόν· ἄλλον μέντοι ἐξευρηκέναι νόμον, τῷ βασιλεύοντι Περσέων ἐξείναι ποιεῖν τὸ ἂν βούληται· οὕτω οὔτε τὸν νόμον ἔλυσαν δέισαντες Καμβύσεα, ἵνα τε μὴ αὐτοὶ ἀπόλωνται τὸν νόμον περιστέλλοντες<sup>91</sup>· παρεξέυρον ἄλλον νόμον σύμμαχον τῷ θέλοντι γαμέειν ἀδελφεάς. τότε μὲν δὴ ὁ Καμβύσης ἔγημε τὴν ἐρωμένην μετὰ μέντοι οὐ πολλὸν χρόνον ἔσχε ἄλλην ἀδελφεήν· τούτων δὴ τὴν νεωτέραν, ἐπισπομένην οἱ ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον, κτείνει. Ἀμφὶ δὲ τῷ θανάτῳ αὐτῆς διζὼς, ὥσπερ περὶ Σμέρδιος, λέγεται λόγος. Ἕλληες μὲν λέγουσι, Καμβύσεα συμβαλέειν σκύμνον λέοντος σκύλακι κυνὸς, θεωρέειν δὲ καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα ταύτην νικωμένου δὲ τοῦ σκύλακος, ἀδελφεὸν αὐτοῦ ἄλλον σκύλακα ἀπορρήξαντα τὸν δεσμὸν παραγενέσθαι οἱ· δύο δὲ γενομένους οὕτω δὴ τοὺς σκύλακας ἐπικρατῆσαι τοῦ σκύμνον καὶ τὸν μὲν Καμβύσεα ἡδεσθαι θεώμενον, τὴν δὲ παρημέλῃν δακρύειν· Καμβύσεα δὲ μαθόντα τοῦτο, ἐπείρεσθαι διότι δακρύει<sup>a</sup>; τὴν δὲ εἰπεῖν, ὡς ἰδοῦσα τὸν σκύλακα τῷ ἀδελφεῷ τιμωρήσαντα δακρύσειε, μνησθεῖσά τε Σμέρδιος καὶ μαθοῦσα ὡς κείνη οὐκ εἶη ὁ τιμωρήσων. Ἕλληες μὲν δὴ διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος φασὶ αὐτὴν ἀπολέσθαι ὑπὸ Καμβύσεω· Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ, ὡς τραπέζῃ περικατημένων, λαβοῦσαν θρίδακα τὴν γυναῖκα περιτίλαι, καὶ ἐπανεῖρεσθαι τὸν ἄνδρα κότερον περιτετιλμένη ἢ δασεῖα ἢ θρίδαξ ἐούσα εἶη καλλίων; καὶ τὸν φάναι, δασεῖαν τὴν δ' εἰπεῖν “ταύτην μέντοι κοτὲ σὺ τὴν θρίδακα ἐμμήσας, τὸν Κύρου οἶκον ἀποσφιλώσας”· τὸν δὲ θυμωθέντα ἐμμηδῆσαι αὐτῇ ἐχούσῃ ἐν γαστρὶ, καὶ μὴ ἐκτρώσασαν ἀποθανεῖν.

33 Ταῦτα μὲν ἐς τοὺς οἰκητοὺς ὁ Καμβύσης ἐξεμάνη, εἶτε δὴ<sup>92</sup> διὰ

of Zeus, to signify that whatever the mighty did was lawful and right. (PLUTARCH, *Alex.* § 52.)

<sup>91</sup> τὸν νόμον περιστέλλοντες. See note 347 on i. 98.

<sup>a</sup> δακρύει. Gaisford, with some of the MSS, has δακρύοι. But several have the reading in the text.

<sup>92</sup> δὴ. The force of this particle is to refer the reader back to what has been

τὸν Ἄπιω, εἴτε καὶ ἄλλως, οἷα πολλὰ ἐώθεε<sup>33</sup> ἀνθρώπους κακὰ Cambyases  
καταλαμβάνειν καὶ γὰρ τινα καὶ ἐκ γενεῆς νοῦσον μεγάλην λέγε- is said to  
ται ἔχειν ὁ Καμβύσης, τὴν ἱρὴν οὐνομάζουσί τινας· οὐ νῦν τοι have been  
ἀεικὲς οὐδὲν ἦν, τοῦ σώματος νοῦσον μεγάλην νοσέοντος, μηδὲ τὰς subject to  
φρένας ὑγιαίνειν. Τάδε δ' ἐς τοὺς ἄλλους Πέρσας ἐξεμάνη λέγε- epilepsy  
ται γὰρ εἰπεῖν αὐτὸν πρὸς Πηξάσπεα, τὸν ἐτίμα τε μάλιστα καὶ 34 from his  
οἱ τὰς ἀγγελίας ἐφόρεε οὗτος<sup>34</sup>, τοῦτου τε ὁ παῖς οἰσυχὸς ἦν τῷ birth.  
Καμβύσῃ τιμὴ δὲ καὶ αὕτη οὐ σμικρὴ εἰπεῖν δὲ λέγεται τάδε· His ruf-  
"Πηξάσπεες, κοῖόν μέ τινα νομίζουσι Πέρσαι εἶναι ἄνδρα; τίνας fanly con-  
τε λόγους περὶ ἐμέ<sup>35</sup> ποιεῦνται;" τὸν δὲ εἰπεῖν "ὦ δέσποτα, duct to  
τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πάντα μεγάλως ἐπαινέαι, τῇ δὲ φιλοινή σέ φασι others than  
πλεόνως προσκéesθαι." τὸν μὲν δὴ λέγειν ταῦτα περὶ Περσέων his own re-  
τὸν δὲ θυμωθέντα τοιαῦδε ἀμείβεσθαι "νῦν ἄρα μέ φασι Πέρσαι lations.  
οἷνφ προσκείμενον παραφρονέειν, καὶ οὐκ εἶναι νοήμονα; οὐδ' ἄρα  
σφέων οἱ πρότεροι λόγοι ἦσαν ἀληθείες." πρότερον γὰρ δὴ ἄρα, An anecdote  
Περσέων οἱ συνεδρῶν ἐόντων καὶ Κροίσου, εἶρετο Καμβύσης κοῖός of Croesus.  
τις δοκεῖοι ἀνὴρ εἶναι πρὸς τὸν πατέρα τελέσαι<sup>36</sup> Κύρον; οἱ δὲ  
ἀμείβοντο, ὥς εἴη ἀμείνων τοῦ πατρός· τά τε γὰρ ἐκείνου πάντα  
ἔχειν αὐτὸν, καὶ προσεκτῆσθαι Αἴγυπτόν τε καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν  
Πέρσαι μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἔλεγον· Κροῖσος δὲ παρεὼν τε καὶ οὐκ ἀρε-  
σκόμενος τῇ κρίσει, εἶπε πρὸς τὸν Καμβύσεα τάδε· "ἐμοὶ μὲν νυν,  
ὦ παῖ Κύρου, οὐ δοκέεις ὁμοίος εἶναι τῷ πατέρι· οὐ γὰρ κω τοί ἐστι  
υἱὸς οἷόν σε ἐκείνος κατελίπετο." ἤσθη τε ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ Καμ-  
βύσης καὶ ἐπαινέει τὴν Κροίσου κρίσιν. Τούτων δὴ ὢν ἐπιμνη- 35

said above, § 30: αὐτίκα διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἀδίκημα ἐμάνη. See the note 6 on i. § 1.

<sup>33</sup> ἐώθεε. The manuscripts S and V have ἐώθε. See note 186 on ii. 69.

<sup>34</sup> καὶ οἱ τὰς ἀγγελίας ἐφόρεε οὗτος. This function is not to be confused with that of the ἑσαγγελεῖς, who was an eunuch (see below, § 77), and regarded as holding a servile office; but it rather is that of a commissioner armed with a firman for special important services,—as for instance those performed by Prexaspes in the matter of Smerdis (above, § 30.)

<sup>35</sup> περὶ ἐμέ. The manuscripts S and V have the form ἐμεῦ. But in i. 126 they give the open form, and likewise in vi. 86.

<sup>36</sup> τελέσαι. This word is omitted by one

MS, and several others have the alternative καλέσαι. It seems almost certain that the text as it stands must be corrupt; but it seems rash to correct it by the expulsion of this word, for such an emendation offers no explanation of the way in which the corruption arose. I should be inclined rather to suppose that Herodotus wrote κοῖός τις δοκεῖοι ἀνὴρ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα τελέσαι; "what kind of man they thought he turned out in comparison with his father;" and that εἶναι, from being a marginal gloss in explanation of the unusual phrase τελέσαι, crept into the text. The ellipse is of *βίον* or some such word, and the sense is easily deducible from such expressions as εἰς Ἑλλάδας τελεῖν (ii. 51); εἰς Βοιωτὸς τελεῖν (vi. 108).

Murder of  
the son of  
Prexaspes.

σθέντα ὀργῇ λέγειν πρὸς τὸν Πρηξάσπεα· “σὺ νῦν μάθε” εἰ  
λέγουσι Πέρσαι ἀληθέα, εἴτε αὐτοὶ λέγοντες ταῦτα παραφρονέουσι·  
εἰ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ παιδὸς τοῦ σοῦ τοῦδε ἐστεῶτος ἐν τοῖσι προθύροις  
βαλὼν τύχοιμι” μέσης τῆς καρδίας, Πέρσαι φάνονται λέγοντες  
οὐδέν· ἦν δὲ ἀμάρτω, φάναι Πέρσας τε λέγειν ἀληθέα καὶ μὲ μὴ  
σωφρονέειν” ταῦτα δὲ εἰπόντα καὶ διατείναντα τὸ τόξον, βαλέειν  
τὸν παῖδα· πεσόντος δὲ τοῦ παιδὸς, ἀνασχίζειν αὐτὸν κελεύειν καὶ  
σκέφασθαι τὸ βλήμα· ὥς δὲ ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ εὑρεθῆναι ἐνεόντα τὸν  
οἶστον, εἰπεῖν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα τοῦ παιδὸς, γελάσαντα καὶ περι-  
χαρέα γενόμενον “Πρήξασπες, ὥς μὲν ἔγωγε οὐ μαίνομαι τε”  
Πέρσαι τε παραφρονέουσι δῆλά τοι γέγονε· νῦν δέ μοι εἰπὲ, τίνα  
εἶδες ἤδη πάντων ἀνθρώπων οὕτως ἐπίσκοπα<sup>100</sup> τοξεύοντα;” Πρή-  
ξάσπεα δὲ ὀρέοντα ἄνδρα οὐ φρενῆρεα, καὶ περὶ ἐωτῷ δειμαίνοντα,  
εἰπεῖν “δέσποτα, οὐδ’ ἂν αὐτὸν ἔγωγε δοκέω τὸν θεὸν οὕτω ἂν  
καλῶς βαλέειν<sup>101</sup>.” τότε μὲν ταῦτα ἐξεργάσατο· ἐτέρωθι δὲ ὁμοῖα  
τοῖσι πρώτοις, Περσέων<sup>102</sup> δυνάδεκα ἐπ’ οὐδεμῇ αἰτλῇ ἀξιώχρεφ  
ἐλὼν ζῶντας ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν κατῶρυξε<sup>103</sup>.

<sup>97</sup> μάθε. Gaisford adds αὐτὸς on the authority of S and V.

<sup>98</sup> εἰ . . . τύχοιμι. The manuscripts S and V have ἦν . . . τύχω.

<sup>99</sup> οὐ μαίνομαι τε. I have adopted this reading from the single manuscript S. The words οὐ μαίνομαι are to be regarded as a single verb nearly equivalent to ὀργίζω, and the particles τε—τε couple together the clauses ἔγωγε οὐ μαίνομαι and Πέρσαι παραφρονέουσι. Translate: “Prexaspes, that I for my part am no madman and that the Persians are drivellers, here you have proof; and now tell me,” &c., &c.

<sup>100</sup> ἐπίσκοπα, “to the mark.”

<sup>101</sup> αὐτὸν τὸν θεὸν οὕτω ἂν καλῶς βαλέειν. This expression is an allusion to the mode in which Ormuzd was represented by the Persians, as an *archer*, by a figure which appears in the Behistun Inscriptions, and which is identical with one found on many of the Nineveh marbles. This belongs to a mythological cycle essentially different from the one described in i. 131. See the note 460 on i. 132. It is curiously illustrative of the manner in which the ancients identified strange gods with their own analogous deities, that SENECA, describing this incident, quotes the answer of Prexaspes thus: “Negavit

*Apollinem potuisse certius dimittere.”* (*De ira*, iii. 14.)

<sup>102</sup> Περσέων. The words ὁμοῖα (or *ὁμοίως* or *ὁμοίους*) τοῖσι πρώτοις come after Περσέων in all the MSS, and so they are printed by Gaisford. The explanations of none of the commentators are to me satisfactory if ὁμοῖα be taken, which can certainly not be a correction from either of the other readings; but the slight transposition renders the sentence easy. “These atrocities he then committed, and at another time what matched the first;—twelve Persians, convicted of no sufficient offence, did he bury alive head downwards.”

<sup>103</sup> ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν κατῶρυξε. There are unfortunately no means of ascertaining the spirit in which Cambyzes committed this outrage. Some may be disposed to combine the circumstance with what is related of *Amestris* (vii. 114), and to regard it as a confirmation of the assertion that ‘burial alive was a Persian practice.’ But if Cambyzes acted here in the spirit of *Amestris*, one would hardly expect the words ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν, the action expressed by which seems to indicate contempt. Moreover Cambyzes is throughout represented as a sort of Mezentius, a despiser of the gods as well as a cruel tyrant. This was

Ταῦτα δέ μιν ποιέοντα ἐδικαίωσε Κροῖσος ὁ Λυδὸς νουθετήσαι 36  
 τοῖσδε τοῖσι ἔπεσι "ὦ βασιλεῦ, μὴ πάντα ἡλικίῃ καὶ θυμῷ <sup>Intention to</sup>  
 ἐπίτρεπε, ἀλλ' ἴσχε καὶ καταλάμβανε σεωντόν. ἀγαθόν τι, πρό- <sup>kill Croesus.</sup>  
 νοον εἶναι σοφὸν δὲ ἢ προμηθίῃ. σὺ δὲ κτείνεις μὲν ἄνδρας  
 σεωντοῦ πολήτας<sup>104</sup>, ἐπ' οὐδεμῇ αἰτίῃ ἀξίόχρεω ἑλὼν κτείνεις δὲ  
 παῖδας. ἦν δὲ πολλὰ τοιαῦτα ποιήης, ὅρα ὅπως μὴ σευ ἀποστή-  
 σονται Πέρσαι. ἐμοὶ δὲ πατὴρ σὸς Κῦρος ἐνετέλλετο πολλὰ  
 κελεύων σὲ νουθετεῖν, καὶ ὑποτίθεσθαι ὅ τι ἂν εὕρισκω ἀγαθόν." <sup>Intention to</sup>  
 ὁ μὲν δὴ εὐνοίαν φαίνων συνεβούλευε οἱ ταῦτα· ὁ δ' ἀμείβετο <sup>kill Croesus.</sup>  
 τοῖσδε "σὺ καὶ ἐμοὶ τολμᾷς συμβουλευεῖν, ὅς χρηστῶς μὲν τὴν  
 σεωντοῦ πατρίδα ἐπετρόπευσας<sup>105</sup>, εὖ δὲ τῷ πατρὶ τῷ ἐμῷ συν-  
 εβούλευσας, κελεύων αὐτὸν Ἀράξεια ποταμὸν διαβάντα ἰέναι ἐπὶ  
 Μασσαγέτας, βουλομένων ἐκείνων διαβαίνειν ἐς τὴν ἡμετέρην ;  
 καὶ ἀπὸ μὲν σεωντόν ὤλεσας τῆς σεωντοῦ πατρίδος κακῶς προ-  
 στάς· ἀπὸ δὲ ὤλεσας Κῦρον, πειθόμενόν σοι· ἀλλ' οὐ τι χαίρων  
 ἐπεὶ τοι καὶ πάλαι ἐς σὲ προφάσιός τευ ἐδεόμην ἐπιλαβέσθαι"  
 ταῦτα δὲ εἶπας ἐλάμβανε τὸ τόξον ὡς κατατοξεύσων αὐτόν·  
 Κροῖσος δὲ ἀναδραμὼν ἔθεε ἔξω· ὁ δὲ, ἐπεὶ τε τοξεύσαι οὐκ εἶχε,  
 ἐνέτειλατο τοῖσι θεράπουσι λαβόντας μιν ἀποκτεῖναι· οἱ δὲ θερά-  
 ποντες ἐπιστάμενοι τὸν τρόπον αὐτοῦ, κατακρύπτουσι τὸν Κροῖσον  
 ἐπὶ τῷδε τῷ λόγῳ, ὥστε εἰ μὲν μεταμελήσει τῷ Καμβύσῃ καὶ ἐπι-

only a natural view in Egypt, for the early Persians were, like the Mussulmans, thorough iconoclasts and intolerant of all religions but their own. It seems not impossible that the punishment spoken of in the text may have been a summary one inflicted by the passionate king upon certain individuals whom he had detected in the worship of the buried Osiris, so prevalent in Egypt;—he sent them, as it were, to search for the object of their devotion, as the Thracians used to send a messenger to Zalmoxis (iv. 94). ARISTOPHANES, in a somewhat similar manner, brings before the Athenian public in a ridiculous attitude those philosophers whom he chooses to describe as prying into the bowels of the earth.

ΣΤΡΕΨΙΑΔΗΣ. τί γὰρ οἶδε δρῶσιν οἱ σφόδρ' ἐγκεκυφότες ;

ΜΑΘΗΤΗΣ. οἱτοὶ δ' ἐραβοδιφῶσιν ὑπὸ τὸν Τάρταρον. (Νυδ. 191.)

<sup>104</sup> ἄνδρας σεωντοῦ πολήτας. This phrase bespeaks the Hellenic origin of

this moral essay of Croesus's. Such an idea as it rests upon is entirely alien to Asiatic modes of thought. See the notes 113 and 126 on i. 32. and i. 37.

<sup>105</sup> ἐπετρόπευσας. This word properly implies a deputed government. Camby-ses seems to treat Croesus as if he had been even in his best days merely the satrap of some foreign sovereign. But it can hardly be supposed that this expression is dramatically used, as if arising out of the overweening insolence of the monarch. Darius uses it, with equal impropriety (below, § 82), where no such explanation is possible. It would rather seem that both here and in the other passage the narrative is one which has come to Herodotus through a Hellenic channel. And as the only oriental governors known personally to the Greeks were viceroys, possibly the term ἐπιτροπεύειν applied to such became in common parlance equivalent to ἄρχειν. See the use of the word ἐπιτρόπος in § 27, above.

ζητήσει τὸν Κροῖσον, οἱ δὲ ἐκφύναυτες αὐτὸν δῶρα λάμβανοντα  
ζωάγρια Κροῖσον ἦν δὲ μὴ μεταμελῆται μηδὲ ποθῇ μιν, τότε  
καταχρήσθαι· ἐπόθησέ τε δὴ ὁ Καμβύσης τὸν Κροῖσον οὐ πολλὰ  
μετέπειτα χρόνῳ ὕστερον, καὶ οἱ θεράποντες μαθόντες τοῦτο,  
ἐπήγγελλον αὐτῷ ὡς περιεῖη Καμβύσης δὲ Κροῖσῳ μὲν συν-  
ῆδесθαι ἔφη περιέοντι· ἐκείνους μέντοι τοὺς περιποιήσαντας οὐ  
καταπροΐζεσθαι<sup>106</sup>, ἀλλ' ἀποκτενέειν καὶ ἐποίησε ταῦτα.

37

Other atrocities of  
Cambyses during his  
sojourn at  
Memphis, insulting

Ἄλλο μὲν δὴ τοιαῦτα πολλὰ ἐς Πέρσας τε καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους  
ἐξεμαίνετο, μένων ἐν Μέρφι<sup>107</sup> καὶ θήκας τε παλαιὰς ἀνοίγων καὶ  
σκεπτόμενος τοὺς νεκροὺς<sup>108</sup>. ἐς δὲ δὴ καὶ τοῦ Ἡφαιστου τὸ ἱρὸν  
ἦλθε<sup>109</sup>, καὶ πολλὰ τῷ ἀγάλματι κατεγέλασε (ἔστι δὲ<sup>110</sup> τοῦ Ἡφαι-  
στου τῷ γάλμα τοῖσι Φοινικητοῖσι Παταϊκοῖσι<sup>111</sup> ἐμπερέστατον, τοὺς

<sup>106</sup> οὐ καταπροΐζεσθαι. This phrase appears to have been a colloquial one at Athens. It is used several times by ARISTOPHANES, and always in an oath. Thus *Theophrastus* 566: οὐ τοι μὰ τὰ θεὰ σὺ καταπροΐξει λέγουσα ταντί. The origin of the expression is to be sought in the use of *προῖκα* as an euphemism for *ἀξυμῖος*. Translate: "not however that those who saved him should do their work for nothing." See v. 105, εἰ εἰδότες ὅς οὐτοί γε οὐ καταπροΐζονται ἀποστάντες, "well knowing that these at any rate would not fail to get something by having revolted." Of course the euphemistic expression becomes in such cases a bitter irony.

<sup>107</sup> μένων ἐν Μέρφι. These words show that in the Egyptian accounts all the atrocities of Cambyses were represented as consequent upon his violation of Apis, which itself followed his return from the unsuccessful expedition to Ethiopia. It seems scarcely possible to doubt that they rest upon the local traditions of Memphis, and especially of the Hephæsteum there, the priests of which were fearfully oppressed by him and all their superstitions insulted. If so, it is not surprising that the account should confine itself to the atrocities and the punishment which followed them, and should pass over all the particulars of Cambyses's movements not connected with these. Accordingly, on the next notice of Cambyses, he appears to be at Agbatana in Syria (§ 62), where he dies about twenty days after his arrival, and after receiving the first intelligence of the revolt of the Pseudo-Smerdis.

<sup>108</sup> σκεπτόμενος τοὺς νεκροὺς. A simi-

lar outrage is recorded on the part of Darius (or, according to Ctesias, of Xerxes) at Babylon. See I. 187, and the note 631 there.

<sup>109</sup> ἐς δὲ δὴ καὶ τοῦ Ἡφαιστου τὸ ἱρὸν ἦλθε. See the note 6 on i. 1.

<sup>110</sup> ἔστι δὲ. Gaisford and the MSS have ἔστι γάρ. But the two particles are continually interchanged by transcribers. See Pearson on *Eurip. Orest.* 779. 815, *Phæn.* 205, and above all on *Med.* 34.

<sup>111</sup> Παταϊκοῖσι. This name is applied to those Phœnician idols which, when transplanted to Imbros, Lemnos, and Samothrace, went by the name of *Cabiri*, and which are probably identical with the earliest form of the *Dioscuri*; perhaps also with the Etruscan *Lares* and the Latin *Penates*. In those countries in which the connexion with Phœnicia remained most undisturbed, they appear in the historical times most distinctly connected with the arts of metallurgy and the worship of Hephæstus; but it seems doubtful whether this does not arise from the circumstance that in those places these arts had acquired a decided predominance. (See note 130 on ii. 44). If it were certain to what family of languages the word *Παταῖκος* belonged, so that a guess might be formed as to its signification, much light might be thrown upon the subject. I should be inclined to believe that the name was not that given by the Phœnicians themselves to the idols, but by those persons who had commercial intercourse with them; or that if the word is Phœnician, it is an *epithet* of the tutelary deity Melec or Baal, not an actual name. If it be the term applied to the Phœnician

οἱ Φοίνικες ἐν τῇσι πρόρρησι τῶν τριήρεων περιόγουσι· ὃς δὲ τούτους <sup>the religion of the country.</sup> μὴ ὁπάπее, ἐγὼ δὲ οἱ σημανέω· πυγμαίου ἀνδρὸς μίμησίς ἐστι.) ἐσῆλθε δὲ καὶ ἐς τῶν Καβείρων τὸ ἱρὸν, ἐς τὸ οὐ θεμιτὸν ἐστι ἐσιέναι ἄλλον γε ἢ τὸν ἱρέα· ταῦτα δὲ τὰ ἀγάλματα καὶ ἐνέπρησε, πολλὰ κατασκώψας. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ὁμοία τοῦ Ἑφαίστου· τούτου δὲ σφεας παῖδας λέγουσι εἶναι. Πανταχῇ ὧν μοι δῆλόν ἐστι ὅτι ἐμάνη μεγάλως ὁ Καμβύσης· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἱροῖσί τε καὶ νομαίοισι ἐπεχείρησε καταγελᾶν· εἰ γὰρ τις προθεή· πᾶσι ἀνθρώποισι ἐκλέξασθαι κελεύων νόμους τοὺς καλλίστους ἐκ τῶν πάντων νόμων, διασκεψάμενοι ἂν ἐλοίατο ἕκαστοι τοὺς ἐωυτῶν οὕτω νομίζουσι πολὺ τι καλλίστους τοὺς ἐωυτῶν νόμους ἕκαστοι εἶναι· οὐκ ὡς οἴκος ἐστι ἄλλον γε δὴ ἢ μαινόμενον ἄνδρα γέλωτα τὰ τοιαῦτα τίθεσθαι. ὥς δὲ οὕτω νενομίκασι τὰ περὶ τοὺς νόμους οἱ πάντες ἀνθρώποι, πολλοῖσί τε καὶ ἄλλοισι τεκμηρίοισι πάρεστι σταθμώσασθαι, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ τῷδε Δαρείος ἐπὶ τῆς ἐωυτοῦ ἀρχῆς καλέσας Ἑλλήνων τοὺς παρέοντας εἶρετο ἐπὶ κόσφῳ ἂν χρήματι βουλοίατο τοὺς πατέρας ἀποθνήσκοντας κατασιτέεσθαι; οἱ δὲ ἐπ' οὐδενὶ ἔφασαν ἔρδειν ἂν τοῦτο· Δαρείος δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα καλέσας Ἰνδῶν τοὺς καλεομένους Καλλατίας, οἱ τοὺς γονέας κατεσθίουσι<sup>112</sup>, εἶρετο, παρέοντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ δι' ἐρμηνέος μανθάνοντων τὰ λεγόμενα, ἐπὶ τίνι χρήματι δεξαλατ' ἂν τελευτέοντας τοὺς πατέρας κατακαλεῖν πυρί; οἱ δὲ ἀμβώσαντες μέγα εὐφημέειν μιν ἐκέλευον. οὕτω μὲν νυν ταῦτα νενόμισται καὶ ὁρθῶς μοι δοκεῖ Πίνδαρος ποιῆσαι<sup>113</sup>, ΝΟΜΟΝ ΠΑΝΤΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΑ φήσας εἶναι.

The tenacity with which all nations hold to their religious tenets was shown by Darius.

Καμβύσῳ δὲ ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον στρατευομένον<sup>114</sup>, ἐποιήσαντο καὶ 39

deities by the Hellenes who came into contact with them, it probably has the same etymology with the *Paia*, which entered into the Scythian name of the Amazons. (See iv. 110.) In this case the term *Παταῖκοι* would be equivalent to *λατῆρσαι* (slayers of the host), an actual name of the Dioscuri (*DIDYMUS*, *ap. Hesychium* v. *λαπ.*) and a most appropriate title for gods who went forth to war with the armies of their worshippers. It will be observed that Herodotus speaks of these figures as appearing on the prows of the Phœnician *triremes*, not of their *merchant ships*.

<sup>112</sup> οἱ τοὺς γονέας κατεσθίουσι. See

note on § 99 below, καλέονται δὲ Παδαῖοι.

<sup>113</sup> ὁρθῶς μοι δοκεῖ Πίνδαρος ποιῆσαι. This passage is quoted by PLATO (*Gorgias*, p. 484), where by the use the speaker makes of it and its context, *ἔγει βίαιός τὸ δικαίωτάτων ὑπερτάτη χερὶ*, it would seem that the poet used the word as equivalent to *τὸ νομίζομενον*,—positive law in direct opposition to natural law.

<sup>114</sup> Καμβύσῳ ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον στρατευομένον. The thread of the narrative relative to Cambyses is resumed in § 61. In what intervenes there is nothing to fix the chronology of the events the author describes except the account relative to the auxiliaries having been despatched by

Expedition of the Lacedaemonians against Polycrates of Samos, who after becoming tyrant made an alliance with Amasis.

Among other great successes he conquers the Lesbians, and makes the prison-

40

ers dig a ditch round the fortifications of Samos. Advice of Amasis to him,

Λακεδαιμόνιοι στρατηγὴν ἐπὶ Σάμον τε καὶ Πολυκράτεα τὸν Αἰά-  
 κεος, ὃς ἔσχε Σάμον ἐπαναστάς <sup>115</sup>. καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα τριχῇ δασά-  
 μενος τὴν πόλιν τοῖσι ἀδελφεοῖσι Πανταγνώτῳ καὶ Συλοσῶντι  
 ἔνειμε· μετὰ δὲ, τὸν μὲν αὐτῶν ἀποκτείνας τὸν δὲ νεώτερον Συλο-  
 σῶντα ἐξελάσας ἔσχε πᾶσαν τὴν Σάμον, ἴσχωρ δὲ, ξεινητὴν  
 Ἀμάσι τῷ Αἰγύπτου βασιλεῖ συνεθήκατο, πέμπων τε δῶρα καὶ  
 δεκόμενος ἄλλα παρ' ἐκείνου. ἐν χρόνῳ δὲ ὀλίγῳ αὐτίκα τοῦ  
 Πολυκράτεος τὰ πρήγματα αὖξετο, καὶ ἦν βεβωμένα ἀνά τε τὴν  
 Ἰωνίην καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Ἑλλάδα· ὅκου γὰρ ἰθύσειε στρατεύεσθαι  
 πάντα οἱ ἐχώρει εὐτυχῶς· ἔκτητο δὲ πεντηκοντέρους τε ἑκατὸν <sup>116</sup>  
 καὶ χιλίους τοξότας <sup>117</sup>. ἔφερε δὲ καὶ ἡγε πάντας, διακρίνων οὐ-  
 δένα· τῷ γὰρ φίλῳ ἔφη χαριεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ἀποδιδούς τὰ ἔλαβε ἢ  
 ἀρχὴν μηδὲ λαβῶν. συχνὰς μὲν δὴ τῶν νήσων αἰρήκεε πολλὰ δὲ  
 καὶ τῆς ἡπείρου ἄσπεα, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ Λεσβίους πανστρατιῇ βοη-  
 θέοντας Μιλησίοισι ναυμαχίῃ κρατήσας εἶλε· οἱ τὴν τάφρον περὶ  
 τὸ τεῖχος τὸ ἐν Σάμῳ πᾶσαν δεδεμένοι ὥρυξαν. Καί κως τὸν  
 Ἀμασιν εὐτυχῶν μεγάλως ὁ Πολυκράτης οὐκ ἐλάνθανε, ἀλλὰ οἱ  
 τοῦτ' ἦν ἐπιμελές· πολλῶ δὲ ἔτι πλευνός οἱ εὐτυχίης γινομένης,  
 γράψας ἐς βιβλίον τάδε ἐπέστειλε ἐς Σάμον· "Ἀμασις Πολυ-  
 κράτει ὧδε λέγει <sup>118</sup>. ἥδ' οὐ μὲν πυνθάνεσθαι ἄνδρα φίλον καὶ ξεῖνον  
 εὖ πρήσσοντα, ἐμοὶ δὲ αἱ σαὶ μεγάλαι εὐτυχίαι οὐκ ἀρέσκουσι τὸ  
 θεῖον ἐπισταμένῳ ὥς ἔστι φθονερόν <sup>119</sup>. καὶ κως βούλομαι—καὶ

Polycrates to the aid of Cambyses (§ 44). The account of the fate of Polycrates is united with the narrative of the Persian monarchy by the disaster of Oroetes, below, §§ 121—128.

<sup>115</sup> ὃς ἔσχε Σάμον ἐπαναστάς. According to some accounts, with a force of only 15 hoplites to back him. (See below, § 120.)

<sup>116</sup> πεντηκοντέρους τε ἑκατὸν. See notes on § 44 and § 45.

<sup>117</sup> χιλίους τοξότας. Apparently these were independent of his mercenaries, as a little further on (§ 45) the author speaks of the numbers of the τοξόται οἰκῆτοι. It seems very probable that one of the measures by which Polycrates acquired his power was (just as in the case of Pisistratus, see note 194 on i. 59), the organizing the commons as a new military arm. See note 115, above.

<sup>118</sup> Ἀμασις Πολυκράτει ὧδε λέγει. This simple style of address recurs in the de-

spatch of Oroetes, below, § 122: Ὀροίτης Πολυκράτει ὧδε λέγει. viii. 140: Μαρδόνιος τάδε λέγει. Its genuine oriental character is shown by the parallel form used by Rabshakeh (2 Kings xviii. 19 and 29). But the historical authority of the letter here is quite another matter. In point of sentiment it runs exactly parallel to the speech of Solon, i. 32.

<sup>119</sup> τὸ θεῖον ἐπισταμένῳ ὥς ἔστι φθονερόν. The notion of the envy of the deity appears in several passages of Herodotus, but is perhaps most fully developed in the mouth of Artabanus (vii. 10 and 46). It is apparently an idea of Asiatic origin, suggested by the despotic forms of government which universally prevailed in that part of the world. A large portion of the propitiatory sacrifices of the ancients rested upon this feeling. (See note 676 on i. 199.) In the time of Herodotus it had become grafted on to an idea nearly akin to it, but of Achæan origin,—that of



αὐτὸς καὶ τῶν ἂν κήδωμαι—τὸ μὲν τι εὐτυχέειν τῶν πρηγμάτων  
τὸ δὲ προσπταλεῖν, ἐναλλάξ πρήσσων καὶ οὕτω διαφέρειν τὸν  
ζῶονα ἢ εὐτυχέειν<sup>120</sup> τὰ πάντα· οὐδένα γὰρ καὶ λόγῳ οἶδα ἀκούσας,  
ὅστις ἐς τέλος οὐ κακῶς ἐτελεύτησε πρόρριζος εὐτυχέων τὰ πάντα.  
σὺ ὦν νῦν ἐμοὶ πειθόμενος ποιήσον πρὸς τὰς εὐτυχίας τοιάδε  
φροντίσας τὸ ἂν εὖρης ἐόν τοι πλείστου ἄξιον καὶ ἐπ' ᾧ σὺ ἀπολο-  
μένῃ μάλιστα τὴν ψυχὴν ἀλγήσεις, τοῦτο ἀπόβαλε οὕτω ὅκως  
μηκέτι ἤξει ἐς ἀνθρώπους· ἦν τε μὴ ἐναλλάξ ἤδη τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου αἰ  
εὐτυχίαι τοι ταῖσι πάθαισι προσπίπτωσι, τρόπῳ τῷ ἐξ ἐμεῦ ὑπο-  
κειμένην ἀκέο<sup>121</sup>." Ταῦτα ἐπιλεξάμενος ὁ Πολυκράτης καὶ νόφ  
λαβὼν ὥς οἱ εὖ ὑπετίθετο "Δμασις, ἐδίξητο ἐπ' ᾧ ἂν μάλιστα τὴν  
ψυχὴν ἀσθηθεῖν ἀπολομένην τῶν κειμηλίων διζήμενος δ' εὗρισκε  
τόδε· ἦν οἱ σφρηγὶς τὴν ἐφόρεε χρυσόδοτος σμαράγδου μὲν λίθου  
ἐοῦσα· ἔργον δὲ ἦν Θεοδώρου τοῦ Τηλεκλέος<sup>122</sup> Σαμίῳ ἐπεὶ ὦν

41  
which he  
takes, and  
casts a very  
precious  
ring into  
the sea.

the divine *νέμεσις*, or wrath of the gods called forth by the commission of a crime. This was conceived as exerting itself mainly by the agency of the criminal himself. His mind became deluded, and he entered upon a perverse course of action which sooner or later ended in his ruin. *Æscapulus* expresses the links in the chain of necessity by the words he puts into the mouth of the *Shade of Darius* (*Pers.* 821):

ὄβρις γὰρ ἐξανθοῦσ' ἐκάρπωσε στάχυν  
ἄτης, ὅθεν πάγκλαυτον ἐξαμὶθ' ἔθερος.

Of human criminality there were two great divisions;—acts injurious to the deity either of a positive character, as arrogance, or of a negative, as the neglect of the public worship,—and acts injurious to men *if of the same state*. The sense of wrong arising from these in the injured party was regarded as acquiring a distinct personal existence, and becoming a *νέμεσις* or *ἐρινὺς*, an avenging deity,—an *ἀδραστία* or *μοῖρα* as being absolutely inevitable,—a *τοιμή* as being stirred to action by an injury previously inflicted,—an *ἔρη* as operating through the infatuation of the criminal.

<sup>120</sup> *εὐτυχέειν*. Several MSS have *εὐ-  
τυχέων*, which looks like an arbitrary  
correction to produce a correspondence  
with the clause *ἐναλλάξ πρήσσων*. But  
even then the sentence will not run on all-  
fours without some change. I apprehend  
that the words *ἐναλλάξ πρήσσων* have  
slipped out of their proper place; and by put-

ting them before καὶ οὕτω διαφέρειν τὸν  
*αἰῶνα* (which they follow in Gaisford and  
all the MSS), a regular construction will  
result. Translate: "And I may say I  
wish—both for myself and my connexions  
—to speed here and to fail there in my  
doings, with chequered fortune; and (I  
hold) that so one's life is better than that  
one should have luck in every thing."  
There is no ellipse before ἢ *εὐτυχέειν*, but  
*διαφέρειν*, which is equivalent to *βεβαίονα  
εἶναι*, is employed in the regimen of these  
words. The infinitive *διαφέρειν* again de-  
pends on the sense *νομίζω*, which is implied  
in the word *βούλομαι*.

<sup>121</sup> *ἀκέο*. See note 314 on i. 90.

<sup>122</sup> τοῦ Τηλεκλέος. S and V have Τιμα-  
κλέος and Τημακλέος severally. PAUSANIAS  
(viii. 14. 8) must have found the  
reading Τηλεκλέος, for it is from the com-  
bination of this passage with i. 61 (where  
see the note 160), that he asserts the iden-  
tity of "Theodorus the Samian," the al-  
leged inventor of bronze-casting, with the  
artist here spoken of. A further assumption  
on the part of Pausanias is, that Theodorus  
here spoken of was the "engraver" of the  
signet. But the words of Herodotus are  
compatible with the view that he was the  
"setter" of the emerald stone in a gold  
ring,—an operation more analogous to  
metallurgy than the engraving of a  
design would be. Nevertheless, it should  
be remembered that the ring (whether  
regarded as curious from its setting or  
for its engraving) is not spoken of as

ταύτην οἱ ἐδόκεε ἀποβαλέειν, ἐποίησε τοιάδε πεντηκόντερον<sup>123</sup> πληρώσας ἀνδρῶν ἐσέβη ἐς αὐτήν μετὰ δέ, ἀναγαγεῖν ἐκέλευε ἐς τὸ πέλαγος· ὥς δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς νήσου ἐκὰς ἐγένετο, περιελόμενος τὴν σφρηγίδα πάντων ὀρεούτων τῶν συμπλόων ῥίπτει ἐς τὸ πέλαγος· τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσας ἀπέπλεε, ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐς

42 τὰ οἰκία συμφορῇ ἐχρήτο. Πέμπτη δὲ ἡ ἕκτη ἡμέρῃ ἀπὸ τούτων τάδε οἱ συνήνεκε γενέσθαι· ἀνὴρ ἄλιεὺς λαβὼν ἰχθὺν μέγαν τε καὶ καλόν, ἥξιον μιν Πολυκράτει δῶρον δοθῆναι· φέρων δὴ ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας Πολυκράτει ἔφη ἐθέλειω ἄλβεῖν ἐς ὄψιν χωρήσαντος δέ οἱ τούτου, ἔλεγε δίδους τὸν ἰχθύν· “ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐγὼ τόνδε ἔλων οὐκ ἐδικαίωσα φέρειν ἐς ἀγορὴν, καίπερ γε ἔων ἀποχειροβίωτος· ἀλλὰ μοι ἐδόκεε σεῦ τε εἶναι ἄξιος καὶ τῆς σῆς ἀρχῆς· σοὶ δὴ μιν φέρων δίδωμι.” ὁ δὲ ἡσθεὶς τοῖσι ἔπεσι ἀμβέβεται τοῖσδε· “κάρτα τε εὖ ἐποίησας καὶ χάρις διπλή τῶν τε λόγων καὶ τοῦ δώρου· καὶ σε ἐπὶ δεῖπνον καλέομεν<sup>124</sup>.” ὁ μὲν δὴ ἄλιεὺς μέγα ποιεῦμενος ταῦτα ἦε ἐς τὰ οἰκία· τὸν δὲ ἰχθύν τὰ μνοντες οἱ θεράποντες εὐρίσκουσι ἐν τῇ νηδίῳ αὐτοῦ ἐνεοῦσαν τὴν Πολυκράτεος σφρηγίδα· ὥς δὲ εἰδόν τε καὶ ἔλαβον τάχιστα, ἔφερον κεχαρηκότες παρὰ τὸν Πολυκράτεια, διδόντες δέ οἱ τὴν σφρηγίδα ἔλεγον ὅτεφ τρόπῳ εὐρέθῃ· τὸν δὲ ὥς ἐσήλθε θείον εἶναι τὸ πρῆγμα, γράφει ἐς βιβλίον πάντα τὰ ποιήσαντά μιν οἷα  
43 καταλελαβήκεε, γράψας δὲ, ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἐπέθηκε<sup>125</sup>. Ἐπιλεξά-

A few days afterwards, a fish is brought to him as a present, and the ring is found in its maw.

actually existing any where. It is a mere feature in a story, the object of which is to illustrate the inevitable character of Destiny; and therefore its compatibility with what is known of the history of the Arts must be of secondary importance. See note 104 on i. 30.

<sup>123</sup> πεντηκόντερον. See note 131, below.  
<sup>124</sup> καὶ σε ἐπὶ δεῖπνον καλέομεν. This invitation from a prince to a man who lived by the work of his hands is at first sight remarkable. It is probably not to be accounted for on the same principle as a similar proceeding occurring in the east would be, where the arbitrary favour of the sovereign is the source of all conventional rank, and no sense of incongruity is produced by its falling upon a fisherman or a barber. Neither is it a piece of ultra-democratic equalization, such as might be practised a century later at Athens. The true explanation seems to be that Polycrates, although

a crusher of the power of the aristocratic families, was regarded as the champion of the commonalty. Hence the compliments between him and the fisherman, who was as proud of his prince and the ἀρχή, as a Frenchman of Napoleon in the first year of the empire; and for a τυράννος under such circumstances nothing could be a more popular act than to invite the donor of the fish to partake of it. He of course went home, μέγα ποιεῦμενος ταῦτα, calling it ‘the proudest moment of his life.’

<sup>125</sup> ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἐπέθηκε, “he sent it to Egypt.” The literal meaning would be, “he put on it the address ‘To Egypt,’” and this is probably the origin of the idiom. Compare v. 95, ἐπιτίθει ἐς Μυτιλήνην, where perhaps the poem referred to was in the form of a lyrical despatch, of which Melanippus was regarded as the bearer.

μενος δὲ ὁ Ἀμασις τὸ βιβλίον τὸ παρὰ τοῦ Πολυκράτεος ἤκου, ἔμαθε ὅτι ἐκκομίσαι τε ἀδύνατον εἶη ἀνθρώπῳ ἀνθρωπον ἐκ τοῦ μέλλοντος γίνεσθαι πρήγματος, καὶ ὅτι οὐκ εὖ τελευτήσῃεν μέλλει Πολυκράτης εὐτυχέων τὰ πάντα, ὃς καὶ τὰ ἀποβάλλει εὐρίσκει πέμψας δὲ οἱ κήρυκα ἐς Σάμον διάλυεσθαι ἔφη τὴν ξεινήν. [τοῦ δὴ εἵνεκα ταῦτα ἐποίησεν<sup>126</sup>. ἵνα μὴ, συντυχίης δεινῆς τε καὶ μεγάλῃς Πολυκράτεια καταλαβούσης, αὐτὸς ἀληγήσειε τὴν ψυχὴν ὡς περὶ ξείνου ἀνδρός<sup>127</sup>.]

Amasis, on hearing of the portent, renounces the alliance of Polycrates.

Ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὴ ὦν τὸν Πολυκράτεια εὐτυχέοντα τὰ πάντα ἐστρατεύοντο Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἐπικαλεσαμένων τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα Κυδωνίων τὴν ἐν Κρήτῃ<sup>128</sup> κτισάντων Σαμίων. Πολυκράτης δὲ πέμψας<sup>129</sup> παρὰ Καμβύσεα τὸν Κύρου συλλέγοντα στρατὸν ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον, ἐδεθήθη ὅπως ἂν καὶ παρ' ἐαυτὸν πέμψας ἐς Σάμον δέοιτο στρατοῦ Καμβύσης δὲ ἀκούσας τούτων<sup>130</sup> προθύμως ἔπεμψε ἐς Σάμον, δεόμενος Πολυκράτεος στρατὸν ναυτικὸν ἅμα πέμψαι ἐνωτῶ ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον ὃ δὲ ἐπιλέξας τῶν ἀστών τοὺς ὑπώπτευσεν μάλιστα ἐς ἐπανάστασιν, ἀπέπεμπε τεσσεράκοντα τριήρεσι<sup>131</sup>, ἐντειλάμενος

44

Polycrates tries to get rid of some troublesome citizens by sending them to assist Cambyses, whom he begs secretly to dispose of them.

<sup>126</sup> τοῦ δὴ εἵνεκα ταῦτα ἐποίησεν; Gaisford and the MSS have τοῦ δὴ εἵνεκα ταῦτα ἐποίησεν.

<sup>127</sup> [τοῦ δὴ εἵνεκα . . . ξείνου ἀνδρός.] I have enclosed these words between brackets, because they appear to me to be an interpolated note, not from the hand of the author, but from that of a grammarian of the time of the Roman empire, when Herodotus (as is clear from the treatise of Dionysius of Halicarnassus) was much read in the schools. The sentiment is one appropriate to Cicero, but not to Amasis, or to any one near his time. The prevailing motive with him would have been to avoid by all means sharing the ruin of a man on whom Destiny had set its mark; and this risk would, according to the feeling of the age, be run by every one connected with him in any solemn relation whatever. There was no formal *ξενία* without participation in a common sacrifice to a common deity; if, therefore, this deity was bent on the destruction of one of the contracting parties, the renunciation of the contract by the other became an act of self-preservation.

<sup>128</sup> Κυδωνίην τὴν ἐν Κρήτῃ. See note on § 59.

<sup>129</sup> Πολυκράτης δὲ πέμψας. So Gaisford reads with most of the MSS. But

S, V, a, and c have πέμψας δὲ κήρυκα λῶδρη Σαμίων Πολυκράτης. Bekker proposes to change δὲ into γὰρ. These words are so continually substituted for one another in MSS, that wherever such a change seems required it may be made without scruple. But in this instance there seems a *lacuna* in both classes of MSS.

<sup>130</sup> τούτων. This word seems to indicate that Polycrates notoriously sent *more than one* ambassador. Perhaps the mention of them occurred in the *lacuna* above-mentioned.

<sup>131</sup> ἀπέπεμπε τεσσεράκοντα τριήρεσι. It is remarkable that this force should be represented as sent off in *triremes*, while, when Polycrates himself embarked to go to Oroetes, it was not in a trireme, but in a *penteconter* (§ 124). If it be objected that a smaller vessel was selected for the sake of convenience in this particular expedition and in that described § 41, it may be asked in reply, how in the enumeration of Polycrates's resources (§ 39) comes his fleet to consist not of triremes, but of *penteconters*? It is not easy to conceive a more satisfactory explanation than that the incident of the expedition of the Samians to Egypt belongs to a different cycle of traditions from the general for-

45

Various accounts are given of their fortunes; but at any rate they invaded Samos, and afterwards sought aid at Lacedaemou.

Καμβύσῃ ὀπίσω τούτους μὴ ἀποπέμψει. Οἱ μὲν δὴ λέγουσι τοὺς ἀποπεμφθέντας Σαμίων [ὑπὸ Πολυκράτεος <sup>132</sup>] οὐκ ἀπικέσθαι ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ τε ἐγένοντο ἐν Καρπάβῳ πλέοντες, δοῦναί σφισι <sup>133</sup> λόγον καὶ σφί ἀδεῖν τὸ προσωτέρω μηκέτι πλέειν οἱ δὲ λέγουσι ἀπικομένους τε ἐς Αἴγυπτον καὶ φυλασσομένους, ἐνθεύτην αὐτοὺς ἀποδρῆναι· καταπλέουσι δὲ ἐς τὴν Σάμον Πολυκράτης νηυσὶ ἀντιάσας ἐς μάχην κατέστη <sup>134</sup>. νικήσαντες δὲ οἱ κατιόντες ἀπέβησαν ἐς τὴν νήσον πεζομαχήσαντες δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ ἐσώθησαν· καὶ οὕτω δὴ ἔπλεον ἐς Λακεδαίμονα. (εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ λέγουσι τοὺς ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου νικήσαι Πολυκράτεια, λέγοντες, ἐμοὶ δοκέειν, οὐκ ὀρθῶς· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἔδεε σφέας Λακεδαιμονίους ἐπικαλέεσθαι, εἴπερ αὐτοὶ ἱκανοὶ ἦσαν Πολυκράτεια παραστήσασθαι <sup>135</sup>. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις, οὐδὲ λόγος αἰρέει, τῷ ἐπικούρῳ τε μισθωτοὶ καὶ τοξόται οἰκῆιοι ἦσαν πλήθει πολλοὶ τούτων ὑπὸ τῶν κατιόντων Σαμίων, ἐόντων ὀλίγων <sup>136</sup>, ἐσσωθῆναι.) τῶν δὲ ὑπ' ἐωυτῷ ἐόντων ποληγιέων τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ὁ Πολυκράτης ἐς τοὺς νεωσοίκους συνεilh-σας, εἶχε ἐτοίμους, ἦν ἄρα προδιδῶσι οὗτοι πρὸς τοὺς κατιόντας, ὑποπρῆσαι αὐτοῖσι τοῖσι νεωσοῖκοις.

46

Anecdote of the Samians illustrating Spartan taciturnity.

Ἐπεὶ τε δὲ οἱ ἐξελασθέντες Σαμίων ὑπὸ Πολυκράτεος ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὴν Σπάρτην, καταστάντες ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἔλεγον πολλὰ, οἷα κάρτα δεόμενοι· οἱ δὲ σφί τῇ πρώτῃ καταστάσει ὑπεκρίναντο, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα λεχθέντα ἐπιλεληθῆναι τὰ δὲ ὕστερα οὐ συνιέναι. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, δευτέρα καταστάντες ἄλλο μὲν εἶπον οὐδὲν, θύλα-

tunes of Polycrates. See also note 136, below.

<sup>132</sup> [ὅτι Πολυκράτεος.] These words are omitted in four MSS.

<sup>133</sup> σφίσι. Gaisford reads σφί. Matthew lays it down that in Herodotus this distinction exists between σφίσι and σφί, that the former is equivalent to *sibi*, the latter to *illis* (or *is*). According to Matthew, the manuscript S reads σφίσι here.

<sup>134</sup> καταπλέουσι δὲ ἐς τὴν Σάμον Πολυκράτης . . . κατέστη. The transition from the oblique to the direct form is not to be passed over without observation. Whether the detachment arrived in Egypt or not was a matter of uncertainty; some gave one account of the matter and some another, but all agreed that there was a debarkation on the island Samos and a battle, which was followed by a retreat of Polycrates's enemies to Lacedaemon.

<sup>135</sup> παραστήσασθαι. For the use of *παρίστημι* see the note 41, above, and § 155, below. The middle voice, which is commonly used, has nearly, but not exactly, the force of *παρστήσῃ μοι ποιῆσαι*, just as *παῖδα διδάσκειν* means 'to bring about the teaching of one's child.' Translate: "if they were strong enough to bring Polycrates to terms."

<sup>136</sup> ἐόντων ὀλίγων. This expression seems strange; for if the complement of the triremes be taken at 200, the number of the invaders would be 8000, a formidable force as against the resources of Polycrates, such as they are described § 39. It is possible that the numbers in that passage are corrupt, or that those of the triremes (§ 44) are so. But it is also possible that an entirely different solution of the difficulty is to be sought. See the note 131, above.

κον δὲ φέροντες ἔφασαν τὸν θύλακον ἀλφίτων δέεσθαι· οἱ δὲ σφι ὑπεκρίναντο τῷ θύλακι περιεργάσθαι<sup>137</sup>. βοηθέειν δ' ὦν ἔδοξε αὐτοῖσι. Καὶ ἔπειτα παρασκευασάμενοι ἐστρατεύοντο Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐπὶ Σάμῳ ὡς μὲν Σάμιοι λέγουσι εὐεργεσίας ἐκτίνοντες, ὅτι σφι πρότεροι αὐτοὶ ἡνυσὶ ἐβοήθησαν ἐπὶ Μεσσηνίους<sup>138</sup>. ὡς δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι λέγουσι, οὐκ οὕτω τιμωρῆσαι δεομένοισι Σαμίους ἐστρατεύοντο, ὡς τίσασθαι βουλόμενοι τοῦ κρητήρος τῆς ἀρπαγῆς τὸν ἦγον Κροίσῳ, καὶ τοῦ θώρηκος τὸν αὐτοῖσι Ἀμασις ὁ Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς ἔπεμψε δῶρον<sup>139</sup>. καὶ γὰρ θώρηκα ἐλήτσαντο τῷ προτέρῳ ἔτει ἢ τὸν κρητήρα<sup>140</sup> οἱ Σάμιοι, ὄντα μὲν λίνεον καὶ ζῶων ἐνφυσμένων συχνῶν, κεκοσμημένον δὲ χρυσῷ καὶ εἰρίοισι ἀπὸ ξύλου. τῶν δὲ εἴνεκα θωυμάσαι ἄξιον ἀρπεδόνῃ ἐκάστη τοῦ θώρηκος ποιεῖν· ἐοῦσα γὰρ λεπτή, ἔχει ἀρπεδόνας ἐν ἑαυτῇ τρηηκοσίας καὶ ἐξήκοντα πάσας φανερὰς. τοιοῦτος ἕτερός ἐστι καὶ τὸν ἐν Λίνῳ ἀνέθηκε τῇ Ἀθηναίῃ Ἀμασις.

The Lacedæmonians give a different reason for their expedition against Samos.

<sup>137</sup> τῷ θύλακι περιεργάσθαι. The force of this reply will be better seen by putting the observation of the Samians into the direct construction. They having been censured for their long speech on the first audience, determined on the second to outdo the Spartans in brevity, and accordingly, as a trial of skill, held up an empty wallet and said: ὁ θύλακος ἀλφίτων δεῖται, on which the others remarked that they had done more than was necessary in using the words ὁ θύλακος, i. e. that the gesture would have served for a nominative case.

<sup>138</sup> ἐβοήθησαν ἐπὶ Μεσσηνίους. This is, I believe, the only passage in the whole of Herodotus's work (with the exception of ix. 35, where the reading is doubtful) in which he makes any allusion to the wars of the Spartans and Messenians. (See note 219 on i. 66.) It was no doubt a very rare subject at Lacedæmon; from which locality a large portion of the history of Herodotus appears to be directly or indirectly derived. It was above all things disagreeable to them to be thought to owe their success to the aid of their neighbours. See the way in which they treated the Athenian contingent (THUCYDIDES i. 102). The Athenians on the other hand were delighted to exaggerate the obligations under which they had laid Sparta in this matter. ARISTOPHANES coolly speaks of Cimon having saved the very existence of the state. (*Lysistrata*, 1137—1144):

εἴτ', ὃ Λάκωνες, πρὸς γὰρ ὑμᾶς τρέφομαι, οὐκ ἴσθ' ὅτ' ἐλθὼν δεῦρο Περικλείδης ποτὲ ὁ Λάκων Ἀθηναίων ἱκέτης καθέξοτο ἐπὶ τοῖσι βωμοῖς ἄχρὸς ἐν φοινικίδι, στρατιᾶν προσαιτῶν; ἢ δὲ Μεσσηνίᾳ τότε ὑμῖν ἐπέκειτο χεῖρ θεοῦ σειων ἄμα· ἐλθὼν δὲ σὺν ἐπλίταισι τετρακισχύλοις Κίμων δλην ἔσωσε τὴν Λακεδαίμονα.

CLINTON, after his usual manner, endeavours to reconcile contradictory statements by the hypothesis of more than one expedition (*Fasti Hellenici*, a. 461). It should not be overlooked that the Spartan account of the expedition to Samos avoids even by implication allowing the service of the Samians, by denying that the expedition was undertaken for the purpose of aiding the exiles at all. The part taken by Lacedæmon in the expulsion of the Pisistratids was an equally unpalatable topic at Athens. See note 213 on i. 63, and that on v. 66, παρίστησαν . . . ἐκχωρήσαι ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς.

<sup>139</sup> τὸν αὐτοῖσι Ἀμασις . . . ἔπεμψε δῶρον. This would imply an alliance with the Egyptian king; and it is strange that Herodotus, where he is enumerating the Hellenic connexions of Amasis (ii. 178—182), does not give the least hint of such a thing.

<sup>140</sup> ἢ τὸν κρητήρα. See the description of this bowl above, i. 70. Of the *thorax* PLINY speaks as if each thread was a composite twist of 365 smaller ones (*N. H.* xix. 1). It was celebrated in song as being proof against the blow of a weapon. (ÆLIAN, *H. A.* ix. 17.)

## 48 Συμπελάβοντο δὲ τοῦ στρατεύματος τοῦ ἐπὶ Σάμον, ὥστε

The Corinthians readily assist in the expedition, from an old quarrel with the Samians, who rescued some children sent by Perianther to the Sardinian slave-market; which rescue is still commemorated by a festival at Samos.

γενέσθαι, καὶ Κορινθιοὶ προθύμως <sup>141</sup>. ὕβρισμα γὰρ καὶ ἐς τούτους εἶχε ἐκ τῶν Σαμίων γενόμενον γενεῇ πρότερον τοῦ στρατεύματος τούτου [κατὰ δὴ <sup>142</sup> τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον τοῦ κρητήρος τῇ ἀρπαγῇ γεγονός.] Κερκυραίων γὰρ παῖδας τριηκοσίους ἀνδρῶν τῶν πρώτων Περίανδρος ὁ Κυψέλου ἐς Σάρδεις ἀπέπεμψε παρὰ Ἀλυσία ἐπ' ἐκτομῇ προσχόντων δὲ ἐς τὴν Σάμον τῶν ἀγόντων τοὺς παῖδας Κορινθίων, πυθόμενοι οἱ Σάμιοι τὸν λόγον ἐπ' οἷσι ἀγολίαιτο ἐς Σάρδεις, πρῶτα μὲν τοὺς παῖδας ἐδίδαξαν ἱροῦ ἄφασθαι Ἀρτέμιδος <sup>143</sup>, μετὰ δὲ, οὐ περιορέοντες ἀπέλκευ τοὺς ἱκέτας ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ, σιτίων δὲ τοὺς παῖδας ἐργόντων Κορινθίων, ἐποίησαντο οἱ Σάμιοι ὀρτὴν τῇ καὶ νῦν ἐτι χρέωνται κατὰ ταῦτά· νυκτὸς γὰρ ἐπυγνομένης, ὅσον χρόνον ἱκέτευον οἱ παῖδες ἴστασαν χοροὺς παρθένων τε καὶ ἡθῶων, ἰστάντες δὲ, τοὺς χοροὺς τραικτὰ σησάμου τε καὶ μέλιτος ἐποίησαντο νόμον φέρεσθαι, ἵνα ἀρπάζοντες οἱ τῶν Κερκυραίων παῖδες ἔχοιεν τροφήν. ἐς τοῦτο δὲ τότε ἐγένετο <sup>144</sup>, ἐς δ' οἱ Κορινθιοὶ, τῶν παιδῶν οἱ φύλακοι, ὄλχοντο ἀπολιπόντες, τοὺς δὲ παῖδας ἀπήγαγον ἐς Κέρκυραν οἱ Σάμιοι. Εἰ μὲν νυν Περίανδρου τελευτήσαντος τοῖσι Κορινθίοισι φίλα ἦν πρὸς τοὺς Κερκυραίους, οἶδε οὐκ ἂν συνελάβοντο τοῦ στρατεύματος τοῦ ἐπὶ Σάμον ταύτης εἴνεκεν τῆς αἰτίας· νῦν δὲ αἰεὶ, ἐπεὶ τε ἔκτισαν τὴν νῆσον, εἰσὶ ἀλλήλοισι διάφοροι ἐόντες ἐωυτοῖσι τούτωνδ' εἴνεκεν

## 49

Feud between Corinth and Corcyra.

δὲ παῖδας ἀπήγαγον ἐς Κέρκυραν οἱ Σάμιοι. Εἰ μὲν νυν Περίανδρου τελευτήσαντος τοῖσι Κορινθίοισι φίλα ἦν πρὸς τοὺς Κερκυραίους, οἶδε οὐκ ἂν συνελάβοντο τοῦ στρατεύματος τοῦ ἐπὶ Σάμον ταύτης εἴνεκεν τῆς αἰτίας· νῦν δὲ αἰεὶ, ἐπεὶ τε ἔκτισαν τὴν νῆσον, εἰσὶ ἀλλήλοισι διάφοροι ἐόντες ἐωυτοῖσι τούτωνδ' εἴνεκεν

<sup>141</sup> καὶ Κορινθιοὶ προθύμως. It seems likely that at this time *Anaxandrides* was king of Sparta, and that the party of which the Herodotean Sosicles (v. 92) is the representative was in the ascendant at Corinth. This party would favour the aristocratic Dorian as opposed to the Achæan blood. See note on v. 75, Κορινθιοὶ πρῶτοι σφὶ αὐτοῖσι δόντες λόγον.

<sup>142</sup> κατὰ δὴ. Two MSS have κατὰ δὲ, and Gaisford follows them. But the sentence appears to be a note by a later hand, and to result from a conjecture founded upon the expression *γενεῇ πρότερον τοῦ στρατεύματος τούτου*. Hence the origin of the word *γεγονός*, which if Gaisford's reading be followed, becomes not merely superfluous after *γενόμενον*, but also inelegant from the causeless change of tense.

<sup>143</sup> Ἀρτέμιδος. The Artemis of Samos appears to have been a goddess identical in character with the one in the *Linnæum* at Sparta, at whose altar boys were

scourged. The temple was called *Ταυροπόλιον*. If the existing MSS of STRABO are to be trusted, it was not in the island Samos itself, but in the little islet Icaria, 80 stades distant (xiv. p. 172). But STRAPHANUS BYZANTINUS (sub v. *Ταυροπόλιον*) appeals to Strabo, and speaks of it as in the island itself. From the circumstance that the *Here* in the great temple bore also the name of *Parthenia* (which indeed was said to be her earliest; see SPANHEIM on *Callimachus*, *Hymn. Del.* 48), it seems not unlikely that an early Artemis-ritual was taken up into the worship at the *Heræum*, and that Herodotus is here speaking of some chapel in that building.

<sup>144</sup> ἐς τοῦτο δὲ τότε ἐγένετο. Most of the MSS have οἱ after δὲ, which gives no sense, but appears to be a relic of some various reading, it being impossible to conceive how such a corruption could arise out of the present text.

ἀπεμνησικάκεον τοῖσι Σαρμίοισι οἱ Κορίνθιοι<sup>145</sup>. ἀπέπεμπε δὲ ἐς Σάρδις ἐπ' ἑκτομῇ Περίανδρος τῶν πρώτων Κερκυραίων ἐπιλέξας τοὺς παῖδας, τιμωρεύμενος· πρότεροι γὰρ οἱ Κερκυραῖοι ἤρξαν ἐς αὐτὸν πρήγμα ἀτάσθαλον ποιήσαντες. Ἐπεὶ τε γὰρ τὴν ἑωυτοῦ 50  
 γυναῖκα Μελίσσαν<sup>146</sup> Περίανδρος ἀπέκτεινε, συμφορὴν τοιγύνη οἱ History of  
 ἄλλην συνέβη πρὸς τῇ γεγονυίᾳ γενέσθαι· ἦσαν οἱ ἐκ Μελίσσης after he had  
 δύο παῖδες, ἡλικίην ὁ μὲν ἑπτακαίδεκα ὁ δὲ ὀκτωκαίδεκα ἔτεα slain his  
 γεγονώς· τούτους ὁ μητροπάτωρ Προκλῆς ἔων Ἐπιδαύρου τύραν- wife Me-  
 νος<sup>147</sup> μεταπεμφάμενος παρ' ἑωυτὸν ἐφιλοφρονέετο, ὥς εἰκὸς ἦν lissa.  
 θυγατρὸς εἶντας τῆς ἑωυτοῦ παῖδας· ἐπεὶ τε δὲ σφεας ἀπεπέμπετο, Bitterness  
 εἶπε προπέμπων αὐτούς· “ἀρα ἴστε, ὦ παῖδες, δς ὑμῶν τὴν of his second  
 μητέρα ἀπέκτεινε;” τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος ὁ μὲν πρεσβύτερος αὐτῶν ἐν son Lycophrōn (the  
 οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ἐποιήσατο· ὁ δὲ νεώτερος τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Λυκόφρων, wolf-  
 ἤλγησε ἀκούσας οὕτω ὥστε ἀπικόμανος ἐς τὴν Κόρινθον ἀτε φονέα hearted).  
 τῆς μητρὸς τὸν πατέρα οὔτε προσεῖπε, διαλεγόμενός τε οὔτε προσ-  
 διελέγετο ἱστορέοντί τε λόγον οὐδένα ἐδίδου· τέλος δὲ μιν πέρι  
 θυμῷ ἐχόμενος ὁ Περίανδρος ἐξελαίνει ἐκ τῶν οἰκίων. Ἐξελάσας 51  
 δὲ τοῦτον, ἰστόρει τὸν πρεσβύτερον τά σφι ὁ μητροπάτωρ διελέχθη· Periander  
 ὁ δὲ οἱ ἀπηγγέετο ὥς σφεας φιλοφρόνως ἐδέξατο· ἐκείνου δὲ τοῦ expels him  
 ἔπεος τό σφι ὁ Προκλῆς ἀποστέλλων εἶπε, ἅτε οὐ νόψ λαβὼν, οὐκ from his  
 ἐμέμνητο· Περίανδρος δὲ οὐδεμίαν μηχανὴν<sup>148</sup> ἔφη εἶναι μὴ οὐ σφι house,  
 ἐκείνου ὑποθέσθαι τι, ἐλπάρει τε ἱστορέων· ὁ δὲ ἀναμνησθεὶς εἶπε  
 καὶ τοῦτο· Περίανδρος δὲ νόψ λαβὼν καὶ τοῦτο καὶ μαλακὸν ἐνδι-  
 δόναι βουλόμενος οὐδὲν<sup>149</sup>, ἥ ὁ ἐξελασθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ παῖς δίαιταν

<sup>145</sup> νῦν δὲ αἰεὶ . . . οἱ Κορίνθιοι. The text as it stands is obviously corrupt, but it is not easy to correct it with any thing like certainty. Schaefer and Schweighaeuser consider that ἀλλήλοισι is a gloss of ἑωυτοῖσι, and simply discard it. But even then the sentence does not run well. I am inclined to think the text an union of two different readings:

νῦν δ' αἰεὶ, ἐπεὶ τε ἔκτισαν τὴν νῆσον { εἰς ἀλλήλοισι διάφοροι· τούτων δ' οὐκ ἔνεκεν } ἀπεμνησικάκεον κ.τ.λ.

<sup>146</sup> τὴν ἑωυτοῦ γυναῖκα Μελίσσαν. DIOGENES LAERTIUS (i. 94) gives *Lysida* as the real name of Periander's wife, but says that he himself called her *Melissa*. It may be doubted whether the story of his wife being called by that name did not arise from a misunderstanding of an equivocal phrase (συνεῖναι). See note on v. 92. Diogenes does not give his authority for the above fact, but immediately afterwards he quotes Heraclides Ponticus for the ex-

tent of the sovereignty of Lysida's father Procles.

<sup>147</sup> Ἐπιδαύρου τύραννος. The tomb of *Melissa* at Epidaurus is mentioned by PAUSANIAS (ii. 28. 4). A *Procles*, too, was the leader of the colonists of Samos which came from Epidaurus.

<sup>148</sup> οὐδεμίαν μηχανήν. See the note 698 on i. 209.

<sup>149</sup> μαλακὸν ἐνδιδόναι βουλόμενος οὐδέν. See below, § 106.

ἐποιέετο ἐς τούτους πέμπων ἄγγελον, ἀπηγόρευε μὴ μιν δέκεσθαι οἰκίους· ὁ δὲ ὅκως ἀπελαυνόμενος ἔλθοι ἐς ἄλλην οἰκίην, ἀπελαύνετ' ἂν καὶ ἀπὸ ταύτης, (ἀπειλείοντός τε τοῦ Περιάνδρου τοῖσι δεξαμένοισι καὶ ἐξέργειν κελεύοντος,) ἀπελαυνόμενος δ' ἂν ἦιε<sup>150</sup> ἐπ' ἐτέρην τῶν ἐταίρων οἱ δὲ ἅτε Περιάνδρου ἔοντα παῖδα καίπερ

52

δαιμαίνοντες ὅμως ἐδέκοντο. Τέλος δὲ ὁ Περιάνδρος κήρυγμα ἐποίησατο, ὃς ἂν ἡ οἰκίῳσι ὑποδέξηται μιν<sup>151</sup> ἢ προσδιαλεχθῇ, ἰρὴν ζημίην τούτου τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ὀφείλειν, ὅσῃν δὴ εἶπας<sup>152</sup>. πρὸς ὧν δὴ τοῦτο τὸ κήρυγμα, οὔτε τίς οἱ διαλέγεσθαι οὔτε οἰκίῳσι δέκεσθαι ἠέλεε· πρὸς δὲ, οὐδὲ αὐτὸς ἐκείνος ἐδικαίειν πειρᾶσθαι ἀπειρημένου, ἀλλὰ διακαρτερέων ἐν τῇσι στοῇσι ἐκαλυνδέετο·

relents on seeing him reduced to extremity,

τετάρτη δ' ἡμέρῃ ἰδὼν μιν ὁ Περιάνδρος ἀλουσίῃσι τε καὶ ἀσιτίῃσι συμπεπτωκότα, οἴκτειρε· ὑπὲς δὲ τῆς ὀργῆς ἦιε ἄσسون καὶ ἔλεγε· “ὦ παῖ, κότερα τούτων αἰρετώτερά ἐστι, ταῦτα τὰ νῦν ἔχων πρήσσεις, ἢ τὴν τυραννίδα καὶ ἀγαθὰ τὰ νῦν ἐγὼ ἔχω, [ταῦτα,] ἔοντα τῷ πατρὶ ἐπιτήδεον παραλαμβάνειν; ὃς ἔων ἐμός τε παῖς καὶ Κορώβου τῆς εὐδαίμονος βασιλεὺς, ἀλήτην βίον εἶλεν ἀντιστατέων τε καὶ ὀργῇ χρεώμενος ἐς τὸν σε ἥκιστα ἐχρῆν· εἰ γὰρ τις συμφορὴ ἐν αὐτοῖσι<sup>a</sup> ἐγεγόνεε ἐξ ἧς ὑποψίην ἐς ἐμέ ἔχεις, ἐμοὶ τε αὕτη γέγονε καὶ ἐγὼ αὐτῆς τὸ πλεῦν μέτοχός εἰμι ὅσῃ αὐτὸς σφε ἐξεργασάμην· σὺ δὲ μαθὼν ὅσῃ φθονέεσθαι κρέσσον ἐστὶ ἢ οἰκτεῖρεσθαι<sup>153</sup>, ἅμα τε ὁκοῖόν τι ἐς τοὺς τοκέας καὶ ἐς τοὺς κρέσσονας

but the son does not.

τεθυμῶσθαι, ἀπιθὶ ἐς τὰ οἶκία.” Περιάνδρος μὲν τούτοις αὐτὸν κατελάμβανε· ὁ δὲ ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν ἀμείβεται τὸν πατέρα, ἔφη δὲ μιν ἰρὴν ζημίην ὀφείλειν τῷ θεῷ ἑωυτῷ ἐς λόγους ἀπικόμενον· μαθὼν δὲ ὁ Περιάνδρος ὥς ἀπορόν τι τὸ κακὸν εἶη τοῦ παιδὸς καὶ ἀνίκητον, ἐξ ὀφθαλμῶν μιν ἀποπέμπεται στείλας πλοῖον ἐς Κέρ-

Periander sends him Corcyra,

<sup>150</sup> ἂν ἦιε. See note 338 on il. 120, and note 406, below.

<sup>151</sup> ὃς ἂν ἡ οἰκίῳσι ὑποδέξηται μιν. Dr. Donaldson points out in this and the following section several expressions which he conceives to be distinct imitations of the phraseology of Sophocles. (*Transactions of the London Philological Society*, i. p. 164.) In my opinion the similarity is adequately explained on the principle indicated in note 116 on i. 32.

<sup>152</sup> ὅσῃν δὴ εἶπας, “having specified the amount, whatever it was.” See note 525

on i. 157.

<sup>a</sup> αὐτοῖσι. Schweighæuser attempts to defend this reading by showing that αὐτὸς is not uncommonly used for εαυτός, and εαυτός sometimes in the sense of ἐμαυτός. But such reasoning is very unsatisfactory; and it is more likely that the word is a corruption for οἰκίῳσι, ἐν οἴκοις meaning “in the family.”

<sup>153</sup> ὅσῃ φθονέεσθαι κρέσσον ἐστὶ ἢ οἰκτεῖρεσθαι. A reference to a proverbial expression κρέσσων γὰρ οἰκτιρῶν φθόνος. (PINDAR, *Pyth.* i. 164.)



κυραν ἐπεκράτῃ γὰρ καὶ ταύτης ἀποστείλας δὲ τούτον ὁ Περίαν- and making  
δρος, ἐστρατεύετο ἐπὶ τὸν πενθερὸν Προκλέα ὡς τῶν παρεόντων οἱ  
πρηγμάτων ἐόντα αἰτιώτατον καὶ εἰλε μὲν τὴν Ἐπίδουρον, εἰλε  
δὲ αὐτὸν Προκλέα [καὶ ἐξώγησε<sup>154</sup>.] Ἐπεὶ δὲ, τοῦ χρόνου προ- 53  
βαίνοντος, ὃ τε Περίανδρος παρηβήκε καὶ συνεγινώσκετο ἑαυτῷ  
οὐκέτι εἶναι δυνατὸς τὰ πρήγματα ἐπορᾶν τε καὶ διέπειν, πέμψας  
ἐς τὴν Κέρκυραν ἀπεκάλεε τὸν Λυκόφρονα ἐπὶ τὴν τυραννίδα· ἐν  
γὰρ δὴ τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ τῶν παιδῶν οὐκ ἐνέωρα, ἀλλὰ οἱ κατεφαί-  
νετο εἶναι νεώτερος· ὁ δὲ Λυκόφρων οὐδὲ ἀνακρίσιος<sup>155</sup> ἤξιωσε  
τὸν φέροντα τὴν ἀγγελίην. Περίανδρος δὲ περιεχόμενος τοῦ νεηλῆω, Some time  
δεύτερα ἀπέστειλε ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὴν ἀδελφεὴν ἑαυτοῦ δὲ θυγατέρα, Periaander,  
δοκέων μιν μάλιστα ταύτῃ ἂν πείθεσθαι ἀπικομένης δὲ ταύτης  
καὶ λεγούσης· “ὦ παῖ, βούλει τὴν τε τυραννίδα ἐς ἄλλους πεσέ-  
ειν καὶ τὸν οἶκον τοῦ πατρὸς διαφορηθέντα<sup>156</sup> μᾶλλον, ἢ αὐτὸς σφε-  
ἀπελθὼν ἔχειν; ἀπιθὶ ἐς τὰ οἰκία· παῦσαι σεωντὸν ζημιῶν· φιλο-  
τιμίῃ κτήμα σκαιὸν μὴ τῷ κακῷ τὸ κακὸν ἰῶ· πολλοὶ τῶν δικαίων  
τὰ ἐπιεικέστερα προτιθέασιν· πολλοὶ δὲ ἤδη τὰ μητρῴα διζήμενοι  
τὰ πατρῴα ἀπέβαλον τυραννὶς χρήμα σφαλερόν· πολλοὶ δὲ  
αὐτῆς ἐρασταὶ εἰσι, ὁ δὲ γέρον τε ἤδη καὶ παρηγηκώς· μὴ δὲ τὰ  
σεωντοῦ ἀγαθὰ ἄλλοισι.” ἢ μὲν δὴ τὰ ἐπαγωγότατα διδαχθεῖσα  
ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἔλεγε πρὸς αὐτὸν, ὁ δὲ ὑποκρινάμενος ἔφη οἶδαμὰ  
ἤξειν ἐς Κόρινθον ἔστ' ἂν πυνθάνηται περιέοντα τὸν πατέρα·  
ἀπαργειλάσης δὲ ταύτης ταῦτα τὸ τρίτον Περίανδρος κήρυκα  
πέμπει, βουλόμενος αὐτὸς μὲν ἐς Κέρκυραν ἔκειν, ἐκεῖνον δὲ  
ἐκέλευε ἐς Κόρινθον ἀπικόμενον διάδοχον γίνεσθαι τῆς τυραννίδος·  
κατανέσσαντος δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις τοῦ παιδός, ὁ μὲν Περίανδρος ἐστέλ-  
λετο ἐς τὴν Κέρκυραν ὁ δὲ παῖς οἱ ἐς τὴν Κόρινθον μαθόντες δὲ οἱ  
Κερκυραῖοι τούτων ἕκαστα, ἵνα μὴ σφί Περίανδρος ἐς τὴν χώραν  
ἀπικηται κτείνουσι τὸν νεηλίσκον. ἀντὶ τούτων μὲν Περίανδρος  
Κερκυραίους ἐτιμωρετό.

<sup>154</sup> [καὶ ἐξώγησε.] These words appear to me to have crept into the text from the margin, where ἐξώγησε was probably placed, not as a gloss, but as an alternative reading of the second εἰλε.

<sup>155</sup> ἀνακρίσιος. The manuscripts S and V have ἀνοκρίσιος, which is adopted by Bekker. No doubt it is the better reading, if the meaning of the text be that the son did not deign even to answer the messenger.

But ἀνακρίσιος would give a very good sense, viz., ‘that the son did not think it worth while to put any question to him,’ i. e. as to the circumstances of the case, in order that he might judge how far it would be necessary for him to have any dealings with his father.

<sup>156</sup> τὸν οἶκον τοῦ πατρὸς διαφορηθέντα. See note 118 on i. 34.

54  
Attack on  
Samos by  
the Lacedæ-  
monians,

Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ στόλῳ μεγάλῳ ὥς ἀπίκοντο, ἐπολιόρκεον Σάμον. προσβαλόντες δὲ πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος τοῦ μὲν πρὸς θαλάσση ἐστειώτος πύργου κατὰ τὸ προάστειον τῆς πόλιος ὑπερέβησαν μετὰ δὲ, αὐτοῦ βοηθήσαντος Πολυκράτεος χειρὶ πολλῇ, ἀπ-  
ηλάσθησαν κατὰ δὲ τὸν ἐπάνω πύργον τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ῥάχιος τοῦ οὖρεος ἐπέοντα, ἐπεξήλθον οἱ τε ἐπίκουροι καὶ αὐτῶν Σαμίων συγχυοὶ, δεξάμενοι δὲ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐπ' ὀλίγον χρόνον

55  
in which  
Archias,  
the grand-  
father of a  
Lacedæ-  
monian  
known to  
Herodotus,  
was highly  
distinguish-  
ed.

ἔφευγον ὅπισω· οἱ δὲ ἐπισπόμενοι ἔκτεινον. Εἰ μὲν νυν οἱ παρ-  
εόντες Λακεδαιμονίων ὁμοιοὶ ἐγένοντο<sup>157</sup> ταύτην τὴν ἡμέρην Ἀρχίῃ  
τε καὶ Λυκώπῃ, αἰρέθη ἂν Σάμος· Ἀρχίης γὰρ καὶ Λυκώπης μῦνοι  
συνεσπεσόντες φεύγουσι ἐς τὸ τεῖχος τοῖσι Σαμίοισι καὶ ἀπο-  
κληισθέντες τῆς ὀπίσω ὁδοῦ, ἀπέθανον ἐν τῇ πόλει τῇ Σαμίων.  
τρίτῳ δὲ ἀπ' Ἀρχίῳ τούτου γεγονότι ἄλλῳ Ἀρχίῃ, τῷ Σαμίου  
τοῦ Ἀρχίῳ, αὐτὸς ἐν Πιτάνῃ συνεγεγόμεν<sup>158</sup>, (δήμου γὰρ τούτου  
ἦν,) ὃς ξείνων πάντων μάλιστα ἐτίμα τε Σαμίους, καὶ οἱ τῷ πατρὶ  
ἔφη Σάμιον τοῦνομα τεθῆναι ὅτι οἱ ὁ πατὴρ Ἀρχίης ἐν Σάμῳ  
ἀριστεύσας ἐτελεύτησε τιμᾶν δὲ Σαμίους ἔφη, διότι ταφῆναι οἱ  
τὸν πάππον δημοσίῃ ὑπὸ Σαμίων. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ, ὥς σφι τεσ-  
σεράκοντα ἐγεγόνεσαν ἡμέραι πολιορκέουσι Σάμον ἐς τὸ πρόσω τε  
οὐδὲν προεκόπτετο τῶν πρηγμάτων, ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐς Πελοπόν-  
νησον ὥς δὲ ὁ ματαιότερος λόγος ᾤρηται, λέγεται Πολυκράτεα

56  
After forty  
days' inef-  
fectual  
siege of  
Samos, the  
Lacedæ-

<sup>157</sup> ἐγένοντο. Gaisford has ἐγένοντο, with some of the MSS.

<sup>158</sup> ἐν Πιτάνῃ συνεγεγόμεν. Pitane was a small deme of Laconia on the banks of the Eurotas. It is quite plain that the details of the assault upon Samos are due to the Archias spoken of as belonging to it. Perhaps it may also be thought that the chronology of the transaction rests upon the same authority. The anecdote of the Samian failure in Laconicism can hardly come from any other source than a Lacedæmonian one, and its date is fixed by the recollection of a man whose grandfather was killed in the expedition which followed the embassy. But there are one or two circumstances in the story which are very instructive with reference to the composition of Herodotus's work. The description of the site of the action is given in the terms which would be employed by a person quite familiar with the spot. A question arises, does this accuracy come from Archias or from his auditor? It can

scarcely be doubted that it comes from the latter. Archias (the distinguished soldier) would not have his wife with him on service, and his son Samius seems to have been a posthumous child. In the way of oral tradition therefore it is not likely that the *topography* of Samos would have been transmitted to the second Archias. But Herodotus himself probably resided long in Samos and was familiar with the place; hence he could supply a topographical skeleton to the Laconian's narrative. On the other hand, the younger Archias is obviously the sole authority for the distinction of a public funeral having been bestowed on his grandfather. Herodotus most unmistakeably intimates that in Samos he never heard of such a thing, by putting forward, as he does, the two facts which the other accounted for in a way so creditable to his family,—those of his father having been named Samius and he himself paying particular attention to inhabitants of that island.

ἐπιχώριον νόμισμα κόψαντα πολλὸν μολύβδου, καταχρυσώσαντα monians  
return  
home.  
δοῦναί σφι· τοὺς δὲ δεξαμένους οὕτω δὴ ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι. ταύτην  
πρώτην στρατηγὴν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην Λακεδαιμόνιοι Δωριεὺς <sup>159</sup> ἐποίη-  
σαντο.

Οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τὸν Πολυκράτεια στρατευσάμενοι Σαμίῳ, ἐπεὶ οἱ 57  
Λακεδαιμόνιοι αὐτοὺς ἀπολείπειν ἐμελλον, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀπέπλεον ἐς  
Σίφνον χρημάτων γὰρ ἐδέοντο, τὰ δὲ τῶν Σιφνίων πρήγματα The Samian  
exiles being  
deserted by  
the Lace-  
dæmonians,  
proceed to  
Siphnus,  
then a most  
wealthy  
island,  
ἤκμαζε τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον· καὶ νησιωτέων μάλιστα ἐπλούτεον (ἅτε  
ἐόντων αὐτοῖσι ἐν τῇ νήσῳ χρυσέων καὶ ἀργυρέων μετάλλων) οὕτω  
ὥστε ἀπὸ τῆς δεκάτης τῶν γινομένων αὐτόθεν χρημάτων θησαυρὸς  
ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἀνακέεται, ὁμοῖα τοῖσι πλουσιωτάτοις <sup>160</sup>. αὐτοὶ δὲ  
τὰ γινόμενα τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ ἐκάστῳ χρήματα διενέμοντο. ὅτε ὦν  
ἐποιεῦντο τὸν θησαυρὸν, ἐχρέωντο τῷ χρηστηρίῳ, εἰ αὐτοῖσι τὰ  
παρέοντα ἀγαθὰ οἶα τε ἐστὶ πολλὸν χρόνον παραμένειν; ἡ δὲ Πυθίη  
ἐχρησέ σφι τάδε·

Ἄλλ' ὅταν ἐν Σίφνῳ πρυτανῆα λευκὰ γένηται  
λευκόφροσ τ' ἀγορῇ, τότε δὴ δεῖ φράδμονος ἀνδρὸς,  
φράσσασθαι <sup>161</sup> ξέλωνόν τε λόχον κήρυκά τ' ἐρυθρόν.

τοῖσι δὲ Σιφνίοισι ἦν τότε ἡ ἀγορὴ καὶ τὸ πρυτανήιον Παρίῳ λίθῳ  
ἡσκημένα. Τοῦτον τὸν χρησμὸν οὐκ οἶοι τε ἦσαν γινῶναι, οὔτε 58  
τότε ἰθὺς οὔτε τῶν Σαμίων ἀπυγμένων· ἐπεὶ τε γὰρ τάχιστα πρὸς  
τὴν Σίφνον προσίσχον οἱ Σάμιοι, ἔπεμπον τῶν νεῶν μίαν πρέσ-  
βας ἄγουσαν ἐς τὴν πόλιν. τὸ δὲ παλαιὸν ἅπασαι αἱ νῆες ἦσαν  
μιλητηλιφεές· καὶ ἦν τοῦτο τὸ ἡ Πυθίη προηγόρευε τοῖσι Σιφνίοισι, and levy  
a heavy  
impost on  
the people.  
φυλάσασθαι τὸν ξύλινον λόχον κελεύουσα καὶ κήρυκα ἐρυθρόν·  
ἀπικόμενοι ὦν οἱ ἀγγελοὶ ἐδέοντο τῶν Σιφνίων δέκα τάλαντά σφι

<sup>159</sup> Λακεδαιμόνιοι Δωριεὺς. This phrase is a very extraordinary one, and it is not impossible that Λακεδαιμόνιοι has crept in from being a marginal annotation to limit Δωριεὺς. But possibly the expression is used to denote the Lacedæmonians since they became Dorized, as contradistinguished from the old Achæo-Minyæan Lacedæmonians. Thus PAUSANIAS says that the *Achæans* at a subsequent time, proud of their achievements against the Trojans, Λακεδαιμόνιους Δωριεὺς ἀπηξίουσιν σφισιν ἡγήσασθαι (vii. 6. 3). As Menelaus was at the siege of Troy with his troops, this fact by itself would prevent Λακεδαιμόνιοι from standing alone in the text without some qualification. And perhaps

there is another reason for putting in the expression Δωριεὺς. See note on v. 41.

<sup>160</sup> ὁμοῖα τοῖσι πλουσιωτάτοις. Compare § 8, above: ὁμοῖα τοῖσι μάλιστα.

<sup>161</sup> φράσσασθαι. This is the reading of all the MSS but three, which have φράσασθαι. Perhaps the true reading is φράξασθαι. "Then indeed a man of intelligence is wanted, to get them fenced in against wooden regiment and scarlet herald." The meaning of the oracle of course was that their wealth would expose them to the descents of pirates upon them, when there was such evidence of it afforded by the facing their public edifices with Parian marble.

59

They purchase the island Hydría off the coast of Peloponnesus of the Hermionians, and put the Troezenians in possession of it. Then they form a settlement in Crete, but in the sixth year are made slaves by the Æginetæ out of an ancient feud.

60

Three great works in Samos.

χρήσαι· οὐ φασκόντων δὲ χρήσειν τῶν Σιφνίων αὐτοῖσι οἱ Σάμιοι τοὺς χώρους αὐτῶν ἐπάρθεον πυθόμενοι· δ' ἰθὺς ἤκον οἱ Σίφνιοι βοηθέοντες, καὶ συμβαλόντες αὐτοῖσι ἐσσώθησαν· καὶ αὐτῶν πολλοὶ ἀπεκληίσθησαν τοῦ ἄστεος ὑπὸ τῶν Σαμίων· καὶ αὐτοὺς μετὰ ταῦτα ἑκατὸν τάλαντα ἔπρηξαν. Παρὰ δὲ Ἑρμιονέων νῆσον ἀντὶ χρημάτων παρέλαβον, Ἐδρέην τὴν ἐπὶ Πελοποννήσῳ, καὶ αὐτὴν Τροιζηνίοισι παρακατέθεντο· αὐτοὶ δὲ Κυδωνίην τὴν ἐν Κρήτῃ ἔκτισαν<sup>153</sup>, οὐκ ἐπὶ τούτῳ πλέοντες, ἀλλὰ Ζακυνθίους ἐξελοῦντες ἐκ τῆς νήσου ἔμειναν δ' ἐν ταύτῃ καὶ εὐδαιμώνησαν ἐπ' ἑταῖρα πάντε [ἵσπερ τὰ ἱρὰ τὰ ἐν Κυδωνίῃ ἑόντα νῦν οὐτοὶ εἰσι οἱ ποιήσαντες καὶ τὸν τῆς Δικτύνης νηὸν<sup>154</sup>.] ἔκτῳ δὲ ἔτει Αἰγινῆται<sup>154</sup> αὐτοὺς ναυμαχίῃ νικήσαντες ἠνδραποδίσαντο μετὰ Κρητῶν καὶ τῶν νηῶν καπρίους ἐχουσέων τὰς πρῶρας ἠκρωτηρίασαν, καὶ ἀνέθεσαν ἐς τὸ ἱρὸν τῆς Ἀθηναίης ἐν Αἰγίνῃ. ταῦτα δὲ ἐποίησαν ἔγκοτον ἔχοντες Σαμίοισι Αἰγινῆται· πρότεροι γὰρ Σάμιοι ἐπ' Ἀμφικράτεος βασιλεύοντος ἐν Σάμῳ στρατευσάμενοι ἐπ' Αἰγίαν, μεγάλα κακὰ ἐποίησαν Αἰγινῆτας καὶ ἔπαθον ὑπ' ἐκείνων. ἡ μὲν αἰτία αὕτη.

Ἐμήκυνα δὲ περὶ Σαμίων μᾶλλον, ὅτι σφί τρία ἐστὶ μέγιστα ὁπάντων Ἑλλήνων ἐξεργασμένα· οὐρεὺς τε ὑψηλοῦ ἐς πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ὀργυιάς, τούτου ὄρυγμα κάτωθεν ἀρξάμενον ἀμφίστομον. τὸ μὲν μήκος τοῦ ὄρυγματος ἑπτὰ στάδιοι εἰσι, τὸ δὲ ὕψος

<sup>153</sup> αὐτοὶ δὲ Κυδωνίην τὴν ἐν Κρήτῃ ἔκτισαν. This can hardly be the foundation of a city where none existed before; for the origin of Cydonia is referred by various traditions to a much earlier time, and indeed it was by some regarded as the most ancient of all the Cretan cities ("ut Græci dicere solent, *urbium matrem* Cydoniam," FLOPUS, iii. 7). It would seem most likely that the settlement formed by these Samians was in the immediate neighbourhood of the harbour of *Khania*, a most favourable situation for a nest of pirates, the mouth of the port being very narrow, and capable of being closed by a chain. SCYLAX calls Cydonia *λιμὴν κλειστός*, and another geographer describes it as having *βράχην* at the entrance of the harbour. These are recognized in some sunken rocks running half a mile from the western point. (FASHLEY, *Travels in Crete*, i. p. 14.) The ancient city would probably be on the mountain Tityrus, the site of the Dictynæan temple

(STRABO, x. p. 377). This is, according to Pococke, about 5 miles s.w. of the modern *Khania*, and some ruins still exist there. Strabo makes it 30 stades from the sea. *Khania* is situated in lat. 35° 28', long. 24° 1'.

<sup>154</sup> [ἵσπερ τὰ ἱρὰ . . . Δικτύνης νηὸν.] These words appear to me to be a note by a person much subsequent to the time of Herodotus, and an inference on his part from the expression *Κυδωνίην* ἔκτισαν. (See the last note.) No Samians of a century before Herodotus would come bringing with them the Dictynæ-worship, which was indigenous in Crete. STRABO indeed describes the Dictynæum as being not within the territory of the Cydonians, but of their immediate neighbours the *Polyrrhenians*.

<sup>154</sup> Αἰγινῆται. STRABO (viii. c. 6. p. 207) mentions the Æginetæ as having sent colonists to Cydonia. Perhaps this was after the destruction of the Samian pirates described in the text.

καὶ εὖρος ὁκτώ ἐκάτερον πόδες· διὰ παντὸς δὲ αὐτοῦ ἄλλο ὄρυγμα εἰκοσῖπηχυ βάθος ὀρώρυνται, τρίπουν δὲ τὸ εὖρος· δι' οὗ τὸ ὕδωρ ὀχετεύμενον διὰ σωλῆνων παραγίνεται ἐς τὴν πόλιν, ἀγόμενον ἀπὸ μεγάλης πηγῆς· ἀρχιτέκτων δὲ τοῦ ὀρύγματος τούτου ἐγένετο Μεγαρεὺς Εὐπαλῖνος Ναυστρόφου. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ ἐν τῶν τριῶν ἐστί. δεύτερον δὲ, περὶ λιμένα χώμα ἐν θαλάσσῃ βάθος κατὰ εἴκοσι ὀργυιῶν μήκος δὲ τοῦ χώματος μέζον δύο σταδίω. τρίτον δὲ σφι ἐξέργασται νηὸς μέγιστος πάντων νηῶν τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν τοῦ ἀρχιτέκτων πρῶτος ἐγένετο Ῥόικος Φίλεω ἐπιχώριος. τούτων εἵνεκεν μᾶλλον τι περὶ Σαμίων ἐμήκυνα.

Καμβύση δὲ τῷ Κύρῳ, χρονίζοντι περὶ Αἴγυπτον καὶ παρα- 61  
φρονήσαντι<sup>165</sup>, ἐπανιστέαται ἄνδρες Μάγοι δύο ἀδελφεοί· τῶν τὸν ἕτερον καταλελοίπεε τῶν οἰκίων μελεδωνὸν ὁ Καμβύσης· οὗτος δὴ ὦν οἱ ἐπανεστή, μαθὼν τε τὸν Σμέρδιος θάνατον ὡς κρύπτοντο γενόμενος, καὶ ὡς ὀλέγοι ἦσαν οἱ ἐπιστάμενοι αὐτῶν<sup>166</sup> Περσέων, οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ περιέοντα μιν εἰδείησαν<sup>167</sup>. πρὸς ταῦτα βουλευσας τάδε ἐπεχείρησε τοῖσι βασιληῆσιν· ἦν οἱ ἀδελφεὸς, τὸν εἰπά οἱ συνεπαναστήναι, οἰκῶς μάλιστα τὸ εἶδος Σμέρδι τῷ Κύρῳ τὸν ὁ Καμβύσης, ὄντα ἑαυτοῦ ἀδελφεόν, ἀπέκτεινε· ἦν τε δὴ ὁμοῖος<sup>168</sup> εἶδος τῷ Σμέρδι καὶ δὴ καὶ οὐνομα τῶντ' εἶχε Σμέρδι τούτον τὸν ἄνδρα ἀναγνώσας ὁ Μάγος Πατιζέιθης<sup>169</sup> ὡς οἱ αὐτὸς πάντα διαπρήξει, εἰσε ἄγων ἐς τὸν βασιλεῖον θρόνον<sup>170</sup>. ποιήσας δὲ

<sup>165</sup> χρονίζοντι περὶ Αἴγυπτον καὶ παραφρονήσαντι. This would be, according to the Egyptian accounts, after the return from Ethiopia. See note 107, above.

<sup>166</sup> αὐτῶν. Gaisford, with the majority of the MSS, has αὐτόν. But the reading in the text is sanctioned by one MS, and is not likely to have grown out of the other by an arbitrary alteration. The αὐτοὶ Πέρσαι appear rather as an aristocracy contradistinguished from οἱ πολλοί.

<sup>167</sup> εἰδείησαν, "made sure," as ἐπίστασθαι is used elsewhere. See note 421 on i. 122.

<sup>168</sup> ἦν τε δὴ ὁμοῖος . . καὶ δὴ καί. See note 6 on i. 1. The sentence is to be translated: "Now, not only was he like this Smerdis in person, but he even had the same name Smerdis." The Behistan inscription gives Gomates as his real name.

<sup>169</sup> Πατιζέιθης. DIONYSIUS of Miletus,

(who wrote contemporaneously with Hecataeus,) related that the name of this individual was *Panzuthes*. Perhaps Herodotus wrote Πατιζέιθης. The *ν* was probably silent in the Persian equivalent form, as in Vidafrana, the equivalent of Intaphernes. See note 201, below.

<sup>170</sup> εἰσε ἄγων ἐς τὸν βασιλεῖον θρόνον. This picturesque feature in the narrative, expressing the intention that there should be ocular evidence of Smerdis being alive, existed also in the story related by Ctesias (*ap. Photium*, p. 37) says that the Magian Sphendadates, who had been scourged by Tanyoxarces (see note 84, above), fled to Cambyzes, and accused his brother of meditating revolt. This charge was confirmed by Tanyoxarces

*Revolt of the Magians against Cambyzes, one of them pretending to be Smerdis.*

62

A herald from the pseudo-Smerdis reaches Cambyzes at Agbatana in Syria.

τοῦτο, κήρυκας τῇ τε ἄλλῃ διέπεμπε καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Αἴγυπτον, προερέοντα τῷ στρατῷ, ὡς Σμέρδιος τοῦ Κύρου ἀκουστέα εἶη τοῦ λοιποῦ, ἀλλ' οὐ Καμβύσειω. Οἱ τε δὴ ὦν ἄλλοι κήρυκες προηγόρευον ταῦτα, καὶ δὴ καὶ ὁ ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον ταχθεὶς, (εὗρισκε γὰρ Καμβύσεια καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἔοντα τῆς Συρίας ἐν Ἀγβατάνοισι<sup>171</sup>), προηγόρευε στὰς ἐς μέσον τὰ ἐντεταλμένα ἐκ τοῦ Μάγῃον Καμβύσης δὲ ἀκούσας ταῦτα ἐκ τοῦ κήρυκος, καὶ ἐλπίσας μιν λέγειν ἀληθέα αὐτὸς τε προδοδύσθαι ἐκ Πηρήξασπεος, (πεμφθέντα γὰρ αὐτὸν ὡς ἀποκτενέοντα Σμέρδιν οὐ ποιῆσαι ταῦτα,) βλέψας ἐς τὸν Πηρήξασπεα εἶπε "Πηρήξασπες, οὕτω μοι διεπρήξαις τό τοι προσέθηκα πρήγμα;" ὁ δὲ εἶπε "ὦ δέσποτα, οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα ἀληθέα ὅπως κοτέ σοι Σμέρδιν ἀδελφεὸς ὁ σὸς ἐπανέστηκε, οὐδὲ ὅπως τι ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς νεῖκός τοι ἔσται ἢ μέγα ἢ συμμρόν· ἐγὼ γὰρ αὐτὸς ποιήσας τὰ σύ με ἐκέλευες, ἔθαψά μιν χερσὶ τῆσι ἐμῶν τοῦ<sup>172</sup>. εἰ μὲν νυν οἱ τεθνεῶτες ἀνεστέασι, προσδέκεό τοι καὶ Ἀστυάγεια τὸν Μῆδον ἐπαναστήσεσθαι<sup>173</sup>. εἰ δ' ἔστι ὥσπερ

being casually prevented from obeying the summons of Cambyzes to come to him. Amytis, the mother of the two brothers, suspecting the real state of the case, endeavoured to remove suspicions from the mind of Cambyzes; but although professing to be convinced by her, he determined to kill his brother, who, at last, on the third summons, had come, and had been received in a friendly manner. In order to avoid the reproaches of his mother, Cambyzes devised, at the suggestion of the Magian, an extraordinary scheme. He gave public orders that Sphendadates should be slain for having defamed the king's brother; but really put the brother to death, and afterwards dressed the Magian in his robes and treated him as if he were Tanyoxarces. Artasyras, Bagapates, and Izabates were the only parties privy to this transaction. Labyzus (the chief of Tanyoxarces' eunuchs) was sent for by Cambyzes, and shown the Magian sitting in state dressed out; and on being asked if he thought it was Tanyoxarces, answered 'Of course it was.' The pretender was sent to Bactria, and performed all the functions of government as Tanyoxarces until—five years afterwards—the circumstances of the case were related to Amytis by an eunuch whom the Magian had beaten, on which she demand-

ed of her son that he should be given up to her. He refused to do so; upon which she cursed him and poisoned herself. All sorts of evil omens now beset him; his mother appears to him at night threatening him with vengeance for his cruelty; and, finally, after arriving at Babylon, he wounds his thigh with his dagger while "whittling" a stick for amusement, and dies on the eleventh day, after reigning 18 years.

<sup>171</sup> ἐν Ἀγβατάνοισι. For the etymology of this word see note 348 on i. 98. The Syrian Agbatana is perhaps Hamah on the Orontes (the Hamath of 2 Kings xvii. 24) which lay in the great military road out of the valley of the Euphrates to the coast of the Mediterranean. From Hamath to the Nile seems to be an expression including the whole extent of the territory under the influence of Solomon (2 Chron. vii. 8), and if so, Hamath is to be looked for far to the north.

<sup>172</sup> ἔθαψά μιν χερσὶ τῆσι ἐμῶν τοῦ. These words seem compatible only with the former of the two accounts of Smerdis's death mentioned in § 30, above.

<sup>173</sup> Ἀστυάγεια τὸν Μῆδον ἐπαναστήσεσθαι. The mention of Astyages, under such circumstances, is remarkable. According to the main account followed by Herodotus, no violence appears to have

πρὸ τοῦ, οὐ μὴ τι τοι ἔκ γε ἐκείνου νεώτερον ἀναβλαστήσει. νῦν ὦν μοι δοκεῖ, μεταδιώξαντας τὸν κήρυκα ἐξετάζειν εἰρωτεύοντας παρ' ὅτεν ἦκων προαγορεύει ἡμῖν Σμέρδιος βασιλέος ἀκούειν ;" Ταῦτα εἰπαντος Πρηξάσπεος, ἤρεσε γὰρ Καμβύση, αὐτίκα μετα- 63 δῖωκτος γενόμενος ὁ κήρυξ ἦκε· ἀπυγμένον δέ μιν εἶρετο ὁ Πρηξάσπης τάδε· " ὦνθρωπε, φῆς γὰρ ἦκειν παρὰ Σμέρδιος τοῦ Κύρου ἄγγελος, νῦν ὦν εἶπας τὴν ἀληθινήν ἄπιθι χαίρων κότερα αὐτός τοι Σμέρδιος φαινόμενος ἐς ὅψιν ἐνετέλλετο ταῦτα, ἢ τῶν τις ἐκείνου ὑπηρετῶν ;" ὁ δὲ εἶπε· " ἐγὼ Σμέρδιν μὲν τὸν Κύρου, ἐξ ὅτου βασιλεὺς Καμβύσης ἤλασε ἐς Αἴγυπτον, οὗ κω ὅπωπα <sup>174</sup>. ὁ δέ μοι Μάγος, τὸν Καμβύσης ἐπίτροπον τῶν οἰκίων ἀπέδεξε, οὗτος ταῦτα ἐνετείλατο, φὰς Σμέρδιν τὸν Κύρου εἶναι τὸν ταῦτα ἐπιθέμενον εἶπαι πρὸς ὑμέας." ὁ μὲν δὴ σφί ἔλεγε οὐδὲν ἐπικατεφνεσμένους· Καμβύσης δὲ εἶπε· " Πρήξασπες, σὺ μὲν οἶα ἀγὴρ ἀγαθὸς ποιήσας τὸ κελευόμενον αἰτίην ἐκπέφευγας· ἐμοὶ δὲ τίς ἂν εἴη Περσέων ὁ ἐπανεστῶς, ἐπιβατεύων τοῦ Σμέρδιος οὐνόματος ;" ὁ δὲ εἶπε· " ἐγὼ μοι δοκῶ συνιέναι τὸ γεγονός τοῦτο, ὦ βασιλεῦ· οἱ Μάγοι εἰσὶ τοι οἱ ἐπανεστῶτες, τὸν τε ἔλπιες μελεδωνόν τῶν οἰκίων, Πατιζέιθης, καὶ ὁ 64 τοῦτου ἀδελφεὸς Σμέρδης." Ἐνθαῦτα ἀκούσαντα Καμβύσεια τὸ Σμέρδιος οὐνομα, ἔτυψε ἡ ἀληθινή τῶν τε λόγων καὶ τοῦ ἐνυπνίου δς ἐδόκεε ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ ἀπαργεῖλαι τινὰ οἱ, ὡς Σμέρδης ἰζόμενος ἐς τὸν βασιλῆϊον θρόνον ψαύσειε τῇ κεφαλῇ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ· μαθὼν δὲ ὡς μάτην ἀπολωλεκῶς εἶη τὸν ἀδελφεόν, ἀπέκλαιε Σμέρδιν, ἀποκλαύσας δὲ καὶ περιημεκτήσας <sup>175</sup> τῇ ἀπάσῃ συμφορῇ ἀναθρόσκει ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον, ἐν νόφ' ἔχων τὴν ταχίστην ἐς Σοῦσα στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὸν Μάγον· καὶ οἱ ἀναθρόσκοντι ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον, τοῦ κουλεοῦ

been offered to him. (See i. 130.) But there was also a very different narrative, preserved by CTESIAS (*ap. Photium*, p. 36). According to this, Petesacas, an eunuch, is sent by Cyrus to fetch Astyages from the Barcanians to see his daughter Amytis, and by the advice of Obaras leaves him in the desert to perish by hunger. His corpse remains uninjured and guarded by lions, until it is found and magnificently buried. It would almost seem that some such tradition of a death, similar in its mysteriousness to that of Smerdis, is referred to by Praxaspes. There is an especial propriety in the expectation of the

resurrection of Astyages, as he was the last sovereign of the Medians; and it is quite clear that the revolt headed by the Magians was, or at least went together with, a counter-revolution attempted by that nation against Persian supremacy. See note on § 65, below.

<sup>174</sup> ἐξ ὅτου βασιλεὺς Καμβύσης ἤλασε ἐς Αἴγυπτον, οὗ κω ὅπωπα. Here again there is a glimmering of the Persian tradition (see note 83, above), according to which Bartius was slain by Cambyses antecedently to the Egyptian expedition.

<sup>175</sup> περιημεκτήσας. See note 134 on i. 44.

64  
Fulfillment  
of the  
dream of  
Cambyses,  
and of the  
oracle re-  
ceived by  
him.

τοῦ ξίφους ὁ μύκης ἀποσπίπτει <sup>176</sup>. γυμνωθέν δὲ τὸ ξίφος παίει τὸν μηρὸν τραυματισθεὶς δὲ κατὰ τοῦτο τῇ αὐτὸς πρότερον τὸν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων θεὸν Ἀπιὼν ἐπληξε, ὥς οἱ καιρῇ <sup>177</sup> ἔδοξε τετύφθαι, εἶρετο ὁ Καμβύσης ὃ τι τῇ πόλι οὖνομα εἴη; οἱ δὲ εἶπαν ὅτι Ἀγβατάνα· τῷ δὲ ἔτι πρότερον ἐκέχρητο <sup>178</sup> ἐκ Βουτούς πόλιος, ἐν Ἀγβατάνοισι τελευτήσῃ τὸν βίον ὁ μὲν δὴ ἐν τοῖσι Μηδικοῖσι Ἀγβατάνοισι ἔδοκε τελευτήσῃ γηραιὸς, ἐν τοῖσι οἱ ἦν πάντα τὰ πρήγματα <sup>179</sup>, τὸ δὲ χρηστήριον τοῖσι ἐν Συρίῃ Ἀγβατάνοισι ἔλεγε ἄρα· καὶ δὴ ὥς τότε ἐπειρέμενος ἐπίθeto τῆς πόλιος τὸ οὖνομα <sup>180</sup>, ὑπὸ τῆς συμφορῆς τῆς τε ἐκ τοῦ Μάγου ἐκπεπληγμένος καὶ τοῦ τρώματος ἐσωφρόνησε· συλλαβὼν δὲ τὸ θεοπρόπιον εἶπε· “ἐνθαῦτα Καμβύσεα τὸν Κύρου ἐστὶ πεπρωμένον τελευτᾶν.”

65

His dying  
confession,

Τότε μὲν τοσαῦτα· ἡμέρησι δὲ ὑστερον ὥς εἴκοσι <sup>181</sup> μεταπεμφάμενος Περσέων τῶν παρεόντων τοὺς λογιμοτάτους, ἔλεγε σφί τάδε· “ὦ Πέρσαι, καταλελάβηκέ με τὸ πάντων μάλιστα ἔκρυπτον πρηγμάτων τοῦτο ἐς ὑμέας ἐκφῆναι. ἐγὼ γάρ, ἔων ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, εἶδον ὄψιν ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ τὴν μηδαμὰ ὄφελον ἰδεῖν· ἔδοκεον δέ μοι ἄγγελον ἐλθόντα ἐξ οἴκου <sup>182</sup> ἀγγέλλειν, ὥς Σμέρδης ἰζόμενος ἐς τὸν βασιλῆιον θρόνον ψαύσειε τῇ κεφαλῇ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ· δείσας δὲ μὴ ἀπαιρεθῆω τὴν ἀρχὴν πρὸς τοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ, ἐποίησα ταχύτερα ἢ σοφώ-

<sup>176</sup> τοῦ κουλεοῦ τοῦ ξίφους ὁ μύκης ἀποσπίπτει. Kenrick well remarks that the Persian dirk was worn on the right thigh, as appears from the sculptures. (See also vii. 61.) Hence, if the μύκης (the knob by which the scabbard was capped at the lower end) dropped off, the point of the weapon would be left bare, and a dangerous wound might readily be inflicted on the wearer in the action of leaping on to his horse.

<sup>177</sup> καιρῇ, sc. πλεῖστῃ, “a mortal wound.” Thus ÆSCHYLUS makes Cassandra pray:

καίρας πλεῖστῆς τυχεῖν,  
ὡς ἀσφάδαστος, αἰμάτων εὐδησίμων  
ἀπορρύντων, ὄμμα συμβάλω τόδε.  
(*Agam.* 1293.)

<sup>178</sup> ἐκέχρητο. See note 437 on ii. 147.

<sup>179</sup> ἐν τοῖσι οἱ ἦν πάντα τὰ πρήγματα. See note 84 on § 30, above.

<sup>180</sup> ὡς τότε ἐπειρέμενος ἐπίθeto τῆς πόλιος τὸ οὖνομα. The dramatic character of this story may be compared with the death of the Duke of Suffolk in Shak-

speare's 2nd Part of Henry VI., Act iv. Scene 1:

SUFFOLK. Look on my George: I am a gentleman:

Rate me at what thou wilt, thou shalt be paid.

WHITMORE. And so am I: my name is *Walter Whitmore*.

How now? why start'st thou? what, doth death affright?

SUFFOLK. *Thy name* affrights me, in whose sound is death.

A cunning man did calculate my birth, And told me that by *water* I should die.

<sup>181</sup> ὡς εἴκοσι. The manuscripts S and V omit ὡς. The account preserved by Ctesias made him die on the *eleventh* day after his wound. See note 170, above.

<sup>182</sup> ἐξ οἴκου. Persia, although not the seat of the imperial government in the time of Cambyses, was the native country of the dynasty of Cyrus; and hence this expression is quite appropriate. Above, § 30, the phrase ἐκ Περσέων is used.



τερα· ἐν τῇ γὰρ ἀνθρωπότηι φύσει οὐκ ἐνὴν ἄρα τὸ μέλλον γίνεσθαι ἀποτρέπων ἐγὼ δὲ ὁ μάταιος Πηξάσπεα ἀποπέμπω ἐς Σοῦσα ἀποκτενέοντα Σμέρδιον ἐξεργασθέντος δὲ κακοῦ τοσούτου ἀδεῶς διαιτώμην, οὐδαμὰ ἐπιλεξάμενος μὴ κοτέ τις μοι, Σμέρδιος ὑπαραιρημένου, ἄλλος ἐπανασταίῃ ἀνθρώπων παντὸς δὲ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἔσεσθαι ἀμαρτῶν, ἀδελφεοκτόνος τε, οὐδὲν δέον, γέγονα, καὶ τῆς βασιληΐης οὐδὲν ἥσσουν ἐστέρημαι· Σμέρδις γὰρ δὴ ἦν ὁ Μάγος, τὸν μοι ὁ δαίμων προέφανε ἐν τῇ ὄψει ἐπαναστήσεσθαι. τὸ μὲν δὴ ἔργον ἐξεργασταί μοι, καὶ Σμέρδιον τὸν Κύρου μηκέτι ὑμῖν ἐόντα λογιζέσθε· οἱ δὲ ὑμῖν<sup>183</sup> Μάγοι κρατεροῦσι τῶν βασιληῶν, τὸν τε ἔλιπον ἐπίτροπον τῶν οἰκίων καὶ ὁ ἐκείνου ἀδελφεὸς Σμέρδις. τὸν μὲν νυν μάλιστα χρῆν, ἐμεῦ αἰσχυρὰ πρὸς τῶν Μάγων πεπονητότος, τιμωρέειν ἐμοί, οὗτος μὲν ἀνοσίφ' ὁμῶς τετελεύτηκε ὑπὸ τῶν ἐωυτοῦ οἰκηϊοτάτων· τούτου δὲ μηκέτι ἐόντος, δεύτερα τῶν λοιπῶν, ὑμῖν, ὦ Πέρσαι, γινεταί μοι ἀναγκαϊότατον ἐντέλλεσθαι τὰ θέλω μοι γενέσθαι τελευτῶν τὸν βίον καὶ δὴ ὑμῖν τάδε ἐπισκήπτω θεοὺς τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἐπικαλέων, καὶ πᾶσιν ὑμῖν καὶ μάλιστα Ἀχαιμενιδῶν τοῖσι παρεούσι, μὴ περιῖδειν τὴν ἡγεμονίην αὐτῆς ἐς Μήδους περιελθούσαν<sup>184</sup>. ἀλλ', εἴτε δόλφ' ἔχουσι αὐτὴν κτησάμενοι δόλφ' ἀπαιρεθῆναι ὑπὸ ὑμῶν εἴτε καὶ σθένει τερπ κατεργασάμενοι, σθένει κατὰ τὸ καρτερόν ἀνασώσασθαι. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ποιεῦσι ὑμῖν γῆ τε καρπὸν ἐκφέρει, καὶ γυναῖκές τε καὶ πόλινια τίκτοιεν, ἐοῦσι ἐς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον ἐλευθέρουσι· μὴ ἀνασωσαμένοισι δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν μῆδ' ἐπιχειρήσασι ἀνασώζειν τὰ ἐναντία τούτοις· ἀρέομαι ὑμῖν γενέσθαι· καὶ πρὸς ἔτι τούτοις, τὸ τέλος Περσέων ἐκάστω ἐπιγενέσθαι οἷον ἐμοὶ ἐπιγέγονε." ἅμα τε εἶπας ταῦτα ὁ Καμβύσης ἀπέκλαιε πᾶσαν τὴν ἐωυτοῦ πρῆξιν Πέρσαι δ' ὥς 66 τὸν βασιλέα εἶδον ἀνακλαύσαντα<sup>185</sup>, πάντες τὰ τε ἐσθίης ἐχόμενα εἶχον ταῦτα κατηρεῖκοντο, καὶ οἰμωγῇ ἀφθόνη διεχρέωντο. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, ὥς ἐσφακέλισέ τε τὸ ὁστέον καὶ ὁ μῆρὸς τάχιστα ἐσάπη,

<sup>183</sup> ὑμῖν. For this use of the dative of the pronoun see note 318 on ii. 113. The interests of the pure Persian blood were affected by the succession passing to a Magian. Translate: "and you have the Magians masters of the royal palace."

<sup>184</sup> μὴ περιῖδειν τὴν ἡγεμονίην αὐτῆς ἐς Μήδους περιελθούσαν. For an explanation of this phrase see note on § 126, below.

<sup>185</sup> ἐς τὸν βασιλέα εἶδον ἀνακλαύσαντα. ÆSCHYLUS presents on the stage a similar scene of the Persian nobles sympathizing with the grief of their monarch by wailing, tearing the hair, and the specially oriental practice of "rending the clothes:" πέπλον δ' ἔρεκε κοιλίαν ἀκμῇ χερσὶν (Pers. 1090).

and death, after having reigned seven years and five months.

ἀπήνεκε<sup>186</sup> Καμβύσεια τὸν Κύρου, βασιλεύσαντα μὲν τὰ πάντα ἑπτὰ ἔτεα καὶ μῆνας πέντε<sup>187</sup>, ἄπαιδα δὲ τὸ παράπαν ἔοντα ἔρσειος καὶ θήλεος γόνου. Περσέων δὲ τοῖσι παρεούσι ἀπιστίῃ πολλή ὑπεκέχυτο, τοὺς Μάγους ἔχειν τὰ πρήγματα· ἀλλ' ἡπιστάετο ἐπὶ διαβολῇ εἰπεῖν Καμβύσεια τὰ εἶπε περὶ τοῦ Σμέρδιος θανάτου, ἵνα οἱ ἐκπολεμωθῇ πᾶν τὸ Περσικόν· οὗτοι μὲν νυν ἡπιστάετο<sup>188</sup> Σμέρδιω τὸν Κύρου βασιλέα ἀνεστέωτα· δεινῶς γὰρ καὶ ὁ Πηρξάσπης ἔξαρνος ἦν μὴ μιν<sup>189</sup> ἀποκτεῖναι Σμέρδιω· οὐ γὰρ ἦν οἱ ἀσφαλές, Καμβύσειω τετελευτηκότος, φάναι τὸν Κύρου υἱὸν ἀπολωλεκέναι αὐτοχειρίῃ.

67

The Magian usurpation lasts for seven months.

Ὁ μὲν δὴ Μάγος τελευτήσαντος Καμβύσειω ἀδεῶς ἐβασίλευσε, ἐπιβατεύων τοῦ ὁμωνύμου Σμέρδιος<sup>190</sup> τοῦ Κύρου, μῆνας ἑπτὰ τοὺς ἐπιλοίπους Καμβύσει ἑς τὰ ὀκτὼ ἔτεα [τῆς πληρώσεως]. ἐν τοῖσι ἀπεδέξατο ἑς τοὺς ὑπηκόους πάντας εὐεργεσίας μεγάλας, ὥστε ἀποθανόντος αὐτοῦ πόθον ἔχειν πάντας τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ πάρεξ αὐτῶν Περσέων· διαπέμφας γὰρ ὁ Μάγος ἑς πᾶν ἔθνος τῶν ἡρχε, προεῖπε ἀτελεῖσθαι εἶναι στρατηγῆς καὶ φόρου ἐπ' ἔτεα τρία. προεῖπε μὲν δὴ ταῦτα αὐτῶν ἐνιστάμενος ἑς τὴν ἀρχήν.

68

In the eighth month Otanes discovers the pretender by a stratagem.

Ὁγδόῳ δὲ μηνὶ ἐγένετο κατάδηλος τρόπῳ τοιῷδε· Ὀτάνης<sup>191</sup> ἦν Φαρνάσπεω μὲν παῖς, γένει δὲ καὶ χρήμασι ὁμοῖος τῷ πρώτῳ Περσέων<sup>192</sup>. οὗτος ὁ Ὀτάνης πρῶτος ὑπόπτευσεν τὸν Μάγον, ὥς οὐκ εἶθ' ὁ Κύρου Σμέρδις ἀλλ' ὅσπερ ἦν, τῇδε συμβαλλόμενος, ὅτι τε οὐκ ἐξεφοίτα ἐκ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως, καὶ ὅτι οὐκ ἐκάλεε ἐς ὄψιν ἐωυτῷ

<sup>186</sup> ἀπήνεκε, "carried off." In the Behistun inscription Cambyses is made to die of grief upon the Magians obtaining the chief power. And it would seem that STRABO follows a similar tradition (xv. c. 3, fn.), where he says διαδεξάμενος δὲ τοῦτον [Κύρου] Καμβύσης υἱὸς ὑπὸ τῶν μάγων κατελύθη, a statement far more in harmony with the Behistun record than with the story of Herodotus. See note 218 on § 79, below.

<sup>187</sup> ἑπτὰ ἔτεα καὶ μῆνας πέντε. The traditions followed by Ctesias gave a much longer duration to his reign. See note 170, above.

<sup>188</sup> ἡπιστάετο, "they made sure." See note 167, above.

<sup>189</sup> μὴ μιν. Gaisford has μὴ μὲν with some of the MSS. But the reading in the text is that of S and V.

<sup>190</sup> ἐπιβατεύων τοῦ ὁμωνύμου Σμέρδιος. Herodotus uses the more correct expression ἐπιβατεύων τοῦ Σμέρδιος ὀνόματος, above, § 63.

<sup>191</sup> Ὀτάνης. The Behistun inscription gives the names of the conspirators who slew the Magian pretender nearly identical with the list of Herodotus. But Otanes (Utana) is in it made the son, not of Pharnaspes, but Socres (Thukra).

<sup>192</sup> ὁμοῖος τῷ πρώτῳ Περσέων. The superior rank of Otanes is clear from the prerogatives reserved for him below, § 84. According to Herodotus's authorities, being the son of Pharnaspes, he would be brother of Cassandane, Cyrus's favourite wife (ii. 1), and consequently uncle of Cambyses and Smerdis, and perhaps of Atossa. (See the notes 196 and 240, below.)

οὐδένα τῶν λογίων Περσέων ὑποπτεύσας δέ μιν, ἐπολεε τάδε ἔσχε αὐτοῦ ὁ Καμβύσης θυγατέρα, τῇ οὐνομα ἦν Φαίδιμη<sup>193</sup>. τὴν αὐτὴν δὴ ταύτην εἶχε τότε ὁ Μάγος, καὶ ταύτη τε συνοικεε<sup>194</sup> καὶ τῇσι ἄλλησι πάσῃσι τῇσι τοῦ Καμβύσεω γυναιξί· πέμπων δὴ ὦν ὁ Ὀτάνης παρὰ ταύτην τὴν θυγατέρα ἐπυνθάνετο παρ' ὅτεφ ἀνθρώπων κοιμῶτο, εἴτε μετὰ Σμέρδιος τοῦ Κύρου, εἴτε μετὰ ἄλλου τευ ἢ δέ οἱ ἀντέπεμπε φαμένη οὐ γινώσκειν οὔτε γὰρ τὸν Κύρου Σμέρδιν ιδέσθαι οὐδαμὰ, οὔτε δοτις εἴη ὁ συνοικέων αὐτῇ εἰδέναι· ἔπεμπε δεύτερα ὁ Ὀτάνης λέγων “εἰ μὴ αὐτῇ Σμέρδιν τὸν Κύρου γινώσκεις, σὺ δὲ παρὰ Ἀτόσσης πύθευ ὅτεφ τοῦτφ”<sup>195</sup> συνοικεεῖ αὐτῇ τε ἐκεῖνη καὶ σύ· πάντως γὰρ δὴ κου τὸν γε ἐνωτῆς ἀδελφεὸν<sup>196</sup> γινώσκει” ἀντιπέμπει πρὸς ταῦτα ἡ θυγάτηρ· “οὔτε Ἀτόσση δύναμαι ἐς λόγους ἐλθεῖν, οὔτε ἄλλην οὐδεμίαν ιδέσθαι τῶν συγκατημένων γυναικῶν· ἐπεὶ τε γὰρ τάχιστα οὗτος ὄνθρωπος, ὅστις κοτέ ἐστι, παρέλαβε τὴν βασιλῆην, διέσπειρε ἡμέας ἄλλην ἄλλῃ τάξας.” Ἀκούοντι δὲ ταῦτα τῷ Ὀτάνῃ μᾶλλον κατεφαίνετο τὸ πρῆγμα· τρίτην δὲ ἀγγελίην ἐσπέμπει παρ' αὐτὴν λέγουσαν ταῦτα· “ὦ θύγατερ, δεῖ σε γεγονυῖαν εὖ κίνδυνον ἀναλαβέσθαι τὸν ἂν ὁ πατὴρ ὑποδύειν κελεύῃ· εἰ γὰρ δὴ μὴ ἐστὶ ὁ Κύρου Σμέρδης, ἀλλὰ τὸν καταδοκέω ἐγὼ, οὔτοι μιν σοὶ τε συγκοιμώμενον καὶ τὸ Περσέων κράτος ἔχοντα δεῖ χαίροντα ἀπαλλάσσειν, ἀλλὰ δοῦναι δίκην· νῦν ὦν ποιήσον τάδε· ἐπεὰν σοι συνενῶδῃ καὶ μάθῃς αὐτὸν κατυπνωμένον, ἄφασσον αὐτοῦ τὰ ὄντα· καὶ ἦν μὲν φαίνεται ἔχων ὄντα, νόμιζε σεωντὴν Σμέρδι τῷ Κύρου συνοικέειν· ἦν δὲ μὴ ἔχων, σὺ δὲ τῷ μάγῳ Σμέρδι.” ἀντιπέμπει πρὸς ταῦτα ἡ Φαίδιμη φαμένη κινδυνεύσειν<sup>197</sup> μεγάλως, ἦν ποιῇ ταῦτα· ἦν γὰρ δὴ μὴ τυγχάνῃ τὰ ὄντα ἔχων, ἐπίλαμπτος δὲ ἀφάσσουσα

69

<sup>193</sup> τῇ οὐνομα ἦν Φαίδιμη. This is perhaps a Hellenic equivalent of the Persian name which the daughter of Otanes bore. It is impossible to consider it as even a corruption of any Asiatic word.

<sup>194</sup> καὶ ταύτην τε συνοικεε. By this course of proceeding he did what was equivalent to proclaiming Cambyzes as dead. Compare the counsel of Ahithophel to Absalom (2 Sam. xvi. 20). After such a step no reconciliation was possible. Thus Atossa was the sultana successively of Cambyzes, the Magian, and Darius. (See below, § 88.)

<sup>195</sup> τοῦτφ is omitted in S and V.

<sup>196</sup> τὸν γε ἐνωτῆς ἀδελφεόν. If Smerdis had not been Atossa's brother by the same mother as well as father, the familiarity would not by any means have been so certain. If however they were whole brother and sister, they would also be nephew and niece of Otanes (see note 192, above), and hence there would be peculiar propriety in his referring his daughter to her cousin.

<sup>197</sup> κινδυνεύσειν. S and V have κινδυνεύειν.

ἔσται, εὖ εἶδέναι ὡς αἰστώσει μιν ὅμως μέντοι ποιήσιν ταῦτα. ἡ μὲν δὴ ὑπεδέξατο ταῦτα τῷ πατρὶ κατεργάσεσθαι. (τοῦ δὲ Μάγου τούτου τοῦ Σμέρδιος Κῦρος ὁ Καμβύσεω ἄρχων τὰ ὅσα ἀπέτεμε ἐπ' αὐτῇ δὴ τινι οὐ σμικρῇ.) ἡ ὦν δὴ Φαυδίμη αὕτη, ἡ τοῦ Ὀτάνεω θυγάτηρ, πάντα ἐπιτελέουσα τὰ ὑπεδέξατο τῷ πατρὶ, ἐπεὶ τε αὐτῆς μέρος ἐγίνετο τῆς ἀπίξιος παρὰ τὸν Μάγον, (ἐν περιτροπῇ γὰρ δὴ αἱ γυναῖκες φοιτεύουσι<sup>199</sup> τοῖσι Πέρσησι,) ἐλθοῦσα παρ' αὐτὸν ἤνδε ἰπνωμένον δὲ καρτερῶς τοῦ Μάγου, ἤφασσε τὰ ὅσα· μαθοῦσα δὲ οὐ χαλεπῶς ἀλλ' εὐπετέως οὐκ ἔχοντα τὸν ἄνδρα ὅσα, ὡς ἡμέρη τάχιστα ἐγεγόνει, πέμψασα ἐσήμνην τῷ πατρὶ τὰ γενόμενα.

70

Seven of the nobles conspire against him.

Ὁ δὲ Ὀτάνης παραλαβὼν Ἀσπαθίην<sup>200</sup> καὶ Γωβρίην<sup>201</sup>, Περσέων τε πρώτους ἔοντας καὶ ἐωντῷ ἐπιτηδεωτάτους ἐς πίστιν, ἀπηγγέσατο πᾶν τὸ πρήγμα· οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἄρα ὑπόπτευν οὕτω τοῦτο ἔχειν, ἀνευέικαντος δὲ τοῦ Ὀτάνεω τοὺς λόγους ἐδέξαντο καὶ ἔδοξέ σφι ἕκαστον ἄνδρα Περσέων προσεταιρίσασθαι, τοῦτον τῷ πιστεύει μάλιστα. Ὀτάνης μὲν νυν εἰσάγεται Ἰνταφέρνεα<sup>202</sup>, Γωβρήης δὲ Μεγάβυζον<sup>203</sup>, Ἀσπαθίης δὲ Ἰδάρνεα<sup>204</sup>. γεγονότων δὲ τούτων ἕξ, παραγίνεται ἐς τὰ Σούσα Δαρεῖος ὁ Ἰστιάσπεος ἐκ Περσέων ἥκων<sup>205</sup>. τούτων γὰρ δὴ ἦν οἱ ὁ πατήρ ὑπαρχος· ἐπεὶ ὦν

<sup>199</sup> ἐν περιτροπῇ γὰρ δὴ αἱ γυναῖκες φοιτεύουσι. See the *Book of Esther* iii. 11—14.

<sup>200</sup> Ἀσπαθίην. The manuscripts S and V have Ἀσπαθίην. This conspirator is the only one mentioned by Herodotus whose name does not appear in the Behistun inscription. In its place is Ardomanes (Ardumanish), son of Vaoes (Vahuka). But on the tomb of Darius at *Naksh-e Rostam* an *Aprechama* is mentioned in an inscription as the king's quiver-bearer, and a *Godryas* as his bow-bearer.

<sup>201</sup> Γωβρίην. This name in its Persian form (Gaubarawa) appears on the Behistun inscription. He is there made son of Mardonius (Marduniya).

<sup>202</sup> Ἰνταφέρνεα. S and V have Ἰνταφέρνεα. In the Behistun inscription he is called Vidafarna, and made son of Vayaspasa (Veispares).

<sup>203</sup> Μεγάβυζον. One MS has Μεδ-βαζον. In the Behistun inscription he is called Bagabuksha (as Merdis becomes Bartius), and made son of Daduhya (Dadoes).

<sup>204</sup> Ἰδάρνεα. In the Behistun inscrip-

tion he is called Vidarna, and made son of Bagabigna (Megabignes).

<sup>205</sup> ἐκ Περσέων ἥκων. These words are very difficult to explain, as the locality from whence Darius came, and of which his father is represented as satrap, is obviously here regarded as something different from the district of which Susa (where Herodotus makes the murder of the Magian take place) was the centre. Yet elsewhere (see above, § 30) that district is expressed in exactly the same terms, and they are undoubtedly used to signify the region in which was the *stamnochloss* of the family of Cyrus (see note 182, above). And the same place is certainly meant in i. 210, where it is said of Hyetaspes, that he ἦν ἐς Πέρσας, φυλάξων Κύρῳ τὸν παῖδα Δαρεῖον. The solution of the difficulty is perhaps to be found in the supposition that Herodotus has inadvertently changed the locality of the death of the usurper. The Behistun inscription represents him to have been slain in the fort *Siktakhotes*, in the province of *Nisaea* in *Media*. To kill him there Darius might well have come ἐκ Περσέων.

οὗτος ἀπύκετο, τοῖσι ἐξ τῶν Περσέων ἔδοξε καὶ Δαρεῖον προσεται-  
 ρίσασθαι. Συνελθόντες δὲ οὗτοι, ἔοντες ἐπτά, ἐδίδοσάν σφισι 71  
 πίστις καὶ λόγους. ἐπεὶ τε δὲ ἐς Δαρεῖον ἀπύκετο γνώμην ἀπο-  
 φαίνεσθαι, ἔλεγέ σφι τάδε “ ἐγὼ ταῦτα ἐδόκεον μὲν αὐτὸς μόνος  
 ἐπίστασθαι <sup>305</sup>, ὅτι τε ὁ Μάγος εἶη ὁ βασιλεύων καὶ Σμέρδις ὁ  
 Κύρου τετελεύτηκε· καὶ αὐτοῦ τούτου εἵνεκεν ἦκω σπουδῇ, ὥς  
 συστήσω ἐπὶ τῷ Μάγῳ θάνατον· ἐπεὶ τε δὲ συνήνικε ὥστε καὶ  
 ὑμέας εἰδέναι καὶ μὴ μόνον ἐμέ, ποιέειν αὐτίκα μοι δοκίει καὶ μὴ  
 υπερβάλλεσθαι· οὐ γὰρ ἄμεινον.” εἶπε πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Ὀτάνης·  
 “ ὦ παῖ Ἰστάσπεος, εἰς τε πατὴρ ἀγαθοῦ καὶ ἐκφαίνειν ἔοικας  
 σεαυτὸν ἔοντα τοῦ πατρὸς οὐδὲν ἥσσω· τὴν μέντοι ἐπιχειρήσῃ  
 ταύτην μὴ οὕτω συντάχῃ ἀβούλως, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ τὸ σωφρονέστερον  
 αὐτὴν λάμβανε· δεῖ γὰρ πλεῖνας γενομένους οὕτω ἐπιχειρεῖν.”  
 λέγει πρὸς ταῦτα Δαρεῖος· “ ἄνδρες οἱ παρεόντες, τρόπῳ τῷ εἰρη-  
 μένῳ ἐξ Ὀτάνου εἰ χρήσεσθε, ἐπίστασθε ὅτι ἀπολέεσθε κάκιστα·  
 ἐξοίσει γὰρ τις πρὸς τὸν Μάγον, ἰδίῃ περιβαλλόμενος· ἐαυτῷ  
 κέρδεα. μάλιστα μὲν νῦν ὠφείλετε ἐπ’ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν βαλόμενοι  
 ποιέειν ταῦτα· ἐπεὶ τε δὲ ὑμῖν ἀναφέρειν ἐς πλεῖνας ἐδόκεε καὶ  
 ἐμοὶ ὑπερέθεσθε, ἢ ποιέωμεν σήμερον, ἢ ἴστε, ὑμῖν ὅτι ἦν ὑπερ-  
 πέση ἢ νῦν ἡμέρη, ὥς οὐκ ἄλλος φθὰς ἐμεῦ κατήγορος ἔσται, ἀλλὰ  
 σφεα αὐτὸς ἐγὼ κατερῶ πρὸς τὸν Μάγον.” Λέγει πρὸς ταῦτα 72  
 Ὀτάνης, ἐπειδὴ ὥρα σπερχόμενον Δαρεῖον “ ἐπεὶ τε ἡμέας συν-  
 ταχύνειν ἀναγκάζεις καὶ υπερβάλλεσθαι οὐκ ἔης, ἴθι ἐξηγέο <sup>306</sup>  
 αὐτὸς ὅτεφ τρόπῳ πάρμεν ἐς τὰ βασιλῆα, καὶ ἐπιχειρήσομεν  
 αὐτοῖσι <sup>307</sup>. φυλακὰς γὰρ δὴ διεστεώσας οἰδᾷς κου καὶ αὐτὸς, εἰ μὴ  
 ἰδὼν, ἀλλ’ ἀκούσας· ἀς τέφ τρόπῳ περήσομεν;” ἀμείβεται Δαρεῖος  
 τοῖσδε “ Ὀτάνη, ἡ πολλὰ ἔστι τὰ λόγῳ μὲν οὐκ οἶά τε δηλώσαι,  
 ἔργῳ δέ· ἄλλα δ’ ἔστι τὰ λόγῳ μὲν οἶά τε, ἔργῳ δὲ οὐδὲν ἀπ’

*Darius's  
impetuosity  
overcomes  
the timid  
counsels of  
Otanes.*

<sup>305</sup> ἐγὼ ταῦτα ἐδόκεον μὲν αὐτὸς μόνος ἐπίστασθαι. There is nothing in the story as given by Herodotus to explain how Darius should come to entertain this belief, neither is there in the account of the transaction as recorded by Ctesias. Even the statement of the Behistun inscription affords no help unless we suppose that Darius was closely concerned with the death of Bartius before the invasion of Egypt by Cambyzes; and that the termi-

nation of the troubles which the inscription speaks of as effected by his death was a benefit purchased at the price of his assassination. See note 212, below.

<sup>306</sup> ἐξηγέο. See note 314 on l. 90.

<sup>307</sup> αὐτοῖσι. This word refers not to any thing before expressed, but to what may be gathered by inference from what has preceded “them,” i.e. the Magian and his friends.

αὐτῶν λαμπρὸν γίνεται· ὑμεῖς δὲ ἴστε φυλακὰς τὰς κατεστεώσας  
 εἰούσας οὐδὲν χαλεπὰς παρελθεῖν τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ, ἡμέων ἔντων  
 τοιῶνδε <sup>308</sup>, οὐδεὶς ὅστις οὐ παρήσει, τὰ μὲν κου καταιδεόμενος  
 ἡμέας τὰ δὲ κου καὶ δειμαίνων τοῦτο δὲ, ἔχω αὐτὸς σκῆψιν εὐ-  
 πρεπεστάτην τῇ πάριμεν, φὰς ἄρτι τε ἤκειν ἐκ Περσέων καὶ βού-  
 λεσθαι τι ἔπος παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς σημῆναι τῷ βασιλεῖ· ἔνθα γάρ τι  
 δεῖ ψεύδος λέγεσθαι, λεγέσθω. (τοῦ γὰρ αὐτοῦ γλιχόμεθα, οἳ τε  
 ψευδόμενοι καὶ οἱ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ διαχρεώμενοι· οἱ μὲν γε ψεύδονται  
 τότε, ἐπεὰν τι μέλλωσι τοῖσι ψεύδεσι πείσαντες κερδήσεσθαι· οἱ  
 δ' ἀληθίζονται, ἵνα τι τῇ ἀληθείᾳ ἐπισπάσωνται κέρδος καὶ τι  
 μᾶλλον σφι ἐπιτράπηται· οὕτω οὐ ταῦτα ἀσκέοντες, τῷ τούτου περι-  
 εχόμεθα. εἰ δὲ μηδὲν κερδήσεσθαι μέλλοιεν, ὁμοίως ἂν ὁ τε  
 ἀληθίζόμενος ψευδὴς εἴη καὶ ὁ ψευδόμενος ἀληθής.) ὃς ἂν μὲν  
 νῦν τῶν πυλουργῶν ἐκὼν παρή, αὐτῷ οἱ ἄμεινον ἐς χρόνον ἔσται·  
 ὃς δ' ἂν ἀντιβαίνειν πειράται, διαδεικνύσθω ἐνθαῦτα ἐὼν πολέμιος  
 καὶ ἔπρωτα ὡσάμενοι ἔσω ἔργου ἐχόμεθα.”

73

Gobryas  
 supports  
 Darius,

Λέγει Γωβρύης μετὰ ταῦτα· “ἄνδρες φίλοι, ἡμῖν κότε κάλλιον  
 παρέξει ἀνασώσασθαι τὴν ἀρχὴν, ἢ, εἰ γε μὴ οἰοί τε ἐσόμεθα  
 αὐτὴν ἀναλαβεῖν, ἀποθανεῖν; ὅτε γε ἀρχόμεθα μὲν ἔντες  
 Πέρσαι ὑπὸ Μήδου ἀνδρὸς Μάγου <sup>309</sup>, καὶ τούτου ὄτα οὐκ ἔχον-  
 τος· ὅσοι τε ὑμέων Καμβύση νοσέοντι παρεγένοντο, πάντως κου  
 μέμνησθε τὰ ἐπέσκηψε Πέρσησι τελευτῶν τὸν βίον μὴ πειρεω-  
 μένοισι ἀνακτᾶσθαι τὴν ἀρχήν· τὰ τότε οὐκ ἐνεδεκόμεθα <sup>310</sup>, ἀλλ’  
 ἐπὶ διαβολῇ ἐδοκέομεν εἰπεῖν Καμβύσεα. νῦν ὦν τίθεμαι ψῆφον <sup>311</sup>  
 πεῖθεσθαι Δαρεῖω, καὶ μὴ διαλύεσθαι ἐκ τοῦ συλλόγου ἀλλ’ ἰόντας  
 ἐπὶ τὸν Μάγον ἰθέως.” ταῦτα εἶπε Γωβρύης· καὶ πάντες ταῦτα  
 αἶνεον.

and the  
 seven agree.

74

Confession  
 of Pres-  
 aspes

Ἐν ᾧ δὲ οὗτοι ταῦτα ἐβουλευόντο ἐγένετο κατὰ συντυχίην  
 τάδε· τοῖσι Μάγοισι ἔδοξε βουλευομένοισι Πρηξάσπεα φίλον  
 προσθέσθαι, ὅτι τε ἐπεπύνηε πρὸς Καμβύσεω ἀνάρσια, (ὃς οἱ  
 τὸν παῖδα τοξεύσας ἀπολωλέκεε,) καὶ διότι μούνος ἡπίστατο τὸν

<sup>308</sup> τοιῶνδε. This reading rests on the manuscripts S and V. Gaisford reads τοίων. But the form in the text exists in all the MSS in viii 62.

<sup>309</sup> ἔντες Πέρσαι ὑπὸ Μήδου ἀνδρὸς Μάγου. See note on § 126, ὑπὸ Μήδων ἀπαραιρημένους τὴν ἀρχήν.

<sup>310</sup> τὰ τότε οὐκ ἐνεδεκόμεθα. See above, § 66.

<sup>311</sup> τίθεμαι ψῆφον. This expression seems to show that the history must have passed through a Hellenic channel to Herodotus. See note 126 on i. 27; note 268 on i. 77; and note 104, above.

Σμέρδιος τοῦ Κύρου θάνατον <sup>212</sup> αὐτοχειρὴν μιν ἀπολέσας· πρὸς δ' ἔτι, ἔοντα ἐν αἵῃ μεγίστη τὸν Πηρξάσπεα ἐν Πέρσῃσι. τούτων δὴ μιν εἵνεκεν καλέσαντες φίλον προσεκτέωντο, πῶς τε λαβόντες καὶ ὀρκίοισι, ἣ μὴν ἔξειν παρ' ἐωυτῷ μηδ' ἐξολοίειν μηδεὶ ἀνθρώπων τὴν ἀπὸ σφέων ἀπάτην ἐς Πέρσας γεγυυῖαν ἵπποισιν ἐπιβύοντες τὰ πάντα οἱ μυρία δώσειν <sup>213</sup>. ὑποδεκομένους δὲ τοῦ Πηρξάσπεος ποιήσειν ταῦτα, ὡς ἀνέπεισάν μιν οἱ Μάγοι, δεύτερα προσέφερον, αὐτοὶ μὲν φάμενοι Πέρσας πάντας συγκαλέειν <sup>214</sup> ὑπὸ τὸ βασιλῆϊον τεῖχος, κείνους δ' ἐκέλευον ἀναβάντας ἐπὶ πύργου ἀγορεύσαι <sup>215</sup>, ὡς ὑπὸ τοῦ Κύρου Σμέρδιος ἄρχονται καὶ ὑπ' οὐδενὸς ἄλλου. ταῦτα δὲ οὕτω ἐνετέλλαντο, ὡς πιστοτάτου δῆθεν ἔοντος αὐτοῦ ἐν Πέρσῃσι, καὶ πολλάκις ἀποδεξαμένου γνώμην ὡς περιεὶ ὁ Κύρου Σμέρδης, καὶ ἐξαρηνησαμένου τὸν φόνον αὐτοῦ· Φαμένου δὲ καὶ <sup>75</sup> ταῦτα ἐτοίμου εἶναι ποιέειν τοῦ Πηρξάσπεω, συγκαλέσαντες <sup>sealed by a voluntary death.</sup> Πέρσας οἱ Μάγοι, ἀνεβίβασαν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ πύργον καὶ ἀγορεύειν ἐκέλευον· ὁ δὲ τῶν μέντοι ἐκείνοι προσεδέοντο αὐτοῦ, τούτων μὲν ἑκὼν ἐπελήθετο· ἀρξάμενος δὲ ἀπὸ Ἀχαιμένεος ἐγεννηλόγησε τὴν πατριὴν <sup>216</sup> τῇ Κύρου μετὰ δὲ, ὡς ἐς τοῦτον κατέβη, τελευτῶν

<sup>212</sup> καὶ διότι μόνος ἡπίστατο τὸν Σμέρδιος τοῦ Κύρου θάνατον. From Herodotus's story it does not appear how the Magian usurpers should be aware that Prexaspes was the *only* person cognizant of the real state of the case; although according to the account of the transaction by Ctesias they might very well be so. (See note 170, above.) The very mysterious character of the proceeding appears from the circumstance that Darius too fancied he himself was the *only* party aware of the death of Smerdis (see note 205, above), although Prexaspes had killed him (§§ 30. 66) and buried him (§ 62) with his own hands. (See *Excursus*.)

<sup>213</sup> τὰ πάντα οἱ μυρία δώσειν, "that they would give him ten thousand of every thing." After the battle of Plataea Pausanias was rewarded with *ten* of each of the several articles of the spoil. Πανσανίῃ δὲ πάντα δέκα ξειρήθη τε καὶ ἰδὸθι, γυναῖκες, ἵπποι, τάλαντα, κάμηλοι, ὅς δὲ αὐτῶς καὶ τὰ ἄλλα χρήματα (ix. 81). So Croesus, when auspiciating the war he proposed to make against Cyrus by a sacrifice to Apollo, offered up 3000 of every kind of animal κτήνη τὰ θύσιμα πάντα τρισχίλια ἔθυσσε (i. 50), probably a hecatomb of each kind

every day for a month. STRABO speaks of a similar practice among the mountaineers of Lusitania: ποιῶσι ἑκατόμβας ἑκάστου γένους Ἑλληνικῶς· ὡς καὶ Πίνδαρος φησι 'πάντα θύειν ἑκατόν' (iii. p. 248). The practice alluded to in the text probably arose among the Persians while they were in a barbarous condition, and unfamiliar with a metallic currency; but perhaps was continued in the case of royal largesses after the necessity for it had ceased; just as the high officials at an English coronation are rewarded with the furniture used. Thus Darius gave Mandrocles, the builder of the bridge over the Bosphorus, "ten of every thing:" ἰδωρήσατο πᾶσι δέκα (iv. 88). The royal gifts would probably be such things as had been, during the nomad state of the Persians, necessities of life: robes, armour, horses, asses, drinking cups, and domestic slaves.

<sup>214</sup> συγκαλέειν. This word is here the future, not the present tense.

<sup>215</sup> ἀγορεύσαι. The technical Hellenic phrase for addressing the popular assembly. See note 211, above.

<sup>216</sup> τὴν πατριὴν, "the house" or "clan." See i. 200, εἰς αὐτῶν πατρίαν

ἔλεγε ὅσα ἀγαθὰ Κύρος Πέρσας πεποιήκοι διεξελθὼν δὲ ταῦτα, ἐξέφαινε τὴν ἀληθινήν, φάμενος πρότερον μὲν κρύπτειν οὐ γὰρ οἱ εἶναι ἀσφαλὲς λέγειν τὰ γενόμενα· ἐν δὲ τῷ παρόντι ἀναγκαίην μιν καταλαμβάνειν φαίνειν. καὶ δὴ ἔλεγε τὸν μὲν Κύρου Σμέρδον ὥς αὐτὸς ὑπὸ Καμβύσειω ἀναγκαζόμενος ἀποκτείνει, τοὺς Μάγους δὲ βασιλεύειν Πέρσῃσι δὲ πολλὰ ἐπαρησάμενος, εἰ μὴ ἀνακτησαίαιτο ὀπίσω τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τοὺς Μάγους τισαλατο, ἀπῆκε ἐωυτὸν ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν φέρεσθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ πύργου κάτω. Πρηξάσπης μὲν νυν, ἔων τὸν πάντα χρόνον ἀνὴρ δόκιμος, οὕτω ἐτελεύτησε.

76

The conspirators are interrupted in their course, but confirmed by an augury.

Οἱ δὲ δὴ ἑπτὰ τῶν Περσέων, ὡς ἐβουλεύσαντο αὐτίκα ἐπιχειρέειν τοῖσι Μάγοισι καὶ μὴ ὑπερβάλλεσθαι, ἤϊσαν εὐξάμενοι τοῖσι θεοῖσι, τῶν περὶ Πρηξάσπεα πρηχθέντων εἰδότες οὐδέν. ἐν τε δὴ τῇ ὁδῷ μέσῃ στείχοντες ἐγίνοντο, καὶ τὰ περὶ Πρηξάσπεα γεγυῖα ἐπυθάνοντο· ἐνθαῦτα ἐκστάντες τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐδίδουσιν αὐτῖς σφισι λόγους, οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸν Ὀτάμην πᾶν γινυ κελεύοντες ὑπερβαλέσθαι, μηδὲ οἰδεύοντων τῶν πρηγμάτων ἐπιτίθεσθαι, οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸν Δαρεῖον αὐτίκα τε ἵεναι καὶ τὰ δεδογμένα ποιεῖν, μηδὲ ὑπερβάλλεσθαι· ὠθιζόμενων δ' αὐτῶν, ἐφάνη ἱρήκων ἑπτὰ ζεύγεα δύο αἰγυπτιῶν ζεύγεα διώκοντά τε καὶ τίλλοντα καὶ ἀμύσσοντα· ἰδόντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ ἑπτὰ, τὴν τε Δαρείου πάντες αἶνεον γνώμην καὶ ἔπειτα

77

They are admitted without opposition within the walls of the palace, and unsuccessfully resisted afterwards by the eunuuchs.

ἤϊσαν ἐπὶ τὰ βασιλιῖα, τεθαρσηκότες τοῖσι ὄρνισι. Ἐπιστάσιν δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας ἐγίνετο οἷον τι Δαρεῖω ἢ γνώμῃ ἔφερε· καταυδέομενοι γὰρ οἱ φύλακοι ἄνδρας τοὺς Περσέων πρώτους, καὶ οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον ὑποπτεύοντες ἐξ αὐτῶν ἔσεσθαι, παρίεσαν θείῃ πομπῇ χρωμένους<sup>117</sup>. οὐδ' ἐπειρώτα οὐδεὶς· ἐπεὶ τε δὲ παρήλθον εἰς τὴν αὐλήν, ἐνέκυρσαν τοῖσι τὰς ἀγγελίας ἐσφέρουσι εὐνούχοις, οἳ σφῆας ἰστόρεον ὃ τι θέλοντες ἤκοιεν καὶ ἅμα ἰστορέοντες τοὺς τοῖσι πυλουργοῖσι ἀπέειπον, ὅτι σφῆας παρήκας, ἴσχον τε βουλομένους τοὺς ἑπτὰ εἰς τὸ πρόσω παρίεναι· οἱ δὲ διακελευσάμενοι καὶ σπασάμενοι τὰ ἐγχειρίδια, τοὺς μὲν τοὺς ἴσχοντας αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ συγκεντέουσι, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἤϊσαν δρόμῳ εἰς τὸν ἀνδρεῶνα. Οἱ δὲ Μάγοι ἔτυχον ἀμφοτέροι τῇ καὶ ταῦτα ἀπὸ

78

Resistance of the Ma-

træis. In reciting the genealogy of Cyrus it would be quite natural for Prexaspes to show the proximity of Darius to the throne. See vii. 11, and *Excursus* on iii. 74.

<sup>117</sup> θείῃ πομπῇ χρωμένους. A proverbial expression to describe that which is done without the least let or hindrance.



Πρηξιάσπεος γενόμενα ἐν βουλῇ ἔχοντες ἐπεὶ ὦν εἶδον τοὺς <sup>gian brothers,</sup> εὐνούχους θεθορυβημένους τε καὶ βοῶντας, ἀνά τε ἔδραμον πάλιν ἀμφότεροι καὶ, ὡς ἔμαθον τὸ ποιούμενον, πρὸς ἀλκὴν ἐτράποντο· ὁ μὲν δὴ αὐτῶν φθάνει τὰ τόξα κατελόμενος, ὁ δὲ πρὸς τὴν αἰχμὴν ἐτράπετο· ἐνθαῦτα δὲ συνέμισγον ἀλλήλοισι· τῷ μὲν δὴ τὰ τόξα ἀναλαβόντι αὐτῶν, ἐόντων τε ἀγχοῦ τῶν πολεμίων καὶ προσκειμένων, ἦν χρηστὰ οὐδέν· ὁ δ' ἕτερος τῇ αἰχμῇ ἡμύνετο, καὶ τοῦτο μὲν Ἀσπαθίην παίει ἐς τὸν μηρὸν, τοῦτο δὲ Ἰνταφέρνεα ἐς τὸν ὀφθαλμόν καὶ ἐστερήθη μὲν τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ ἐκ τοῦ τρώματος ὁ Ἰνταφέρνης, οὐ μέντοι ἀπέθανέ γε. τῶν μὲν δὴ Μάγων οὐτερος τραυματίζει τούτους· ὁ δὲ ἕτερος, ἐπεὶ τέ οἱ τὰ τόξα οὐδὲν χρηστὰ ἐγένετο, ἦν γὰρ δὴ θάλαμος ἐσέχων ἐς τὸν ἀνδρεῶνα, ἐς τοῦτον καταφεύγει, θέλων αὐτοῦ προσθεῖναι τὰς θύρας· καὶ οἱ συνεσπίπτουσι τῶν ἐπτὰ δύο, Δαρειῶς τε καὶ Γωβρύης· συμπλακέντος δὲ Γωβρύεω τῷ Μάγῳ, ὁ Δαρεῖος ἐπεστεῶς ἡπόρει, οἷα ἐν σκότει προμηθεύμενος μὴ πληῖξῃ τὸν Γωβρίην· ὁρῶν δέ μιν ἀργὸν ἐπεστεῶτα ὁ Γωβρύης, εἶρετο ὃ τι οὐ χράται τῇ χειρί; ὁ δὲ εἶπε “προμηθεύμενος σέο, μὴ πληῖξω” Γωβρύης δὲ ἀμείβετο· “ὦθι <sup>who are at last slain.</sup> καὶ δι' ἀμφοτέρων τὸ ξίφος” Δαρεῖος δὲ πειθόμενος, ὥς τε τὸ ἐγχειρίδιον καὶ ἔτυχέ κως τοῦ Μάγου.

Ἀποκτείναντες δὲ τοὺς Μάγους καὶ ἀποταμόντες αὐτῶν τὰς <sup>79</sup> κεφαλὰς, τοὺς μὲν τραυματίας ἐωυτῶν αὐτοῦ λείπουσιν, καὶ ἀδυνασίης εἵνεκεν καὶ φυλακῆς τῆς ἀκροπόλιος· οἱ δὲ πέντε αὐτῶν ἔχοντες τῶν Μάγων τὰς κεφαλὰς, ἔθειον ἔξω βοῇ τε καὶ πατάγῳ χρεώμενοι· καὶ Πέρσας τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπεκαλέοντο, ἐξηγόμενοι· τε τὸ πρῆγμα καὶ δεικνύοντες τὰς κεφαλὰς· καὶ ἅμα ἔκτεινον πάντα τινὰ τῶν Μάγων τὸν ἐν ποσὶ γινόμενον. οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι, μαθόντες τό τε γεγονός ἐκ τῶν ἐπτὰ καὶ τῶν Μάγων τὴν ἀπάτην, ἐδικαίουν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἕτερα τοιαῦτα ποιεῖν σπασάμενοι· δὲ τὰ ἐγχειρίδια, ἔκτεινον ὅκου τινὰ Μάγον εὕρισκον· εἰ δὲ μὴ νῦν ἐπελθοῦσα ἔσχε, ἔλιπον ἂν οὐδένα Μάγον. ταύτην τὴν ἡμέρην θεραπεύουσι Πέρσαι <sup>which is commemorated by a festival.</sup> <sup>218</sup> κοινῇ μάλιστα τῶν ἡμερέων καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ ὁρτὴν μεγάλην

<sup>218</sup> ταύτην τὴν ἡμέρην θεραπεύουσι Πέρσαι. It is likely that the account which Herodotus gives of the Magian usurpation springs primarily from the popular story which the travelling merchants who had been present at the Per-

sian festival would receive of its origin,—in which, naturally, the political character of the movement would vanish in comparison of the personal adventures of its principal agents. But in the inscription of Behistun the other side of the matter shows itself.

ἀνάγουσι, ἢ κέκληται ὑπὸ Περσέων Μαγοφόνια<sup>219</sup>. ἐν τῇ Μάγον οὐδένα ἔξεστι φανῆναι ἐς τὸ φῶς, ἀλλὰ κατ' οἴκους ἑωυτοὺς οἱ Μάγοι ἔχουσι τὴν ἡμέρην ταύτην.

80

Story of the political discussion between the conspirators.

Otanes advocates a common-wealth;

Ἐπεὶ τε δὲ κατέστη ὁ θόρυβος καὶ ἐκτὸς πέντε ἡμερέων ἐγένετο, ἐβουλευόντο οἱ ἐπαναστάντες τοῖσι Μάγοισι περὶ τῶν πρηγμάτων πάντων καὶ ἐλέχθησαν λόγοι ἄπιστοι μὲν ἐνίοισι Ἑλλήνων, ἐλέχθησαν δ' ὦν<sup>220</sup>. Ὀτάνης μὲν ἐκέλευε ἐς μέσον Πέρσῃσι καταθεῖναι τὰ πρήγματα, λέγων τάδε "ἐμοὶ δοκέει, ἕνα μὲν ἡμέων μούναρχον μηκέτι γενέσθαι· οὔτε γὰρ ἡδὺ οὔτε ἀγαθόν· εἰδετε μὲν γὰρ τὴν Καμβύσειω ὕβριν ἐπ' ὅσον ἐπεξῆλθε, μετεσχίκατε δὲ καὶ τῆς τοῦ Μάγου ὕβριος. κὼς δ' ἂν εἴη χρήμα κατηρητημένον μουναρχίῃ, τῇ ἔξεστι ἀνευθύνῃ ποιεῖν τὰ βούλεται; καὶ γὰρ ἂν τὸν ἄριστον ἀνδρῶν πάντων, σπάντα ἐς ταύτην τὴν ἀρχὴν, ἐκτὸς τῶν ἐωθότων νοσημάτων στήσειε· ἐγγίνεται μὲν γὰρ οἱ ὕβρις ὑπὸ τῶν παρεόντων ἀγαθῶν, φθόνος δὲ ἀρχήθεν ἐμφύεται ἀνθρώπῳ· δύο δ' ἔχων ταῦτα, ἔχει πᾶσαν κακότητα· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ὕβρις κεκορημένος ἔρδει πολλὰ καὶ ἀτάσθαλα, τὰ δὲ φθόνῳ. καίτοι ἄνδρα γε τύραννον ἀφθονον ἔδει εἶναι, ἔχοντά γε πάντα τὰ ἀγαθὰ· τὸ δ' ὑπεναυτίον τούτου ἐς τοὺς πολίτας πέφυκε· φθονεῖ γὰρ τοῖσι ἀρίστοις περιουσί τε καὶ ζῶουσι, χαίρει δὲ τοῖσι κακίστοις τῶν ἀστῶν, διαβολὰς δὲ ἄριστος ἐνδέκεσθαι. ἀναρμοστότατος δὲ πάντων ἦν τε γὰρ αὐτὸν μετρίως θωυμάζης, ἄχθεται ὅτι οὐ κάρτα θεραπεύεται· ἦν τε θεραπείῃ τις κάρτα, ἄχθεται ἅτε θωπή. τὰ δὲ δὴ

In it Gomates the Magian is represented as rising and heading a rebellion in which the whole state joined, and Cambyses as dying of grief at the intelligence. The rebellion was of a religious character. "The state became heretical, the lie abounding both in Media and Persia and in the other provinces." After the death of Gomates, Darius becomes king, prohibits the Magian worship, and "restores the sacred chants and ritual of Ormuzd, entrusting it to the families which Gomates had dispossessed, and establishing the kingdom as in the days of old." Glimpses of this historical fact show themselves here and there in other portions of Herodotus's work, as has been repeatedly remarked. See note 439 on i. 130; note 204, above; note 238, below; and the *Excursus* at the end of this book on § 74.

<sup>219</sup> ἢ κέκληται ὑπὸ Περσέων Μαγοφόνια.

Called, that is, by a Persian name, of which *Μαγοφόνια* is the Greek equivalent. See note 490 on ii. 158.

<sup>220</sup> ἐλέχθησαν δ' ὦν, "nevertheless, spoken they were." So iv. 5, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιστὰ λέγοντες, λέγουσι δ' ὦν, and 82, ἔλεξε, ὅτε εἰ ψευδόμενος ὅτε εἰ ἀληθὲς λέγων ἔχω σαφηνέως εἶπαι, ἔλεξε δ' ὦν. Herodotus elsewhere (vi. 43) introduces the fact of Mardonius having established democracies in the Asiatic towns to remove the scepticism of those Greeks who disbelieved the story of Otanes recommending a popular government to the Persians. It is however scarcely to be conceived that he desired to impress on his auditors the belief that the speeches as he gives them were delivered. See the passage of PLATO cited in note 113 on i. 32.

μέγιστα ἔρχομαι ἐρέων νόμαίά τε κινεῖ πάτρια, καὶ βιάται  
 γυναῖκας, κτείνει τε ἀκρίτους. πλήθος δὲ ἄρχον πρῶτα μὲν οὐ-  
 νομα πάντων κάλλιστον ἔχει ἸΣΟΝΟΜΙΗΝ<sup>231</sup>. δεύτερα δὲ, τού-  
 των τῶν ὁ μούναρχος ποιεῖ οὐδέν· πάλω μὲν ἀρχὰς ἄρχει, ὑπεύ-  
 θυνον δὲ ἀρχὴν ἔχει, βουλευματα δὲ πάντα ἐς τὸ κοινὸν ἀναφέρει.  
 τίθεμαι ὦν γνώμην, μετέντας ἡμέας μοναρχίην τὸ πλήθος ἀέξειν  
 ἐν γὰρ τῷ πολλῷ ἐνὶ τὰ πάντα.” Ὀτάνης μὲν δὴ ταύτην τὴν  
 γνώμην ἐσέφερε. Μεγάβυζος δὲ ὀλιγαρχίῃ ἐκέλευε ἐπιτράπειν, 81  
 λέγων τάδε “τὰ μὲν Ὀτάνης εἶπε τυραννίδα παύων, λελέχθω  
 κάμοι ταῦτα· τὰ δ’ ἐς τὸ πλήθος ἄνωγε φέρειν τὸ κράτος; γνώμης  
 τῆς ἀρίστης ἡμάρτηκε. ὁμίλου γὰρ ἀχρηστοῦ οὐδέν ἐστι ἄξυνετώ-  
 τερον, οὐδὲ ὑβριστότερον καὶ τοι τυράννου ὕβριν φεύγοντας ἄν-  
 δρας ἐς δῆμον ἀκολάστου ὕβριν πεσέειν ἐστὶ οὐδαμῶς ἀνασχετόν·  
 ὁ μὲν γὰρ εἴ τι ποιεῖ, γινώσκων ποιεῖν· τῷ δὲ οὐ γινώσκειν ἐν·  
 κῶς γὰρ ἂν γινώσκοι, ὃς οὐτ’ ἐδιδάχθη οὔτε οἶδε καλὸν οὐδὲν, οὐδ’  
 οἰκίῃον; ὥθεις τε ἐμπεσὼν τὰ πρήγματα ἄνευ νόου, χειμάρρῳ  
 ποταμῷ ἵκελος. δῆμῳ μὲν νυν, οἱ Πέρσῃσι κακὸν νοέουσι, οὗτοι  
 χράσθων ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἀρίστων ἐπιλέξαντες ὁμίλῃν,  
 τοῦτοισι περιβέωμεν τὸ κράτος· ἐν γὰρ δὴ τοῦτοισι καὶ αὐτοὶ  
 ἐνεσόμεθα· ἀρίστων δὲ ἀνδρῶν οἶκός ἄριστα βουλευματα γίνε-  
 σθαι.” Μεγάβυζος μὲν δὴ ταύτην γνώμην ἐσέφερε. Τρίτος 82  
 δὲ Δαρεῖος ἀπεδείκνυτο γνώμην, λέγων “ἐμοὶ δὲ τὰ μὲν εἶπε  
 Μεγάβυζος ἐς τὸ πλήθος ἔχοντα δοκέει ὀρθῶς λέγειν, τὰ δ’ ἐς  
 ὀλιγαρχίην οὐκ ὀρθῶς· τριῶν γὰρ προκειμένων, καὶ πάντων τῶν  
 λέγω ἀρίστων ἐόντων (δήμου τε ἀρίστου καὶ ὀλιγαρχίης καὶ μονυ-

Megabyzus,  
 an aristoc-  
 racy;

Darius, a  
 monarchy...

<sup>231</sup> οὐνομα πάντων κάλλιστον ἔχει ἸΣΟ-  
 ΝΟΜΙΗΝ. The effect of a name, which is  
 always powerful over men's minds, was  
 especially strong with the Greeks from  
 the time at which dialectical pursuits  
 began to prevail. Instances continually  
 occur in the literature of this period  
 of false reasoning, arising simply from  
 the confusion between logical notions  
 and the objects in *rerum natura* from  
 which those logical notions were abstracted.  
 Hence certain political writers alluded to  
 by ARISTOTLE (*Politie*. iv. p. 1294, a)  
 maintained εἶναι τῶν ἀδυνάτων τὸ μὴ εὐ-  
 νομεῖσθαι τὴν ἀριστοκρατουμένην πόλιν,  
 ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἀριστοκρατεῖσθαι τὴν μὴ  
 εὐνομουμένην. EUKIPIDES expands the  
 sentiment expressed by Otanes in a way

which shows the attraction that the super-  
 ficial analogies derived from words pos-  
 sessed for his countrymen. (*Phæn*. 535):

κεῖνο κάλλιον, τέκνον,  
 ἸΣΟΘΗΤΑ τιμᾶν, ἢ φίλους ἀεὶ φίλοις  
 πόλεις τε πόλεσι συμμάχους τε συμμά-  
 χους  
 ξυνδεῖ· ΤΟ γὰρ ἸΣΟΝ νόμιμον ἀνθρώποις  
 εἶναι  
 καὶ γὰρ μέτρ’ ἀνθρώποις καὶ μέρη σταθμῶν  
 ἸΣΟΘΗΣ ἐταξέ· καθιστὸν διόρισε·  
 νυκτός τ’ ἀφεγγές· βλέφαρον ἡλίου τε φῶς  
 ἸΣΟΝ βαδίζει τὸν ἐνιασίον κύκλον,  
 κοῦδότερον αὐτῶν φθόνον ἔχει νικήμενον.

Compare THUCYDIDES, vi. 39.

άρχου) πολλῷ τούτο πρόχειν λέγω. ἀνδρὸς γὰρ ἐνὸς τοῦ ἀρίστου οὐδὲν ἄμεινον ἂν φανείη γνώμη γὰρ τοιαύτη χρεώμενος, ἐπιτροπεύει·<sup>223</sup> ἂν ἀμωμήτως τοῦ πλήθους· συγῆτό τε ἂν βουλευματα ἐπὶ δυσμενέας ἀνδρας οὕτω μάλιστα. ἐν δὲ ὀλυγαρχίῃ, πολλοῖσι ἀρετὴν ἐπασκένουσι ἐς τὸ κοινόν, ἔχθρα ἴδια ἰσχυρὰ φιλέει ἐγγίνεσθαι· αὐτὸς γὰρ ἕκαστος βουλόμενος κορυφαῖος εἶναι γνώμησί τε νικᾶν, ἐς ἔχθρα μεγάλα ἀλλήλοισι ἀπικνέονται ἐξ ὧν στάσεις ἐγγίνονται, ἐκ δὲ τῶν στασίων φόνος, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ φόνου ἀπέβη ἐς μονναρχίην· καὶ ἐν τούτῳ διέδεξε ὅσῳ ἐστὶ τούτο ἀριστον. δήμου τὲ αὐτὸν ἀρχοντος, ἀδύνατα μὴ οὐ κακότητα ἐγγίνεσθαι· κακότητος τοίων ἐγγινομένης ἐς τὰ κοινὰ, ἔχθρα μὲν οὐκ ἐγγίνεται τοῖσι κακοῖσι φιλίαι δὲ ἰσχυραί· οἱ γὰρ κακοῦντες τὰ κοινὰ συγκύψαντες ποιεῖσιν· τούτο δὲ τοιοῦτο γίνεται, ἐς δὲ ἂν προστάς τις τοῦ δήμου τοὺς τοιοῦτους παύσῃ· ἐκ δὲ αὐτῶν θωυμάζεται οὗτος δὴ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου θωυμαζόμενος δὲ, ἂν ὧν ἐφάνη μούναρχος εἶναι καὶ ἐν τούτῳ δηλοῖ καὶ οὗτος ὡς ἡ μονναρχίη κράτιστον. ἐνὶ δὲ ἐπεὶ πάντα συλλαβόντα εἰπεῖν, κόθεν ἡμῖν ἡ ἐλευθερίη ἐγένετο; καὶ τευ δόντος; κότερα παρὰ δήμου, ἢ ὀλυγαρχίης, ἢ μονναρχοῦ; ἔχω τοίων γνώμην, ἡμέας ἐλευθερωθέντας διὰ ἓνα ἄνδρα, τὸ τοιοῦτο περιστέλλειν.<sup>224</sup> χωρὶς τε τούτου, πατρίους νόμους μὴ λύειν ἔχοντας εἶναι οὐ γὰρ ἄμεινον.”

83

Four of the seven agree with Darius.

Γινώμαι μὲν δὴ τρεῖς αὐται προεκέατο· οἱ δὲ τέσσερες τῶν ἐπτά ἀνδρῶν προσέθεντο ταύτῃ. ὥς δὲ ἐσώσθη τῇ γνώμῃ ὁ Ὀτάνης Πέρσησι ἰσονομίην σπεύδων ποιῆσαι, ἔλεξε ἐς μέσον αὐτοῖσι τάδε· “ἀνδρες στασιῶται, δῆλα γὰρ δὴ ὅτι δεῖ ἓνα γέ τινα ἡμέων βασιλέα γενέσθαι, ἥτοι κλήρῳ γε λαχόντα, ἢ ἐπιτρεψάντων<sup>224</sup> τῷ Περσέων πλήθει τὸν ἂν ἐκείνοι ἐλῶνται, ἢ ἄλλη τινὶ μηχανῇ· ἐγὼ μὲν νῦν ὑμῖν οὐκ ἐναγωνιεύμαι· οὔτε γὰρ ἀρχειν οὔτε ἀρχεσθαι ἐθέλω· ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὲ ὑπεξίσταμαι τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἐπ’ ᾧ τε ὑπ’ οὐδενὸς ὑμέων ἄρξομαι, οὔτε αὐτὸς ἐγὼ οὔτε οἱ ἀπ’ ἐμεῦ αἰεὶ γινόμενοι.” τούτου εἰπαιτος ταῦτα, ὥς συνεχώρεον οἱ ἕξ ἐπὶ τούτοις, οὗτος μὲν δὴ σφί οὐκ ἐνηγωνίζετο ἀλλ’ ἐκ τοῦ μέσου καθῆστο.<sup>225</sup> καὶ νῦν αὕτη ἡ οἰκίη διατελέει μούνη ἐλευθέρῃ ἐούσα Περσέων, καὶ ἀρχεται

<sup>223</sup> ἐπιτροπεύει. See note 106, above.

<sup>224</sup> τὸ τοιοῦτο περιστέλλειν. See note 347 on i. 98.

<sup>225</sup> ἐπιτρεψάντων, sc. ἡμέων.

<sup>226</sup> καθῆστο. This is the reading of all

the MSS, as it also is in i. 45; but in the latter passage the important manuscripts S and V are not to be reckoned. Yet κάτῃσαι occurs below (§ 134), and κατήμενος (ix. 56) without any variant.

τοσαῦτα ὅσα αὐτὴ θέλει, νόμους οὐκ ὑπερβαίνουσα τοὺς Περσέων. Οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τῶν ἑπτὰ ἐβουλεύοντο ὡς βασιλέα δικαιοτάτα στή-  
 σονται· καὶ σφίς ἔδοξε, Ὅτάνῃ μὲν καὶ τοῖσι ἀπὸ Ὅτάνω αἰεὶ  
 γινομένοισι, ἣν ἐς ἄλλον τινα τῶν ἑπτὰ ἔλθῃ ἡ βασιληΐη, ἐξαίρετα  
 δίδοσθαι ἐσθιῆτά τε Μηδικὴν <sup>226</sup> ἔτεος ἐκάστου, καὶ τὴν πᾶσαν  
 δωρεὴν <sup>227</sup> ἣ γίνεται ἐν Πέρσῃσι τιμωτάτῃ. τοῦδε δὲ εἵνεκεν  
 ἐβουλεύσαντό οἱ δίδοσθαι ταῦτα, ὅτι ἐβούλευσέ τε πρῶτος τὸ  
 πρῆγμα καὶ συνέστησε αὐτούς. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ Ὅτάνῃ ἐξαίρετα,  
 τὰδε δὲ ἐς τὸ κοινὸν ἐβούλευσαν παρίεναι ἐς τὰ βασιλῆα πάντα  
 τὸν βουλούμενον τῶν ἑπτὰ <sup>228</sup> ἄνευ ἐσαγγελέος, ἣν μὴ τυγχάνῃ  
 εὖδων μετὰ γυναῖκός βασιλεύς· γαμέειν δὲ μὴ ἐξείναι ἄλλοθεν τῷ  
 βασιλεῖ ἢ ἐκ τῶν συνεπαναστάντων <sup>229</sup>. περὶ δὲ τῆς βασιληΐης  
 ἐβουλεύσαντο τοιόνδε· ὅτεν ἂν ὁ ἵππος ἡλίου ἐπανατέλλοντος  
 πρῶτος φθέγῃται ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ, αὐτῶν ἐπιβεβηκότων, τοῦτον  
 ἔχειν τὴν βασιληΐην.

84

Exceptional  
condition of  
the family  
of Otanes.

Rights reserved for  
the seven  
magnates.

Δαρεῖφ δὲ ἦν ἵπποκόμος ἀνὴρ σοφός, τῷ ὄννομα ἦν Οἰβάρης·  
 πρὸς τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα, ἐπεὶ τε διελύθησαν, ἔλεξε Δαρεῖος τὰδε·  
 “Οἰβάρης, ἡμῖν δέδοκται περὶ τῆς βασιληΐης ποιέειν κατὰ τὰδε·  
 ὅτεν ἂν ὁ ἵππος πρῶτος φθέγῃται ἅμα τῷ ἡλίῳ ἀνιόντι <sup>230</sup>, αὐτῶν  
 ἐπαναβεβηκότων, τοῦτον ἔχειν τὴν βασιληΐην· νῦν ὦν, εἰ τινα  
 ἔχεις σοφίην, μηχανῶ ὡς ἂν ἡμεῖς σχώμεν τοῦτο τὸ γέρας, καὶ μὴ  
 ἄλλος τις.” ἀμειβεται Οἰβάρης τοῖσδε· “εἰ μὲν δὴ, ὦ δέσποτα,  
 ἐν τούτῳ τοί ἐστι <sup>231</sup> ἡ βασιλέα εἶναι ἢ μὴ, θάρσσε τούτου εἵνεκεν

85

Stratagem  
of Oebares,  
the groom  
of Darius,

<sup>226</sup> ἐσθῆτα Μηδικήν. This mark of honour was bestowed by Xerxes on the Acanthians to show his sense of their zeal in his service (vii. 116).

<sup>227</sup> τὴν πᾶσαν δωρεήν. See note 213, above.

<sup>228</sup> πάντα τὸν βουλούμενον τῶν ἑπτὰ. In later times it was a point of heraldic honour with the sovereigns of Cappadocia to trace their descent from this aristocracy of seven, no less than from Achæmenes. They were said to be descended from an *Atossa*, the sister of Cambyses, father of Cyrus. She had (it was said) married *Pharnaces*, king of Cappadocia. The issue of this marriage was *Gallus*. He had a son *Smerdis*, and Smerdis a son *Artamnes*. Artamnes was the father of *Anephas*, a man distinguished for personal prowess, who was one of the seven conspirators, and, as a reward for his

efforts, received Cappadocia free from tribute as a fief. (Diodorus *ap. Photium. Bibl.* p. 382.) JOSEPHUS (*Bell. Jud.* xxiv. 2) makes Glaphyra, daughter of Archelaus, speak of her descent from Darius, the son of Hystaspes,—possibly from a confusion of Atossa the sultana with her great aunt. For a similar pedigree of Mithradates see APPIAN and POLYBIUS (cited in note 419 on i. 121).

<sup>229</sup> ἄλλοθεν ἢ ἐκ τῶν συνεπαναστάντων. In the same way the Bacchiadæ at Corinth ἐβίβωσαν καὶ ἡγόοντο ἐξ ἀλλήλων (v. 92).

<sup>230</sup> ἅμα τῷ ἡλίῳ ἀνιόντι. The time of sun-rise would of course be a sacred one with Fire-worshippers, and consequently fitted for the observance of an omen.

<sup>231</sup> ἐν τούτῳ ἐστι, “depends upon this.” Compare vi. 109: ἐν σοὶ νῦν, Καλλιμαχέ, ἐστὶ ἡ καταδουλῶσαι Ἀθήνας ἢ ἐλευθέραις ποιήσαντα μηχανήματα ληϊσθῆναι.

καὶ θυμὸν ἔχε ἀγαθὸν ὥς βασιλεὺς οὐδεὶς ἄλλος πρὸ σεῦ ἔσται τοιαῦτα ἔχω φάρμακα" λέγει Δαρεῖος "εἰ τοῖνυν τι τοιοῦτον ἔχεις σόφισμα, ὦρῃ μηχανᾶσθαι καὶ μὴ ἀναβάλλεσθαι ὥς τῆς ἐπιούσης ἡμέρης ὁ ἀγὼν ἡμῖν ἐστι." ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Οἰβάργης ποίκει τοῖονδε ὥς ἐγίνετο ἡ νύξ, τῶν θηλέων ἵππων μίαν τὴν ὁ Δαρείου ἵππος ἔστεργε μάλιστα, ταύτην ἀγαγὼν ἐς τὸ προάστειον κατέδησε, καὶ ἐπήγαγε τὸν Δαρείου ἵππον καὶ τὰ μὲν πολλὰ περιῆγε [ἀγχοῦ τῇ ἵππῳ<sup>233</sup>] ἐγχερίμπτων τῇ θηλέῃ, τέλος δὲ ἐπήκε ὀχεύσαι τὸν ἵππον. "Ἀμ' ἡμέρῃ δὲ διαφωσκούσῃ, οἱ ἔξ, κατὰ συνεθήκαντο, παρήσαν ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων διεξελαυνόντων δὲ κατὰ τὸ προάστειον, ὥς κατὰ τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον ἐγίνοντο ἵνα τῆς παροισχομένης νυκτὸς κατεδέδετο ἡ θήλεα ἵππος, ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Δαρείου ἵππος προσδραμὼν ἐχρεμέτισε ἅμα δὲ τῷ ἵππῳ τοῦτο ποιήσαντι<sup>234</sup>, ἀστραπὴ ἐξ αἰθρίης<sup>235</sup> καὶ βροντὴ ἐγένετο. ἐπιγενόμενα δὲ ταῦτα τῷ Δαρείῳ ἐτελέωσε<sup>236</sup> μιν ὥσπερ ἐκ συνθέτου τευ γενόμενα, οἱ δὲ καταθορόντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων προσεκύνεον [τὸν Δαρεῖον ὥς βασιλέα<sup>237</sup>].

86

which succeeds, and is followed by an omen from the heavens.

87

Another version of the artifice.

Οἱ μὲν δὴ φασὶ τὸν Οἰβάρεα ταῦτα μηχανήσασθαι, οἱ δὲ τοιάδε, (καὶ γὰρ ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρω λέγεται ὑπὸ Περσέων<sup>237</sup>.) ὥς τῆς ἵππου ταύτης τῶν ἄρθρων ἐπιψάσας τῇ χειρὶ, ἔχοι αὐτὴν κρύψας ἐν τῇσι ἀναξυρίσιν ὥς δὲ ἅμα τῷ ἡλίῳ ἀνιόντι ἀπίεσθαι μέλλειν τοὺς ἵππους, τὸν Οἰβάρεα τοῦτον ἐξείραντα τὴν χεῖρα, πρὸς τοῦ Δαρείου ἵππου τοὺς μυκτῆρας προσενείκει· τὸν δὲ αἰσθόμενον φριμάσασθαι τε καὶ χρεμέτισαι.

<sup>233</sup> [ἀγχοῦ τῇ ἵππῳ]. These words appear to me to be a gloss explanatory of the words ἐγχερίμπτων τῇ θηλέῃ, and I have therefore included them within brackets.

<sup>234</sup> ἅμα τῷ ἵππῳ τοῦτο ποιήσαντι. The more usual expression would be ἅμα τῷ τὸν ἵππον τοῦτο ποιήσασθαι. The use of the participle is exactly similar to that in i. 34, μετὰ Σόλωνα οἰχόμενον, and i. 51, ὑπὸ τὸν νῆον κατακαέντα.

<sup>235</sup> ἐξ αἰθρίης, "out of a clear sky." This circumstance caused the incident to be regarded as supernatural. HORACE was induced to give up his physical theory of the cause of thunder by the same phenomenon. "Diespiter," contrary to the usual course of things, "per purum tonantes Egit equos volucrumque currum." (Od. i. 34. 7.) PLINY mentions a magis-

trate of Pompeii having been killed by lightning on a clear day as one of the portents which accompanied Catiline's conspiracy. (Hist. Nat. ii. c. 51.)

<sup>236</sup> ἐτελέωσε, "perfected." The same word is used in the same sense in Hebr. ii. 10.

<sup>237</sup> [τὸν Δαρεῖον ὥς βασιλέα]. Some of the MSS have μιν τὸν Δαρ. Others omit the words ὥς βασιλέα. Gaisford includes between brackets the last two words only.

<sup>237</sup> ὑπὸ Περσέων. It is not necessarily to be inferred from this expression that Herodotus derived the story direct from any Persians. All that it seems necessary to conclude is that it came primarily from a Persian locality. See note 338 on i. 95; note 471 on i. 139; note 128 on ii. 43; and note 241, below.

Δαρείους τε δὴ ὁ Ὑστάσπεος βασιλεὺς ἀπεδέδεκτο· καὶ οἱ ἦσαν 88  
 ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ πάντες κατήκοοι πλὴν Ἀραβίων, Κύρου τε κατα- <sup>Extent of</sup>  
 στρεψαμένους καὶ ὕστερον αὐτῖς Καμβύσῃ <sup>Darius's</sup> <sup>empire.</sup> <sup>His wives.</sup> <sup>The monu-</sup>  
 στρεψαμένους καὶ ὕστερον αὐτῖς Καμβύσῃ <sup>230</sup>. Ἀράβιοι δὲ οὐ-  
 δαμὰ κατήκουσαν ἐπὶ δουλῶσιν Πέρσῃσι, ἀλλὰ ξείνοι ἐγένοντο  
 παρέντες Καμβύσεια ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον (ἀκόντων γὰρ Ἀραβίων οὐκ  
 ἂν ἐσβάλλοιεν <sup>230</sup> Πέρσαι ἐς Αἴγυπτον) γάμοις τε τοὺς πρώτους  
 ἐγάμει Πέρσῃσι <sup>240</sup> ὁ Δαρεῖος, Κύρου μὲν δύο θυγατέρας, Ἀτοσσάν  
 τε καὶ Ἀρτυστῶνην τὴν μὲν Ἀτοσσαν προσνυκίησασαν Καμ-  
 βύσῃ τε τῷ ἀδελφεῷ καὶ αὐτῖς τῷ Μάγῳ τὴν δὲ Ἀρτυστῶνην,  
 παρθένον ἐτέρην δὲ, Σμέρδιος τοῦ Κύρου θυγατέρα, ἔφημε, τῇ  
 οὖνομα ἦν Πάρμης· ἔσχε δὲ καὶ τὴν τοῦ Ὀτάνεω θυγατέρα ἣ τὸν  
 Μάγον κατὰδῃλον ἐποίησε. δυνάμις τε πάντα οἱ ἐπιπλέατο. <sup>The monu-</sup>  
 πρώτου μὲν νυν τύπον ποιησάμενος λίθινον ἔστησε <sup>241</sup>. ζῶν δὲ οἱ <sup>memory</sup>  
 ἐνὶ ἀνῆρ ἱππεύς· ἐπέγραψε <sup>242</sup> δὲ γράμματα λέγοντα τάδε ΔΑ- <sup>of his ac-</sup>  
<sup>cession.</sup>

<sup>230</sup> ὕστερον αὐτῖς Καμβύσῃ. There is no mention made by Herodotus of any wars or conquests by Cambyzes in Asia (see ii. 1). But from the Behistun inscription, quoted in note 83, above, it seems possible that this phrase alludes to the putting down of a rebellion excited by Smerdis. See note 218, above.

<sup>239</sup> ἐσβάλλοιεν. Several MSS, which Gaisford follows, have ἐσβάλλοιεν. But the position is a general one, "without the consent of the Arabians the Persians would be unable to enter Egypt." This clause perhaps was framed before the detailed account above, § 9, was written, and remained after that was inserted, because the work never received the last polish of the author.

<sup>240</sup> γάμοις τοὺς πρώτους ἐγάμει Πέρσῃσι. "The first marriages which he made were with Persians," in pursuance, apparently, of the arrangement mentioned above (§ 84). The great influence of Otanes is shown by his near relationship to all the sultanas. He would be (if Atossa and Artystone were daughters of Cassandane) uncle of both, great-uncle of Parmys, and father of Phaedime. See the note 192, above. The opposition of Orotes (see below, notes on § 127) becomes very natural if we regard the accession of Darius as brought about mainly by the influence of powerful individuals of the Achaemenid house.

<sup>241</sup> τύπον λίθινον ἔστησε. The monument in question was doubtless cut in a

rock; but the phrase ἔστησε conveys the notion of a Greek who had in his head the conception of a sculptured group "set up." The true state of the case shews itself in the word ἐνὶ, which presently follows.

<sup>242</sup> ἐπέγραψε. There can be little doubt that the story of Darius and his groom, by whatever channel it came to Herodotus, originally flowed from a popular interpretation of the meaning of the monument described in the text. There is as little doubt that this interpretation is an erroneous one; but it is not easy to point out the source of the error. An extremely ingenious theory has been put forward by Dr. Donaldson, that it arose from a misinterpretation of the arrow-headed inscription on the monument; the words rendered ἱπποκῆμος really being an epithet of Ormuzd, and implying merely "the horse-man." The Behistun inscriptions begin invariably by ascribing the prosperity of Darius to the favour of Ormuzd, who is represented in them by a figure now rendered familiar by the title-page of Mr. Layard's *Nineveh*. The horse too was sacred to the sun, and might possibly be used as a symbol of Ormuzd. But I am not aware of any evidence that the god was ever represented as a horseman. Indeed the account of a monument must be extremely accurate to allow of carrying such a theory as that of Dr. Donaldson into details; and such is hardly to be expected except from an eye-witness, which

ΡΕΙΟΣ Ὁ Ὅ ΤΣΤΑΣΠΕΟΣ ΣΤΗΝ ΤΕ ΤΟΥ ἼΠΠΟΥ ΤΗ  
ΑΡΕΤΗ (τὸ οὐνομα λέγων) ΚΑΙ ΟΙΒΑΡΕΟΣ ΤΟΥ ἼΠΠΟ-  
ΚΟΜΟΥ, ἘΚΤΗΣΑΤΟ ΤΗΝ ΠΕΡΣΕΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΔΗΙΗΝ.

89 Ποιήσας δὲ ταῦτα ἐν Πέρσῃσι, ἀρχὰς κατεστήσατο εἴκοσι τὰς  
αὐτοὶ καλέουσι σατραπείας. καταστήσας δὲ τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ ἄρ-  
χοντας ἐπιστήσας, ἐτάξατο<sup>243</sup> φόρους οἱ προσιέναι κατὰ ἔθνεά  
τε, καὶ πρὸς τοῖσι ἔθνεσι τοὺς πλησιοχώρους προστάσων, καὶ  
ὑπερβαίνων τοὺς προσεχέας, ἄλλοισι ἄλλα τὰ ἐκαστέρῳ ἔθνεα  
νέμων<sup>244</sup>.

He insti-  
tutes a  
cadastral  
system.

Established  
standard for  
the tribute  
in bullion.

Ἀρχὰς δὲ καὶ φόρων πρόσδοον τὴν ἐπέτεον κατὰ τὰδε διείλε-  
τοῖσι μὲν αὐτῶν ἀργύριον ἀπαγνέουσι εἰρητο Βαβυλώνιον σταθμὸν  
τάλαντον ἀπαγνέειν, τοῖσι δὲ χρυσίον ἀπαγνέουσι Εὐβοϊκόν τὸ  
δὲ Βαβυλώνιον τάλαντον δύναται Εὐβοϊδᾶς ἐβδομήκοντα μνέας<sup>245</sup>.  
ἐπὶ γὰρ Κύρου ἀρχοντος, καὶ αὐτῆς Καμβύσῃ, ἦν κατεστηκὸς  
οὐδὲν φόρου πέρι, ἀλλὰ δῶρα ἀγίνεον. (διὰ δὲ ταύτην τὴν ἐπί-  
ταξιν τοῦ φόρου καὶ παραπλήσια ταύτῃ ἄλλα, λέγουσι Πέρσαι ὡς

Herodotus cannot here be supposed to have been. Compare his account of another rock monument now known, and the note upon it (299, on ii. 106). See also the last note.

<sup>243</sup> ἐτάξατο. The middle voice implies that the tribute was not arbitrarily imposed, but the result of a calculation and agreement. The satrap may be considered to have farmed the revenue of his province at the price of the appointed φόρος. See the expression φόρον ἐτάξαντο of the parties on whom the impost was laid, above, § 13. The case was different when Artaphernes φόρους ἔταξε ἐκαστοῖσι τῶν Ἰόνων (vi. 42). As a conqueror he was free to impose his own terms.

<sup>244</sup> καὶ πρὸς τοῖσι ἔθνεσι . . ἔθνεα νέμων. This sentence is an extremely difficult one to construct; and it appears not to have received the author's last touch. It seems clear that he wished to describe the system which he briefly notices in i. 134: *προέβαυε γὰρ δὴ τὸ ἔθνος ἄρχον τε καὶ ἐπιτρέπουσαν*. The plan adopted was apparently a kind of sub-infeudation, the countries in the immediate neighbourhood of the seat of government being regarded in a manner as chief vassals of the empire, and in their turn exercising a sovereignty over their neighbours. Thus, while in the royal schedule all the several nations pay-

ing tribute would appear, they would not all pay direct into the treasury; but those nearest to the seat of government would be responsible for the payments of their more distant neighbours. It would seem as if the series of participial clauses in the text were in fact *memoranda* for the author himself, standing as the materials from which was to be produced a member which should balance the phrase *ἐτάξατο φόρους οἱ προσιέναι κατὰ ἔθνεα*.

<sup>245</sup> δύναται Εὐβοϊδᾶς ἐβδομήκοντα μνέας. It is impossible to bring this proportion into harmony with what is known of the Euboic scale; and indeed it is only necessary to go through the calculation Herodotus makes, *on his own data*, to perceive that there is great confusion in the text as regards the numbers given. From other grounds Boeckh (*Metrolologische Untersuchungen*, pp. 46, seqq.) has done much to establish the following points. (1) That the Babylonian talent was a weight in silver pretty nearly equal to 10,000 of Solon's drachmæ. (2) That it passed in the way of commerce to the Æginetans. (3) That it was equivalent to 72 minæ of the ante-Solonian currency in Attica. (4) That it weighed from  $72 \times 100 \times 112$  to  $72 \times 100 \times 115$  grains English, which would be equivalent in the lesser case to 115·2, in the greater to 118·286 lbs. avoirdupois.



Δαρείος μὲν ἦν κάπηλος· Καμβύσης δὲ δεσπότης· Κῦρος δὲ πατήρ·  
ὁ μὲν ὅτι ἐκαπήλευε πάντα τὰ πρήγματα· ὁ δὲ ὅτι χαλεπὸς τε ἦν  
καὶ ὀλιγῶρος· ὁ δὲ ὅτι ἥπιός τε, καὶ ἀγαθὰ σφι πάντα ἐμμηχανή-  
σατο.) Ἀπὸ μὲν δὴ Ἰώνων, καὶ Μαγνήτων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ<sup>246</sup>,  
καὶ Αἰολέων, καὶ Καρῶν, καὶ Λυκίων, καὶ Μιλήων<sup>247</sup>, καὶ Παμ-  
φύλων, (εἰς γὰρ ἦν οἱ τεταγμένοι φόρος οὗτος<sup>248</sup>.) προσήιε τετρα-  
κόσια τάλαντα ἀργυρίου. ὁ μὲν δὴ πρῶτος οὗτός οἱ νομὸς κατ-  
εστήκει. ἀπὸ δὲ Μυσῶν, καὶ Λυδῶν, καὶ Λασονίων, καὶ Καβα-  
λίων, καὶ Ὑγεννέων<sup>249</sup>, πεντακόσια τάλαντα· νομὸς δεύτερος οὗτος.  
ἀπὸ δὲ Ἑλλησποντιῶν τῶν ἐπὶ δεξιὰ ἐσπλέοντι, καὶ Φρυγῶν, καὶ  
Θρηίκων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ<sup>250</sup>, καὶ Παφλαγόνων, καὶ Μαριανδυνῶν,  
καὶ Συρίων<sup>251</sup>, ἐξήκοντα καὶ τριηκόσια ἦν τάλαντα φόρος· νομὸς  
τρίτος οὗτος. ἀπὸ δὲ Κιλικῶν ἵπποι τε λευκοὶ<sup>252</sup> ἐξήκοντα καὶ

90  
Cadastral  
systems of  
Darius.

<sup>246</sup> τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ. This clause is no doubt added to distinguish the people in question from those of the same name in Thessaly (vii. 132. 176). The Magnesians here meant are those of Magnesia on the Mæander, a powerful aristocracy in early times. (ARISTOTLE, *Polit.* iv. p. 1289, line 40.) The country was especially favourable for the breeding of horses and the operations of cavalry; and perhaps this was one reason that made it the headquarters for one of the Persian corps of observation (iii. 122). It seems likely that the city was unfortified, for there is no mention of a siege by Mazares or Harpagus (i. 161. 162), and judging from the passage of Aristotle, the life of the people must have been very similar to that of the Thessalians, or the modern Hungarians. Magnesia on the Hermus (or Sipylus) probably did not exist in the time of Herodotus.

<sup>247</sup> καὶ Λυκίων, καὶ Μιλήων. See notes on i. 173.

<sup>248</sup> εἰς γὰρ ἦν οἱ τεταγμένοι φόρος οὗτος. It is rather remarkable that no notice should be here taken of the Asiatic Dorian cities. If the list be compared with that of the subjects of Croesus (i. 28), it will be seen that this *nome* includes all the Lydian dependencies on the coast south of the Hermus, with the addition of Lycia (which appears to have remained independent of Croesus; see note 91 on i. 27), and with the exception of those Dorians. Yet some of these cities,—for instance *Lindus* and *Cnidus*,—were undoubtedly of considerable commercial importance and closely

connected with Egypt. (See ii. 178 and 182.) One is inclined to suspect that they must have rendered some especial service to procure their own exemption from the condition of their neighbours on each side. They certainly made no resistance to Harpagus (i. 174), and this seems to have been quite with the approbation of the Delphic oracle. We do not find them, like the Ionians and Æolians, either contemptuously mentioned as δούλους πατρῶν of Cambyses (ii. 1), or acting as Persian auxiliaries (i. 171).

<sup>249</sup> Λασονίων, καὶ Καβαλίων, καὶ Ὑγεννέων. Several of the MSS have Ἀλυσονίων for Λασονίων, and S and V have Ἀβτενέων for Ὑγεννέων. See note on vii. 77.

<sup>250</sup> Θρηίκων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ. These are the *Bithynians*. See note on vii. 75, *Bithynoi*.

<sup>251</sup> Συρίων. Two of the MSS have Ἀσσυρίων. But in all probability the nation intended is a portion of the Cappadocian, whom the *Greeks* called Syrians (i. 72; v. 49). That this list comes from a *Hellenic source* is plain from the circumstance that the Ionian cities are put in the first satrapy. See the entirely different arrangement in the Behistun Inscription cited in note on § 84, below.

<sup>252</sup> ἵπποι τε λευκοί. STRABO incidentally mentions (xi. c. 13, p. 454), by way of showing the riches of the Median soil, that whereas Cappadocia, in addition to the money tribute, furnished the Persian king with 1500 horses, 2000 mules, and 50,000 sheep. Media provided nearly the double of these. In the text the only

- τριηκόσιοι, ἐκάστης ἡμέρης εἰς γινόμενος, καὶ τάλαντα ἀργυρίου πεντακόσια<sup>253</sup>. τούτων τεσσεράκοντα μὲν καὶ ἑκατὸν ἐς τὴν φρουρέουσιν ἵππον τὴν Κιλικίην χώραν ἀνασιμουτο, τὰ δὲ τριηκόσια καὶ ἐξήκοντα Δαρεῖω ἐφόιτα· νομὸς τέταρτος οὗτος.
- 91 Ἀπὸ δὲ Ποσειδηίου πόλιος<sup>254</sup>, τὴν Ἀμφίλοχος ὁ Ἀμφιάρεω οἰκισε ἐπ' οὐροισι τοῖσι Κιλικίων τε καὶ Σύρων, ἀρξάμενον<sup>255</sup> ἀπὸ ταύτης μέχρι Αἰγύπτου, πλὴν μόρης τῆς Ἀραβίων<sup>256</sup>, (ταῦτα γὰρ ἦν ἀτελέα,) πεντήκοντα καὶ τριηκόσια τάλαντα φόρος ἦν. ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῷ νομῷ τούτῳ Φοινίκη τε πᾶσα καὶ Συρία ἡ Παλαιστίνη καλεομένη, καὶ Κύπρος· νομὸς πέμπτος οὗτος. ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου δὲ, καὶ Λιβύων τῶν προσεχέων Αἰγύπτῳ, καὶ Κυρήνης τε καὶ Βάρκης, (ἐς γὰρ τὸν Αἰγύπτιον νομὸν αὐταὶ ἐκεκοσμέατο,) ἑπτακόσια προσήϊε τάλαντα, πάρεξ τοῦ ἐκ τῆς Μοίριος λίμνης γνωμένου ἀργυρίου<sup>257</sup>, τὸ ἐγένετο ἐκ τῶν ἰχθύων. τούτου τε δὴ χωρὶς τοῦ ἀργυρίου καὶ τοῦ ἐπιμετρομένου σίτου προσήϊε ἑπτακόσια τά-

mention of a purveyance in kind is this of the white horses.

<sup>253</sup> τάλαντα ἀργυρίου πεντακόσια. See v. 49.

<sup>254</sup> Ποσειδηίου πόλιος. This town was a little to the north of that part of Syria where Laodicea was subsequently built by Seleucus. (STRABO xvi. c. 2, p. 358.) The neighbouring region was singularly fertile in wine (see the note 19 on § 6, above), and before the building of Laodicea this perhaps might be shipped in Hellenic bottoms at Poseideum, the name of which implies that there was a port there. The same site is said at the present time to be much frequented by ships from the excellent quality of its water. It is however inaccurately described as on the frontier between the Cilicians and Syrians, being three-quarters of a degree south of the pass. But a navigator in the time of Herodotus sailing from Egypt would, on coming off the promontory Poseideum, possibly lay his course for Cilicia, crossing the mouth of the gulf of Issus to the promontory *Megarsus*. In this case Poseideum (the town) would be the last place in Syria of which he would be cognizant, the whole coast of the gulf of Issus being left out of consideration, and the expression ἐπ' οὐροισι would in such a case be less inappropriate. Possibly too the fact of *Malilus*, a city just by the promontory *Megarsus*, having also been, according to

the legend (STRABO, xiv. p. 231), founded by Amphilochous, may have contributed to the notion that Poseideum was on the actual frontier. From either of the two places the navigator would stretch away to the other; and on the hypothesis of the geography of this region being constructed from accounts of *different* navigators, it is not impossible that the two frontier towns, both of them said to be founded by Amphilochous, were confused with one another, and placed as one town Poseideum on the actual frontier. It will be seen from the note on iv. 38, that the Hellenic navigators had a very vague knowledge of the gulf of Issus, probably owing to the jealousy of the Phoenicians.

<sup>255</sup> ἀρξάμενον. Larcher compares the construction with the well known one of δέον, ἐξδν, &c. But here the word is apparently in the masculine gender, and the full construction would be ἐξ ἀρξάμενον ἀπὸ ταύτης μέχρι Αἰγύπτου λέγου. The whole sentence exhibits an unparalleled slovenliness of style.

<sup>256</sup> πλὴν μόρης τῆς Ἀραβίων. If the narrator is supposed to be carrying his auditors down the coast, which seems to be the case, we must suppose him to include in Arabia a portion of the sea-board. What portion this is does not seem clear. See note 16 on § 5, above.

<sup>257</sup> τοῦ ἐκ τῆς Μοίριος λίμνης γνωμένου ἀργυρίου. See ii. 149.

λάντα· πρὸς γὰρ δύο καὶ δέκα μυριάσι Περσέων τε τοῖσι ἐν τῷ  
 Λευκῇ τείχει τῷ ἐν Μέμφι κατοικημένοισι καταμετρέουσι, καὶ  
 τοῖσι τούτων ἐπικούροισι· νομὸς ἕκτος οὗτος. Σατταγῦδαι δέ,  
 καὶ Γανδάριοι, καὶ Δαδίκαι τε καὶ Ἀπαρύται<sup>338</sup>, ἐς τῷντὸ τετα-  
 γμένοι, ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν τάλαντα προσέφερον· νομὸς οὗτος  
 ἑβδομος. ἀπὸ Σούσων δέ, καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Κισσίων χώρας, τριη-  
 κόσια· νομὸς ὄγδοος οὗτος. Ἀπὸ Βαβυλῶνος δέ, καὶ τῆς λοιπῆς 92  
 Ἀσσυρίης, χίλιά οἱ προσήιε τάλαντα ἀργυρίου<sup>339</sup>, καὶ παῖδες  
 ἑκτομῖαι πεντακόσιοι· νομὸς εἵνατος οὗτος. ἀπὸ δὲ Ἀγβατάνων  
 καὶ τῆς λοιπῆς Μηδικῆς, καὶ Παρικανίων<sup>340</sup>, καὶ Ὀρθοκορυβαν-

<sup>338</sup> Σατταγῦδαι δέ, καὶ Γανδάριοι, καὶ Δαδίκαι τε καὶ Ἀπαρύται. Of these four nations the last are unknown. The first appear in the Behistun Inscription. (See note 278, below.) The other two are united in the army of Xerxes, and armed as light troops in the same manner as the Bactrians, Sogdians, and Chorasmians (vii. 66).

<sup>339</sup> χίλιά οἱ προσήιε τάλαντα ἀργυρίου. If this statement be compared with that given of the resources of the Babylonian satrapy in i. 192, the difference between the payment made to Tritantæchmes the viceroy and the tribute which he sent home to his sovereign is enormous. Taking the *artabe* at 102 *sextarii*, and the *sextarius* at  $\frac{824}{1000}$  of an imperial pint (see note 648 on i. 192, and Smith's Dictionary of Antiquities, v. *Sextarius*), we have for the contents of the *artabe* 101·0922 imperial pints. The whole tax which came into the hands of Tritantæchmes was  $360 \times 101·0922$  (=36393·192) pints of silver, or, reckoning the pint at 10 lbs. weight, 363932 lbs. avoirdupois. Now the weight of a Babylonian talent was either 115·2 or 118·286 lbs. avoirdupois. (See note 245, above.) Accordingly the annual profit remaining to him after he had paid the tribute of 1000 talents would be  $363932 - 115200$  (=248732) or  $363932 - 118286$  (=245646) lbs. avoirdupois of silver, a sum very far greater than the satraps seem likely ever to have accumulated. (See the note on v. 36, *ἐπιστάσθαι γὰρ τὴν δύναμιν* . . . *δοθέντά.*) The numbers throughout the description of the cadastral system of Darius are obviously wrong somewhere or other; and this appears to me likely to be one place. It seems not impossible that the true reading here is *τρισχίλια* instead of *χίλια*. A tribute of

this amount would still have allowed Tritantæchmes a net profit yearly of about 80 or 160 talents of silver, according as the greater or the less weight be taken for the talent. A couple of years' accumulation of the smaller of these two sums would amount to a fund as large as that which Oroetes pretended to Polycrates he had in his possession (iii. 123). If we suppose the reading *τρισχίλια* to be the true one, and reckon the tribute from the fourth nome at 360 talents (i.e. taking no account of the 140 which were employed in paying the troops on the spot), we shall get 9600 for the whole amount of the money brought into the treasury exclusive of the gold-dust. This is not so far off the amount named by Herodotus as to make the whole account unintelligible,—which it is as the text stands. Again it seems probable that the money tribute paid by a nome would (unless there were some special reason to the contrary) vary pretty much as the purveyances required from it. Now the produce supplied by the Babylonian nome was *one third* of that which came from the whole of Asia (i. 192); and if the deduction of the tribute from the sixth nome be made from the 9540 or 9880 talents, at which Herodotus lays the whole, there results 8860 or 9200 for the Asiatic tribute, of which 3000 is not very far removed from one-third. Nevertheless, considering the entire difference between the list of countries in the text and that in the Behistun Inscription (see note 278 on § 94), and the vague description of all the nomes here after the first six, it seems impossible to expect so to ascertain the condition of the text as to reconcile Herodotus completely with himself.

<sup>340</sup> Παρικανίων. The Paricanii are men-

- τίων, πεντήκοντά τε καὶ τετρακόσια τάλαντα νομὸς δέκατος οὔτος. Κάσπιοι δὲ καὶ Πανσίκαι<sup>361</sup>, Παντίμαθοί τε καὶ Δαρεῖται, ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ συμφέροντες, διηκόσια τάλαντα ἀπαγγίνεον νομὸς ἐνδέκατος οὔτος. ἀπὸ Βακτριανῶν<sup>362</sup> δὲ μέχρι Αἰγλῶν, ἐξήκοντα καὶ τριη-  
 93 κόσια τάλαντα φόρος ἦν νομὸς δυωδέκατος οὔτος. Ἀπὸ Πακτυ-  
 κῆς<sup>363</sup> δὲ, καὶ Ἀρμενίων, καὶ τῶν προσεχέων μέχρι τοῦ πόντου  
 τοῦ Εὐξείνου, τετρακόσια τάλαντα νομὸς τρίτος καὶ δέκατος  
 οὔτος. ἀπὸ δὲ Σαγαρτίων<sup>364</sup>, καὶ Σαραγγέων<sup>365</sup>, καὶ Θαμα-  
 ναίων<sup>366</sup>, καὶ Οὐτίων, καὶ Μύκων<sup>367</sup>, καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇσι νήσοισι  
 οἰκεόντων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἐρυθρῇ θαλάσῃ, ἐν τῇσι τοὺς ἀνασπάστους  
 καλεομένους<sup>368</sup> κατοικίξει βασιλεὺς, ἀπὸ τούτων πάντων ἑξακόσια  
 τάλαντα ἐγίνετο φόρος νομὸς τέταρτος καὶ δέκατος οὔτος. Σάκαι  
 δὲ καὶ Κάσπιοι<sup>369</sup> πεντήκοντα καὶ διηκόσια ἀγγίνεον τάλαντα  
 νομὸς πέμπτος καὶ δέκατος οὔτος. Πάρθοι δὲ, καὶ Χοράσμοι<sup>370</sup>,  
 καὶ Σόγδοι τε καὶ Ἀρειοί<sup>371</sup>, τριηκόσια τάλαντα νομὸς ἕκτος καὶ

tioned in the catalogue of Xerxes's army, to which they contributed both cavalry and infantry, which were armed alike (vii. 88). They have been considered the same as the *Paratraceni* of i. 101. But see the note on that passage.

<sup>361</sup> Πανσίκαι. These people are perhaps the same with the Πανσίκαι of STRABO and the *Pasica* of PLINY (*H. N.* vi. 19). But it seems hopeless to assign any definite locality to them. The *Pantimathi* are quite unknown.

<sup>362</sup> Βακτριανῶν. The manuscripts S and V have δὲ Βάκτρων, and also Αἰγλῶν for Αἰγλῶν. The form Βάκτριοι is the one used elsewhere by Herodotus; but this is no reason for supposing it to have been used here. ERATOSTHENES used the form Βακτριανολ, and assigned the Oxus as the boundary between them and the *Sogdiani*, and the Jaxartes as that between the latter and the *Sacae*. But even in his time it is plain that the positions of the different nomad tribes were most arbitrarily assigned. There was nothing really to distinguish them, their modes of life, as Strabo remarks (xi. c. 8, p. 433), being in all respects nearly alike, their character rude and savage, and unfavourable to commercial intercourse or to the restraints of a settled life. Of the *Ægii* nothing is known, unless they may perhaps be the same as the Αἰγῆλοι, whom STEPHANUS BYZANT. describes as ἔθνος Μηδικόν.

<sup>363</sup> Πακτυκῆς. S and V have Πακτυ-

κῆς.

<sup>364</sup> Σαγαρτίων. See note 433 on i. 125.

<sup>365</sup> Σαραγγέων. See note on § 117, below.

<sup>366</sup> Θαμαναίων. These people are mentioned below (§ 117).

<sup>367</sup> Οὐτίων, καὶ Μύκων. These two nations appear in the army of Xerxes. Their armament is the same as that of the *Paricanti* and of the *Pactyes* (vii. 68).

<sup>368</sup> τοὺς ἀνασπάστους καλεομένους. See iv. 204.

<sup>369</sup> Κάσπιοι. It is not at all easy to determine the site either of the *Sacae* here mentioned or of the *Caspi* who are associated with them in the fifteenth satrapy. It is however not impossible that the latter name is a merely local one. The mountain range which the Greeks called Caucasus was by the natives called *Caspium* (ERATOSTHENES *op. Strabon*, xi. c. 2, p. 407), and possibly *Káspioi* may in fact mean "highlanders." Strabo suggests that probably the natives called the mountain range Caspium from the Caspians, although no people of that name existed in his time (p. 416). A more correct view may be that the sea was distinguished by its name from its proximity to the mountains, in which it would differ from the other great lakes of central Asia. See note on vii. 67, *σισάρνας ἐνδεδικότες*.

<sup>370</sup> Χοράσμοι. These are tribes east of the Parthians. (STEPH. BYZ. *sub* v.)

<sup>371</sup> Ἀρειοί. This is the reading of all

δέκατος οὗτος. Παρικάνιοι δὲ, καὶ Αἰθίοπες οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας, 94  
 τετρακόσια τάλαντα ἀπαγίνεον νομὸς ἑβδομος καὶ δέκατος οὗ-  
 τος<sup>272</sup>. Ματιηνοῖσι δὲ, καὶ Σάσπειροι<sup>273</sup>, καὶ Ἀλαροδόιοι δι-  
 ηκόσια ἐπετέτακτο τάλαντα· νομὸς ὄγδος καὶ δέκατος οὗτος.  
 Μόσχοισι δὲ, καὶ Τιβαρηνοῖσι, καὶ Μάκρωσι<sup>274</sup>, καὶ Μοσυνοί-  
 κοῖσι<sup>275</sup>, καὶ Μαρσί<sup>276</sup>, τριηκόσια τάλαντα προεληγτο· νομὸς  
 εἵνατος καὶ δέκατος οὗτος. Ἰνδῶν δὲ πλῆθός τε πολλῇ πλείστον  
 ἐστὶ πάντων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν ἀνθρώπων<sup>277</sup>, καὶ φόρον ἀπαγίνεον  
 πρὸς πάντας τοὺς ἄλλους, ἐξήκοντα καὶ τριηκόσια τάλαντα  
 ψήγματος· νομὸς εἰκοστὸς οὗτος<sup>278</sup>. Τὸ μὲν δὲ ἀργύριον τὸ 95  
 Βαβυλώνιον πρὸς τὸ Εὐβοϊκὸν συμβαλλεόμενον τάλαντον γίνεται  
 τεσσεράκοντα καὶ πεντακόσια<sup>279</sup> καὶ εἰνακισχίλια τάλαντα. τὸ

Computa-  
 tion of the  
 tribute in  
 Euboia

the MSS, but in vii. 62. 66 all have the form Ἄριοι.

<sup>272</sup> Παρικάνιοι . . οὗτος. This sentence is omitted in F. See above, § 92, where the Paricanii are placed in the tenth nome.

<sup>273</sup> Σάσπειροι. The Saspires and Alarodii in the army of Xerxes were under the same command, and their armament was the same as that of the Colchi (vii. 79). From the nature of this they appear to be mountaineers, of no great importance as an arm of force; and the magnitude of the tribute imposed upon them is not such as to indicate great resources. But the case seems different with the Saspires mentioned in i. 104, and iv. 37. 40. See the notes on these passages. The difference may be explained on the hypothesis that the sources drawn upon by Herodotus are not the same in the two cases. The Matieni are in the army of Xerxes (vii. 72) associated with the Paphlagonians (who here are put in the third nome) under the command of Dotus.

<sup>274</sup> Μάκρωσι. The Macrones spoken of here are the same as those described in ii. 104 as the neighbours of the Cappadocians on the rivers Thermodon and Parthenius. The *Schol. on Apoll. Rhod.* i. 1023, speaks of them (on the authority of Philostephanus and Herodorus) as a warlike race, carrying on an inveterate border warfare with *Cyzicus*. It is very difficult to reconcile this with the statements in Herodotus, unless we suppose that by *Cyzicus* the grammarians meant the dependencies or factories of that city situated much further east on the shores of the Euxine. See note on vii. 78, *Μόσχοι*.

<sup>275</sup> Μοσυνοίκοι. Gaisford adopts the

form *Μοσυνοίκοι*, with the minority of authorities. The word *μόσσαι* in the dialect of Thrace meant *δουράττοι πρόγοι*. (*Schol. ad Apollon. Rhod.* ii. 379.) Probably the Mosynæci were the dwellers in the wooden cottages of the Caucasian alps. See note on vii. 78. The *Μοσέκι* are perhaps the *Mesech* of EZEKIEL (xxvii. 13; xxxviii. 2; xxxix. 1.)

<sup>276</sup> Μαρσί. This is a conjecture of Voss's adopted by Gaisford (see vii. 78). The MSS vary between *Μάρσοσι*, *Μαρσοῖσι*, and *Μάρδοισι*. There is no doubt the same people are meant as the *Mares*, but it is not so certain that the text should be altered. See note on iv. 180.

<sup>277</sup> πολλῇ πλείστον ἐστὶ πάντων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν ἀνθρώπων. It seems not improbable that this is an inference from the commercial importance of the imports reported to come from "the Indians;" and possibly what Herodotus says of the Thracians (v. 3) is to be explained and reconciled with Thucydides by considering it a merchant's view of the case.

<sup>278</sup> νομὸς εἰκοστὸς οὗτος. In the Behistun Inscription Darius is made to give a list of the subject countries, "all which" (he says) "pay tribute," and in all of which "he protects the true faith and destroys heretics." They are Persia, Susiana, Babylonian, Assyria, Arabia, Egypt, they of the sea, Sparta and Ionia, Armenia, Cappadocia, Parthia, Zangia, Asia, Chorasania, Bactria, Sogdiana, the Sacæ, the Sattagydes, Aracosia, and the Medians: the total amount being twenty-one countries. It will be seen that the distribution is an entirely different one from that in the text.

<sup>279</sup> τεσσεράκοντα καὶ πεντακόσια.

talents, gold being taken as thirteen times the value of silver.

96

This tribute is exclusive of that afterwards imposed on the islanders and Eu-

δὲ χρυσίον τρισκαίδεκάσταςιον λογιζόμενον<sup>280</sup>, τὸ ψήγμα εὐρίσκειται ἐν Εὐβοικῶν ταλάντων ὀγδάκοντα καὶ ἑξακοσίων καὶ τετρακισχιλίων. τούτων ὦν πάντων συντιθεμένων τὸ πλῆθος, Εὐβοϊκὰ τάλαντα συνελέγετο ἐς τὸν ἐπέτειον φόρον Δαρεῖφ μύρια καὶ τετρακισχίλια καὶ πεντακόσια καὶ ἑξήκοντα· τὸ δ' ἔτι τούτων ἔλασσον ἀπείεις, οὐ λέγω<sup>281</sup>. Οὗτος Δαρεῖφ προσήιε φόρος ἀπὸ τε τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ τῆς Λιβύης ὀλυγαχόθεν προϊόντος μέντοι τοῦ χρόνου, καὶ ἀπὸ νήσων προσήιε ἄλλος φόρος καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ μέχρι Θεσσαλίας οἰκημένων. τούτων τὸν φόρον θησαυρίζει ὁ βασιλεὺς τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ· ἐς πῆλους κεραμίλους τήξας κατα-

The Sancroft MS reads ὀγδάκοντα καὶ δεκάκοσια. See notes 245 and 259, above.

<sup>280</sup> τρισκαίδεκάσταςιον λογιζόμενον. This proportion between the values of gold and silver must have been a nearer approach to equality than existed in the time when a present of sufficient gold for the mask of a statue was regarded as a national boon (i. 69), and when the quantity which a man could carry about his person was enough to found a family of predominating political importance (vi. 125). No doubt a great revolution was effected in the exchangeable value by the enormous amount found in the Persian camp after the defeat at Platæa. (See ix. 80.) But the disproportion was still further diminished in the next generation. In the time of Plato gold at Athens was to silver in value as 12 : 1, probably the influx from Asia continually increasing as the intercourse with European Hellas increased. The gold mines in Thrace too probably became more productive, and the silver mines at Laurium (the great source of the silver coinage) less so; to such an extent that Xenophon estimates the ratio as only 10 : 1. This proportion still existed in the time of Menander, and also in that of the Achaean league, although no fresh sources of silver seem to have been opened, and the gold sent into circulation by Philip of Macedon, and yet more by Alexander, must have been immense. Perhaps the additional supply was compensated by the facility for hoarding which the less bulky material afforded, and by the readiness with which it could be converted into ornaments. Strings of ancient gold coins are to this day worn in the hair and sewed on to the dress of the women in both European and Asiatic Greece. The value of gold seems never

to have much increased until the discovery of the silver mines of Peru. LINGARD (*History of England*, ii. 209) says that in the reign of Stephen and Henry II. gold was to silver as 9 : 1. In the reign of John it was 10 : 1, the difference perhaps arising from the exportation through the crusaders. But a continual supply of it seems during the middle ages to have flowed into Europe from Central Asia, where Marco Polo's Travels show that it abounded out of all proportion to silver, being exchanged for it in some places in the proportion of no more than 6 : 1. A very admirable memoir on the subject of the gold and silver money of Greece, by the Earl of Aberdeen, is to be found in *Walpole's Turkey*, vol. i. pp. 425—446.

<sup>281</sup> τὸ δ' ἔτι τούτων ἔλασσον ἀπείεις, οὐ λέγω. It is not easy to say exactly what the author meant by this sentence. Possibly it refers to certain gifts in kind which came periodically to the court of the sovereign,—just as in old leases the tenant is often bound to furnish so many pikes in Lent, or brawns at Christmas, in addition to his money rent. Thus PERSIUS speaks of the “piper et pernae, Marsi monumenta clientis” (iii. 75), although it can hardly be thought that the Roman ‘patroni’ would have been well satisfied with only such remuneration for their services. The revenue is in fact the net produce of the land-tax to the sovereign, considered as the absolute owner of the soil. (See notes on ii. 109. 177.) The smallness of the amount as compared with the extent of the empire has caused some surprise. But it must be remembered that this payment would be over and above all purveyances requisite for the public service. See i. 192.

χέει· πλήσας δὲ τὸ ἄγγος, περιαιρείει τὸν κέραμον ἐπεὰν δὲ δεθῇ <sup>ropean</sup> χρημάτων, κατακόπτει <sup>Greeks.</sup> <sup>333</sup> τοσούτο ὅσου ἂν ἐκάστοτε δέηται.

Αἷται μὲν νυν ἀρχαί τε ἦσαν καὶ φόρων ἐπιτάξεις. ἡ Περσίς <sup>97</sup> δὲ χώρῃ μοῦνη μοι οὐκ εἴρηται δασμοφόρος· ἀτελέα γὰρ Πέρσαι <sup>The Persians pay no tax.</sup> νέμονται χώρην. οἶδε δὲ φόρον μὲν οὐδένα ἐτάχθησαν φέρειν, δῶρα δὲ ἀγίνεον Αἰθίοπες οἱ πρόσουροι Αἰγύπτῳ, τοὺς Καμβύσης ἐλαύνων ἐπὶ τοὺς Μακροβίους Αἰθίοπας κατεστρέψατο· οἱ περὶ τε <sup>Some other nations make presents, but pay no tribute.</sup> Νύσῃν τὴν ἱρὴν κατοικηται καὶ τῷ Διονύσῳ ἀνάγουσι τὰς ὀρτάς. οὗτοι οἱ Αἰθίοπες, καὶ οἱ πλησιόχωροι τούτοις, σπέρματι <sup>335</sup> μὲν χρέωνται τῷ αὐτῷ τῷ καὶ οἱ Καλαντίαι Ἰνδοί· οἰκήματα δὲ ἔκπηται κατὰ γαῖαν· οὗτοι συναμφοτέροι διὰ τρίτου ἔτεος ἀγίνεον, ἀγινέουσι δὲ καὶ τὸ μέχρι ἐμεῦ, δύο χοίνικας ἀπύρου χρυσίου <sup>334</sup>, καὶ διηκοσίας φάλαγγας ἐβένου, καὶ πέντε παῖδας Αἰθίοπας, καὶ ἐλέφαντος ὀδόντας μεγάλους εἴκοσι. Κόλχοι δὲ ἐτάξαντο ἐς τὴν δωρεὴν <sup>335</sup>, καὶ οἱ προσεχές μέχρι τοῦ Καυκάσιος· οὐρεος· ἐς τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ οὐρος ὑπὸ Πέρσῃσι ἄρχεται· τὰ δὲ πρὸς βορρῇν ἄνεμον τοῦ Καυκάσιος Περσέων οὐδὲν ἔτι φροντίζει. οὗτοι ὦν δῶρα τὰ ἐτάξαντο ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ διὰ πεντετηρίδος ἀγίνεον, ἑκατὸν παῖδας καὶ ἑκατὸν παρθένους <sup>336</sup>. Ἀράβιοι δὲ χίλια τάλαντα ἀγίνεον λιβανωτοῦ ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος. ταῦτα μὲν οὗτοι δῶρα παρέξ τοῦ φόρου βασιλεῖ ἐκόμιζον

Τὸν δὲ χρυσὸν τοῦτον τὸν πολλὸν οἱ Ἰνδοί, ἀπ' οὗ τὸ ψήγμα τῷ <sup>98</sup> βασιλεῖ τὸ εἰρημένον κομίζουσι, τρόπῳ τοιῷδε κτέωνται· ἔστι τῆς <sup>The gold comes from India, the farthest country</sup> Ἰνδικῆς χώρας τὸ πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα ψάμμος· τῶν γὰρ ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, τῶν καὶ περὶ ἀτρεκές τι λέγεται, πρώτοι πρὸς ἡῶ καὶ ἡλίου

<sup>333</sup> ἐπεὰν δὲ δεθῇ χρημάτων, κατακόπτει. Darius seems to have been the first to establish a national mint. See note on iv. 166.

<sup>335</sup> σπέρματι. See note 292, below.

<sup>334</sup> ἀπύρου χρυσίου, "pure gold," that which has not required the agency of fire to separate it from any baser metal. See note 154 on i. 50.

<sup>335</sup> ἐτάξαντο ἐς τὴν δωρεὴν. The article before δωρεὴν here is perhaps to be accounted for on the principle suggested in note 315 on i. 90. The Colchians agreed to give "the gift," the present symbolizing the acknowledgment of feudal superiority, and thereby constituting a claim to protection. The use of the middle voice implies a consent on the

part of the inferior party to the terms concluded with him. (See notes 42 and 243, above.) The payment of tribute would have put them in the position of *subjects*, the rendering a gift only enabled them to preserve that of *allies*.

<sup>336</sup> Καυκάσιος. This is the reading of all the MSS except S and V, which have Καυκάσιοι, although two lines below, according to Gaisford, they agree with the rest. Above, in i. 203, 204, S has Καυκάσιος for Καύκασος invariably.

<sup>336</sup> ἑκατὸν παρθένους. These would no doubt be destined for the harem of the Persian monarch, and probably procured from Circassia. See note on vi. 9, ἀνασπαστοὺς ἐς Βάκτρα.

eastward  
as far as is  
known. Beyond is  
a sandy  
desert. India is  
inhabited  
by various  
tribes,

99

some of  
which are  
nomads and  
cannibals,

ἀνατολὰς οἰκέουσι ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ Ἰνδοί· Ἰνδῶν γὰρ τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ ἐρημίῃ ἐστὶ, διὰ τὴν ψάμμον. ἔστι δὲ πολλὰ ἔθνεα Ἰνδῶν καὶ οὐκ ὁμόφωνά σφισι· καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν νομάδες εἰσὶ, οἱ δὲ οὗ· οἱ δὲ ἐν τοῖσι ἔλεσι οἰκέουσι τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ ἰχθύας σιτέονται ὤμους, τοὺς αἰρέουσι ἐκ πλοίων καλαμίνων ὀρμεύμενοι· καλάμουν δὲ ἐν γόνυ πλοῖον ἕκαστον ποικίεται<sup>287</sup>. οὗτοι μὲν δὴ τῶν Ἰνδῶν φορέουσι ἐσθῆτα φλοῖνην ἑπεὰν ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ φλοῦν ἀμήσωσι καὶ κόψωσι, τὸ ἐνθεύτεν φορμῷ τρόπον καταπλέξαντες, ὡς θώρηκα ἐνδύνουσιν. Ἄλλοι δὲ τῶν Ἰνδῶν πρὸς ἡῶ οἰκέοντες τοῦτῶν νομάδες εἰσὶ, κρεῶν ἐδεσται ὤμων· καλέονται δὲ Παδαῖοι<sup>288</sup>. νομαίοισι δὲ τοιοῖσδε λέγονται χρᾶσθαι· ὃς ἂν κάμη τῶν ἁστών, ἦν τε γυνὴ ἦν τε ἀνὴρ, τὸν μὲν ἄνδρα ἄνδρες οἱ μάλιστά οἱ ὁμλέοντες κτείνουσι, φάμενοι αὐτὸν τηκόμενον τῇ νούσῳ τὰ κρέα σφίσι διαφθείρεσθαι· ὁ δὲ ἄπαρνός ἐστι μὴ μὲν νοσέειν, οἱ δὲ οὐ συγγινωσκόμενοι ἀποκτείναντες κατευωχέονται· ἦν δὲ γυνὴ κάμη, ὥσαύτως αἱ ἐπιχρεώμεναι<sup>289</sup> μάλιστα γυναικες ταῦτ᾽α τοῖσι ἀνδράσι ποιεῖν· τὸν γὰρ δὴ ἐς γῆρας ἀπικόμενον θύσαντες κατευωχέονται

<sup>287</sup> καλάμουν δὲ ἐν γόνυ πλοῖον ἕκαστον ποικίεται. It is said that the bamboo here referred to sometimes grows in the marshes of the lower Indus to the height of sixty feet; and PLINY relates that the length of the boats made of the inter-nodal wood often exceeded five cubits, and that they would hold three persons (*H. N.* vii. 2; xvi. 36). They may perhaps be considered as something like the duck-boats in the Lincolnshire fens, and used to enable the fishermen to lay out their nets in the shallow marshes where the fish were found.

<sup>288</sup> καλέονται δὲ Παδαῖοι. It is likely that these tribes are the same as the one mentioned above, § 38, and § 97; and if so, the name *Padai* may, like *Artai* and *Arii*, be a title. RENNELL (*Geogr. of Herodotus*, p. 310) conceives them to be the inhabitants of the banks of the Ganges, the name of which is (he says) *Padda* in Sanscrit. But if a Sanscrit root is to be sought for the word, it seems more likely to be that of *patis* (dominus). The cannibalism of the people in question, which has caused them to be taken for Scythians by some, seems more likely to have arisen out of religious feelings connected with the doctrine of metempsychosis than out of mere savagery. See the horror

they expressed at the idea of burning their parents' bodies (§ 38). STRABO, in an episode interposed in the description of Bactriana, bringing together several hearsay stories *περὶ τῶν τελείων βαρβάρων*, speaks of a tribe to which he gives the name of *Caspians*, without attempting to fix their site. (See note 269, above.) They exposed all those who passed the age of seventy in the desert, after having starved them to death, and watched the corpse from a distance. If it was dragged from the couch on which it lay by birds they greatly rejoiced; if by beasts they were less satisfied; but if it remained untouched by either they thought it a great misfortune (xi. p. 445). It seems quite clear that this conduct must have proceeded from a theory of transmigration of the soul into animals more or less elevated in the scale of creation. The case which was dreaded was the transmigration into the body of a reptile.

<sup>289</sup> ἐπιχρεώμεναι. DONALDSON (*New Cratylus*, p. 223) considers that this is an instance of the preposition *ἐν* having, in composition, a sense of *reciprocity*; *ἐπιχρεῖσθαι*, according to his view, meaning "to have an habitual interchange of kindnesses with any one."



ἐς δὲ τούτου λόγον οὐ πολλοὶ τινες αὐτῶν ἀπικνεύονται<sup>290</sup>. πρὸ γὰρ τοῦ<sup>291</sup> τὸν ἐς νοῦσον πίπτοντα πάντα κτείνουσι. Ἐτέρων δέ ἐστι 100  
 Ἰνδῶν ὃδε ἄλλος τρόπος· οὔτε κτείνουσι οὐδὲν ἔμφυχον, οὔτε τι others abstain from animal food.  
 σπείρουσι, οὔτε οἰκίας νομίζουσι ἐκτῆσθαι ποιηφαγέουσι δέ· καὶ αὐτοῖσι ἐστι ὅσον κέγχρος τὸ μέγαθος<sup>292</sup> ἐν κάλυκι αὐτόματον ἐκ τῆς γῆς γινόμενον τὸ συλλέγοντες, αὐτῇ κάλυκι ἔψουσί τε καὶ σιτέονται. ὃς δ' ἂν ἐς νοῦσον αὐτῶν πέσῃ, ἐλθὼν ἐς τὴν ἔρημον κέεται· φροντίζει δὲ οὐδεὶς οὗτ' ἀποθανόντος οὔτε κάμνοντος. Μίξις δὲ τούτων τῶν Ἰνδῶν τῶν κατέλεξα πάντων ἐμφανής ἐστι, 101  
 κατάπερ τῶν προβάτων· καὶ τὸ χρῶμα φορέουσι ὁμοῖον πάντες καὶ Degrading habits of the Indians above-mentioned, who live most to the south.  
 παραπλήσιον Αἰθίοφιν· ἡ γονὴ δὲ αὐτῶν τὴν ἀπένται ἐς τὰς γυναικάς, οὐ, κατάπερ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων, ἐστὶ λευκὴ, ἀλλὰ μέλαινα κατάπερ τὸ χρῶμα· τοιαύτην δὲ καὶ Αἰθίοπες ἀπένται θορήν. οὗτοι μὲν τῶν Ἰνδῶν ἑκαστέρω τῶν Περσέων οἰκεῖν<sup>293</sup>, καὶ πρὸς νότου ἀνέμου καὶ Δαρείου βασιλέως οὐδαμὰ ὑπήκουσαν.

Ἄλλοι δὲ τῶν Ἰνδῶν Κασπατύρῃ τε πόλι καὶ τῇ Πακτυϊκῇ 102  
 χώρῃ<sup>294</sup> εἰσι πρόσουροι, πρὸς ἄρκτου τε καὶ βορέω ἀνέμου κατοικημένοι τῶν ἄλλων Ἰνδῶν, οἱ Βακτριοῖσι παραπλησίην ἔχουσι Indians, who live to the north, re-

<sup>290</sup> ἐς δὲ τούτου λόγον οὐ πολλοὶ τινες . . ἀπικνεύονται, "but very few come to a question of this," i.e. arrive at an age when there can be any doubt whether they are ripe for sacrifice or not.

<sup>291</sup> πρὸ γὰρ τοῦ. The manuscripts S and V have πρὸ γὰρ τούτου, which is adopted by Bekker.

<sup>292</sup> ὅσον κέγχρος τὸ μέγαθος. Neither this nor the description ἐν κάλυκι αὐτόματον ἐκ τῆς γῆς γινόμενον is applicable to "rice," which has been supposed to be the grain alluded to here and § 97, above. But the author is describing a people far beyond any point to which his own knowledge extended; and it is possible that two distinct articles of food have been confounded.

<sup>293</sup> ἑκαστέρω τῶν Περσέων οἰκεῖν. If a determinate site is to be assigned to these Indians it should perhaps be Scinde, and the western bank of the lower Indus. RENNELL sums up his analysis of the Herodotean account of India thus: "We may conclude that Darius in fact possessed no more of India than what lay contiguous to the Indus and its branches; and also that the limit of our author's knowledge

eastward was the sandy desert of Jesselmere (called *Registan*, the country of sand), and that the rest was described from vague report." (*Geogr. of Herod.* p. 309.)

<sup>294</sup> Κασπατύρῃ τε πόλι καὶ τῇ Πακτυϊκῇ χώρῃ. These two places are coupled together in iv. 44, below, and there it seems nearly certain that Caubul must be meant. On the other hand the Pactyice in the 13th nome cannot be farther east than Georgia. In the army of Xerxes the Pactyes come after the Caspians and Zarangians, and their garb would induce the belief that their country was a cold one (vii. 67). Perhaps the mountaineers of the range between Caubul and Balk were called by this name. That range itself is apparently changed both in position and direction by Herodotus (see note 681 on i. 202), and perhaps the true solution of the difficulty is to suppose that the Pactyice of § 93 and the Pactyes of vii. 67 refer to the valleys on the north side, while the Pactyice in which Caspatyrus lies, and through which one of the tributaries to the Indus flows, is the south side of the same.

semble the Bactrians in habits. These are the gold-finders.

The *Myrmeces*, who inhabit the deserts where the gold sand is found.

δίαται. οὗτοι καὶ μαχιμώτατοί εἰσι Ἰνδῶν, καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ τὸν χρυσοῦν στελλόμενοι εἰσὶ οὗτοι. κατὰ γὰρ τοῦτό ἐστι ἐρμήνη διὰ τὴν ψάμμον· ἐν δὴ ὧν τῇ ἐρμήνῃ ταύτῃ καὶ τῇ ψάμμῳ γίνονται μύρμηκες<sup>295</sup> μεγάλεια ἔχοντες κυνῶν μὲν ἐλάσσονα ἀλωπέκων δὲ μέζονα· εἰσὶ γὰρ αὐτῶν καὶ παρὰ βασιλεῖ τῶν Περσέων, ἐνθεύτην θηρευθέντες. οὗτοι ὧν οἱ μύρμηκες ποιούμενοι οἰκησιν ὑπὸ γῆν, ἀναφορέουσι τὴν ψάμμον, κατὰπερ οἱ ἐν τοῖσι Ἑλλήσι μύρμηκες, καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ τὸ εἶδος ὁμοιότατοι οὗτοι<sup>296</sup>. ἡ δὲ ψάμμος ἡ ἀναφερομένη ἐστὶ χρυσίτις. ἐπὶ δὴ ταύτην τὴν ψάμμον στέλλονται ἐς τὴν ἐρήμον οἱ Ἰνδοὶ, ζευζάμενος ἕκαστος καμήλους τρεῖς, σειρηφόρον μὲν ἐκατέρωθεν ἔρσενα παρέλκειν, θήλεαν δὲ ἐς μέσον ἐπὶ ταύτην δὴ αὐτὸς ἀναβαίνει, ἐπιτηδεύσας ὅκως ἀπὸ τέκνων ὡς νεωτάτων ἀποσπάσας ζεύξῃ αἱ γὰρ σφι κάμηλοι ἵππων οὐκ ἦσσονες ἐς ταχύτητά εἰσιν χωρὶς δὲ, ἄχθεια

<sup>295</sup> γίνονται μύρμηκες. This story of Herodotus's has generally been considered a mere fiction; but it seems not unlikely that the animal which he means is the scaly ant-eater (*Manis Pentedactyla* of Linnæus, or *Pengolin* of Buffon). This creature is somewhat larger and longer than a fox, and (I am informed on the authority of Mr. Owen) burrows in the hot sandy plains of northern India. Bewick calls it a native of the Indian isles, and says that it lives in woods and marshy places. But it undoubtedly subsists exclusively on *ants*, and therefore would chiefly be found in the neighbourhood of their nests, which are of enormous size in some parts of India; and as it burrows and conceals itself with great rapidity, it might be easily considered to inhabit these. Although really a mammal, it is in outward appearance more like a lizard or annulose creature. It is covered with large thick scales, and is of a dingy fox-brown colour. On the approach of danger it rolls itself up like a hedgehog, thus securing all the weaker parts of its body, and erecting its scales, it defies the attack even of the tiger. This animal seems to have been quite unknown to the ancients; and STRABO apparently considered that the *myrmex* was the jackall. This, if any, seems to be the animal he had in his eye (xvi. c. p. 395), where, speaking of the country between the mouth of the Red Sea and the Southern Horn, he says πληθύει δὲ ἐλέφανσιν ἡ χώρα, καὶ λέουσι τοῖς κα-

λουμένοις μύρμηξιν· ἀπεστραμμένα δ' ἔχουσι τὰ αἰδοῖα καὶ χρυσοειδεῖς τὴν χρῶαν, ψιλότεροι δὲ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀραβίαν. That the name *myrmex* should be given to any animal of the dog or cat kind probably arose from an hypothesis that the creatures described in the text must be of this description, unless the word '*myrmex*' is a native one.

<sup>296</sup> εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ τὸ εἶδος ὁμοιότατοι οὗτοι. This is the Aldine reading, and it appears to me to be the true one, but to have slipped out of its right place, which I conceive to have been immediately after the words ἀλωπέκων δὲ μέζονα. Gaisford omits the word οὗτοι. The MSS vary between εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ τὸ εἶδος ὁμοιότατοι and εἰσὶ δὲ εἶδος ὁμοιότατοι αὐτοί. DIO CHRYSOSTOM (*Or.* xxxv. p. 436) seems to have found the clause in a different place; for he says, having no doubt this passage in his mind, of these *myrmeces*, οὗτοι δὲ εἰσὶ ἀλωπέκων μέζονες, τὰλλα δὲ ὁμοιοὶ τοῖς παρ' ὧν. By transposing the clause so as to follow ἀλωπέκων δὲ μέζονα, a sense will be made to result equivalent to that of Dio. Translate: "Well then, in this desert, and in the sand of it there breed ANTS which in size are less indeed than dogs, but larger than foxes. And in point of shape too these last are extremely like: for there are specimens of them to be seen in the possession of the king of the Persians, that have been caught and sent from thence."

δυνατώτεραι πολλὸν φέρειν. Τὸ μὲν δὲ εἶδος ὁκοῖόν τι ἔχει ἡ 103  
 κάμηλος, ἐπισταμένοις τοῖσι "Ελλήσι οὐ συγγράφω τὸ δὲ μὴ Description  
 ἐπιστέαται αὐτῆς, τοῦτο φράσω· κάμηλος ἐν τοῖσι ὀπισθίοις peculiar ana-  
 σκέλεσι ἔχει τέσσερας μηρούς, καὶ γούνατα τέσσερα· τὰ δὲ αἰδοῖα tomy of the  
 διὰ τῶν ὀπισθίων σκελέων πρὸς τὴν οὐρὴν τετραμμένα<sup>297</sup>. Οἱ δὲ 104  
 δὴ Ἰνδοὶ τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ καὶ ζεύξει τοιαύτῃ χρῶμενοι, ἐλαύνουσι Mode of  
 ἐπὶ τὸν χρυσόν, λελογισμένως ὥκως ἂν καυμάτων τῶν θερμωτάτων obtaining  
 ἑόντων ἔσονται ἐν τῇ ἀρπαγῇ<sup>298</sup>. ὑπὸ γὰρ τοῦ καύματος οἱ μύρμηκες the gold in  
 ἀφανέες γίνονται ὑπὸ γῆν. θερμώτατος δὲ ἐστὶ ὁ ἥλιος τοῖσι τῷ the early  
 τοῖσι ἀνθρώποις τὸ ἑωθινόν, οὐ κατὰ περ τοῖσι ἄλλοις μεσαμβρίας, morning,  
 ἀλλ' ὑπερτεῖλας μέχρις οὗ ἀγορῆς διαλύσιος· τοῦτον δὲ τὸν χρόνον which is  
 καλεῖ πολλῶ μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ μεσαμβρίῃ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, οὕτως ὥστ' ἐν the hottest  
 ὕδατι λόγος αὐτοῦς ἐστὶ βρέχεσθαι τῆνικαῦτα· μεσουσα δὲ ἡ time of the  
 ἡμέρῃ σχεδὸν παραπλησίως καλεῖ τοὺς τε ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους καὶ day in In-  
 τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς<sup>299</sup>. ἀποκλιναμένης<sup>300</sup> δὲ τῆς μεσαμβρίας, γίνεταί India.  
 σφι ὁ ἥλιος κατὰ περ τοῖσι ἄλλοις ὁ ἑωθινός· καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου  
 ἐπιὼν ἐπὶ μᾶλλον ψύχει, ἐς δ' ἐπὶ δυσμῆσι ἔων καὶ τὸ κάρτα  
 ψύχει<sup>301</sup>. Ἐπεὰν δὲ ἄλθωσι ἐς τὸν χώρον οἱ Ἰνδοὶ ἔχοντες θυλά- 105

<sup>297</sup> τὰ δὲ αἰδοῖα διὰ τῶν ὀπισθίων σκε-  
 λέων πρὸς τὴν οὐρὴν τετραμμένα. It  
 would be natural for a spectator who was  
 no comparative anatomist to suppose a  
 configuration such as is here described,  
 the real fact being that the camel belongs  
 to the class of *retromingents*, and voids  
 its urine between its hind legs. From the  
 passage of STRABO (cited above in  
 note 296), it would almost seem as if its  
 writer found this clause in his copy of  
 Herodotus applied to the *myrmeces*.  
 ÆLIAN, however, read it where it now  
 stands, with the sole difference of *ἀρπε*  
 for *αἰδοῖα*. (*Hist. Animal.* x. 3.)

The appearance of "four knees" in the  
 hind legs of the camel, arises from the  
 circumstance, that the joint which anatomi-  
 cally answers to the human knee, and  
 which in the ox or horse is concealed, or  
 nearly so, under the skin of the belly,  
 projects a good way below, the belly being  
 pinched in, and the thigh-bone longer in  
 proportion than that of other quadrupeds.  
 In fact, the animal kneels upon this joint  
 when he crouches to receive his burden.

<sup>298</sup> λελογισμένως ὥκως ἂν . . . ἐν τῇ  
 ἀρπαγῇ. "On a calculation so as to be  
 engaged in the act of plunder when the

scorching heat is the greatest."

<sup>299</sup> μεσουσα δὲ ἡ ἡμέρῃ . . . τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς.  
 During the heats of the mid-day, the  
 practice in Asiatic Greece, as well as in  
 India, would be to remain under the  
 shade of a dwelling. (See vi. 12.) Hence  
 the *sensible* heat would not much differ,  
 although a thermometer would have re-  
 futed the assertion in the text.

<sup>300</sup> ἀποκλιναμένης. This is the read-  
 ing adopted by Gaisford from the manu-  
 scripts F and P. The others have *ἀπο-*  
*κλινομένης*, which might stand. But in  
 that case the phrase would imply "im-  
 mediately after mid-day," not simply  
 "after mid-day is past." The phrase  
*ἀποκλινομένη μεσαμβρία* is illustrated be-  
 low. See note 318 on § 114.

<sup>301</sup> ἐς δ' ἐπὶ δυσμῆσι ἔων καὶ τὸ κάρτα  
 ψύχει. This notion is probably in great  
 part due to the popular idea of the earth  
 being a plane surface, over which the sun  
 passed, rising in the east and setting in  
 the west, and in each case operating most  
 powerfully upon the people supposed to  
 be nearest to him. In accordance with  
 this notion, it was reported that when the  
 sun set in the Western Ocean, a hissing  
 sound arose like that from red-hot iron

κια, ἐμπλήσαντες ταῦτα τῆς ψάμμου τὴν ταχίστην ἐλαύνουσι ὀπίσω αὐτίκα γὰρ οἱ μύρμηκες ὁδῷ (ὥς δὴ λέγεται ὑπὸ Περσέων<sup>302</sup>) μαθόντες διώκουσι· εἶναι δὲ ταχύτητα οὐδενὶ ἐτέρῳ ὁμοίον, οὕτω ὥστε, εἰ μὴ προλαμβάνειν τοὺς Ἴνδοὺς τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐν ᾧ τοὺς μύρμηκας συλλέγεσθαι, οὐδένα ἂν σφεων ἀποσώζεσθαι τοὺς μὲν νυν ἔρσενας τῶν καμήλων (εἶναι γὰρ ἥσσονας θεῖν τῶν θηλέων) καὶ παραλύεσθαι ἐπελκομένους οὐκ ὁμοῦ ἀμφοτέρους<sup>303</sup>. τὰς δὲ θηλάς ἀναμμινησκομένας τῶν ἑλιπον τέκνων ἐνδιδόναι μαλακὸν οὐδέν<sup>304</sup>. τὸν μὲν δὴ πλέω τοῦ χρυσοῦ οὕτω οἱ Ἴνδοι κτώνται, ὥς Πέρσαι φασί· ἄλλος δὲ σπανιώτερός ἐστι ἐν τῇ χώρῃ ὀρυσσόμενος.

106

Αἰ δ' ἐσχατιαὶ κως τῆς οἰκουμένης τὰ κάλλιστα ἔλαχον, κατὰ περ

being plunged into water. (POSEIDONIUS ap. Strab. iii. c. 1, p. 221.) So JUVENAL says (xiv. 280):

— longe Calpe relictâ  
Audiet Herculeo stridentem gurgite So-  
lem.

It follows, as a natural consequence from this view, that the mid-day heat should be regarded as pretty nearly the same for the whole earth, and that the morning should be deemed the hottest part of the day for the inhabitants of the extreme east.

At the same time, a mere false theory would scarcely have generated this belief unless apparently supported by some actual phenomena. Perhaps in this particular case the real foundation of the error is the enormous *sensible* variation of temperature between the night and the day in a country much above the level of the sea, and in a southern latitude. Sir JOHN CHARDIN (quoted by Rosenmüller, *Das alte u. neue Morgenland*, i. § 108) says, that in Lower Asia, in the middle of winter, as soon as the sun is 15° above the horizon, there are no remains of cold, while in the middle of summer the nights are as cold as at Paris in the month of March. In Judæa, "the taking away the cloak" was one of the most galling of the military requisitions to which the peasantry were constantly subjected, the garment being (as the humane law of pledges described it, *Exod.* xxii. 27. *Deut.* xxiv. 13) the very "skin" of the poor man after sunset. Compare *Job* xxiv. 7. The same *isotherm* (70°)

passes through *Jerusalem* and *Cauzul*; but the great elevation of the latter place above the sea, and its distance from it, together with the proximity of the snow mountains would cause the oscillation of temperature, both annual and daily, to be very much greater in Afghanistan. At *Peshawar* the annual oscillation is so great, that while frost lasts till the month of March, the thermometer stands at 128° in the shade in the month of July. (*Penny Cyclopædia*, i. p. 168.)

<sup>302</sup> ὥς δὴ λέγεται ὑπὸ Περσέων. See note 338 on i. 95.

<sup>303</sup> καὶ παραλύεσθαι ἐπελκομένους οὐκ ὁμοῦ ἀμφοτέρους, "as they go in the leading rein come to knock up, first one and then the other." For the use of *ἐπελκομένους* compare v. 12, *ἐτέλκουσα ἐκ τοῦ βραχίονος τὸν ἵππον*, and iv. 203, *ἐπελκομένους*, where see the note. The notion seems to have been to sacrifice first one male camel to the pursuing ants, and then the other, if the necessity should occur. The led animals would be incited to follow the female in the same way as she would be to get home to her foal. For the device of the foal, compare the ballad of the Lochmaben Harper in Scott's *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, vol. i. p. 138. Precisely the same stratagem is said by MARCO POLO to be adopted by the Tartars when making a foray into the country to the north of them, which he imagines to be so obscure and dark that the instinct of the animals alone enables the invaders to find their way back (p. 350).

<sup>304</sup> ἐνδιδόναι μαλακὸν οὐδέν. See above, § 51.

ἡ Ἑλλὰς τὰς ὥρας πολλὸν τι κάλλιστα κεκραμένας ἔλαχε<sup>305</sup>. The most beautiful objects are found in the extremities of the earth: from India come gold and cotton; τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ πρὸς τὴν ἑω ἑσχάτη τῶν οἰκεομένων ἡ Ἰνδική ἐστι, ὥσπερ ὀλίγον πρότερον εἴρηκα<sup>306</sup>. ἐν ταύτῃ, τοῦτο μὲν τὰ ἔμφυχα τετράποδά τε καὶ τὰ πετηνὰ πολλῶ μέζω ἢ ἐν τοῖσι ἄλλοισι χωριοῖσι ἐστι, πᾶρεξ τῶν ἵππων· τούτῳ δὲ ἐσσοῦνται ὑπὸ τῶν Μηδικῶν, Νισαίων<sup>307</sup> δὲ καλυμένων, ἵππων τοῦτο δὲ χρυσὸς ἄπλετος αὐτόθι ἐστὶ, ὁ μὲν ὀρυσσόμενος, ὁ δὲ καταφορεύμενος ὑπὸ ποταμῶν, ὁ δὲ, ὥσπερ ἐσήμηνα, ἀρπαζόμενος. τὰ δὲ δένδρεα τὰ ἄγρια αὐτόθι φέρει καρπὸν εἴρια<sup>308</sup>, καλλονῇ τε προφέροντα καὶ ἀρετῇ τῶν ἀπὸ τῶν ὄλων καὶ ἐσθῆτι οἱ Ἴνδοι ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν δενδρέων χρέωνται. Πρὸς δ' αὖ μεσαμβρίας ἑσχάτη Ἀραβίῃ τῶν οἰκεομένων χωρέων ἐστὶ ἐν δὲ ταύτῃ λιβανωτός τέ ἐστι μούνη<sup>107</sup> χωρέων πασέων φυόμενος<sup>309</sup>, καὶ σμύρνη, καὶ κασὴ, καὶ κιννάμωμον, καὶ λήδανον. ταῦτα πάντα, πλὴν τῆς σμύρνης, δυσπετέως

from Arabia, frankincense and other spices. Use of the styras to

<sup>305</sup> κατέπερ ἡ Ἑλλὰς . . . . ἔλαχε. This illustration is not a very apt one, and does not agree very well with what the author says elsewhere, where he gives the palm of climate to Ionia (i. 142). It is not impossible that these two passages belong to different recensions. See the note 482 on i. 142.

<sup>306</sup> ὥσπερ ὀλίγον πρότερον εἴρηκα. See § 98.

<sup>307</sup> Νισαίων. Some of the MSS. have Νησαίων, which is the form that appears in STRABO (xi. c. 7, p. 427). The region is that which is drained by the river *Ochus*, which fell into the Caspian. But though the term originally was applied to horses from this district, it seems to have come to be used for animals (perhaps of the same blood) bred elsewhere. See note 297 on ii. 105. STRABO (xi. c. 14, p. 462) speaks of the admirable quality of the *Armenian* pastures as not being inferior to the Median, adding, ὅστε οἱ Νησαῖοι ἵπποι καὶ ἐνταῦθα γίνονται, ὥσπερ οἱ Περσῶν βασιλεῖς ἐχρῶντο. RAWLINSON (*Geogr. Journal*, ix. p. 101) says, "there is every reason to conclude that the Nisean horse came originally from Nesa in Khorasan, and that it is to be identified with some of the Turkoman breeds of the Atak, which are still distinguished throughout Persia for their superior excellence." See note on vii. 40.

<sup>308</sup> φέρει καρπὸν εἴρια. This is obviously the cotton. At the same time the graphic description need not, in so simple a case,

lead to the conclusion that Herodotus saw the trees himself. See note 219 b on ii. 86.

<sup>309</sup> ἐν ταύτῃ λιβανωτός ἐστὶ μούνη χωρέων πασέων φυόμενος. Modern travellers assert that a very inferior kind of frankincense grows in Arabia, and that only in some districts; and that in ancient times, the report of its being produced in Arabia must have arisen from the circumstance of the Arabians being its carriers from India. This is not a bad explanation of Herodotus's statement. (See note on iv. 109.) That the Arabians were the carriers of gold and incense, appears from ISAIAS (lx. 6), and that they were conceived to bring it from the eastern side of the Arabian peninsula, from ii. 8, above. ERATOSTHENES (*ap. Strab.* xvi. cap. 4, p. 387) points to the same fact. "Following the bend of the coast (ἐγκολπιζων)," after getting out of the Red Sea, he says, "you run along the myrrh-producing country (i. e. Χατταμωτίτις, *Hadrarnaut*), which carries you south and east, for the space of 5000 stadia, to that where the cinnamon grows; beyond which no one up to this time has ever passed." The cinnamon confessedly comes, and always came, from Ceylon; so that there can be no doubt of the existence of a traffic with India, and apparently by Aden and Bombay, in the earliest times. COLEBROOKE (*Asiatic Researches*, ix. 381) states that the tree producing frankincense grows in India, between *Sone* and *Nagpoor*.

drive the winged serpents from the frankincense.

108

Providential arrangement by which the most noxious animals are the least prolific.

Examples.

The hare as contrasted with the lion.

The adder.

109

The winged serpents of Arabia.

κτέωνται οἱ Ἀράβιοι. τὸν μὲν γε λιβανωτὸν συλλέγουσι, τὴν στύρακα θυμῶντες τὴν ἐς Ἑλλήνας Φοίνικες ἐξάγουσι· ταύτην θυμῶντες λαμβάνουσι· τὰ γὰρ δένδρεα ταῦτα τὰ λιβανωτοφόρα ὄφεις ὑπόπτεροι, μικροὶ τὰ μεγάλα, ποικίλοι τὰ εἶδεα, φυλάσσουσι, πλήθει πολλοὶ περὶ δένδρον ἕκαστον οὔτοι οἷπερ ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον ἐπιστρατεύονται<sup>310</sup>. οὐδενὶ δὲ ἄλλῳ ἀπελαύνονται ἀπὸ τῶν δενδρέων, ἢ τῆς στύρακος<sup>311</sup> τῷ καπνῷ. Λέγουσι δὲ καὶ τότε Ἀράβιοι, ὥς πᾶσα ἂν γῆ ἐπίμπλατο τῶν ὀφίων τούτων, εἰ μὴ γίνεσθαι κατ' αὐτοὺς οἶον τι κατὰ τὰς ἐχλίδνας ἡπιστάμην γίνεσθαι· καὶ κως τοῦ θεοῦ ἢ προνοίῃ, ὥσπερ καὶ οἰκός ἐστι, εὐεῖα σοφὴ ὅσα μὲν γὰρ ψυχὴν τε δειλὰ καὶ ἐδῶδιμα, ταῦτα μὲν πάντα πολύγονα πεποίηκεν, ἵνα μὴ ἐπιλίπη κατεσθιόμενα· ὅσα δὲ σχέτλια καὶ ἀνηνρὰ, ὀλιγόγονα. τοῦτο μὲν, ὅτι ὁ λαγὸς<sup>312</sup> ὑπὸ παντὸς θηρεύεται θηρίου καὶ ὀρνίθου καὶ ἀνθρώπου, οὕτω δὲ τι πολύγονόν ἐστι· ἐπικυῖσκεται μόνον πάντων θηρίων· καὶ τὸ μὲν δασὺ τῶν τέκνων ἐν τῇ γαστρὶ, τὸ δὲ ψιλόν, τὸ δὲ ἄρτι ἐν τῇσι μήτρησι πλάσσεται, τὸ δὲ ἀναιρέεται· τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτό ἐστι· ἡ δὲ δὴ λέαινα, ἐὼν ἰσχυρότατον καὶ θρασύτατον, ἅπαξ ἐν τῷ βίῳ τίκτει ἐν τίκτουςα γὰρ συνεκβάλλει τῷ τέκνῳ τὰς μήτρας· τὸ δὲ αἷτιον τούτου τόδε ἐστὶ· ἐπεὰν ὁ σκύμνος ἐν τῇ μήτρῃ ἐὼν ἄρχηται διακινεόμενος, ὁ δὲ ἔχων δυνχας θηρίων πολλὸν πάντων ὀξυτάτους, ἀμύσσει τὰς μήτρας· αὐξανόμενός τε δὴ πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἐσικινέεται καταγνάφων· πέλας τε δὴ ὁ τόκος ἐστὶ, καὶ τὸ παράπαν λείπεται αὐτέων ὑγιές οὐδὲ ἓν. Ὡς δὲ καὶ αἱ ἐχλίδναι τε καὶ οἱ ἐν Ἀραβίῳσι ὑπόπτεροι ὄφεις, εἰ ἐγίνοντο ὥς ἡ φύσις αὐτοῖσι ὑπάρχει, οὐκ ἂν ᾖν βιώσιμα ἀνθρώποισι· νῦν δ', ἐπεὰν θορνύνται κατὰ ζεύγεα, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ ἢ ὁ ἔρσην τῇ ἐκποιήσῃ, ἀπικνεύμενον αὐτοῦ τὴν γονὴν, ἢ θήλεα ἅπτεται τῆς δειρῆς, καὶ ἐμφύσα, οὐκ ἀνίει<sup>313</sup> πρὶν ἂν διαφάγῃ. ὁ μὲν δὲ ἔρσην ἀποθνήσκει τρόπῳ τῷ εἰρημένῳ· ἡ δὲ θήλεα τίσιν τοιήνδε ἀποτίνει τῷ ἔρσενι· τῷ γονεὶ τιμωρόντα ἔτι ἐν τῇ γαστρὶ ἐόντα τὰ

<sup>310</sup> οἷπερ ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον ἐπιστρατεύονται. See ii. 74.

<sup>311</sup> τῆς στύρακος. The article is used, from the circumstance of the "styrax" being familiar to the Greeks. STRABO (xvi. c. 4, p. 393) following the authority of Artemidorus, places the site of its growth on the African continent, nearly at the bottom of the Red Sea, among the

Ichthyophagi. From them it would no doubt be carried over to Arabia. See note 314 on § 111, below.

<sup>312</sup> ὁ λαγός. This is the reading adopted by Gaisford, on the authority of the manuscript S. The others have λαγός. In i. 123, the manuscripts S, F, a, c, have λαγόν, and the rest λαγόν.

<sup>313</sup> ἀνίει. See note 604, on i. 180.

τέκνα διεσθίει τὴν μήτραν, διαφαγόντα δὲ τὴν γῆδὺν αὐτῆς, οὕτω τὴν ἔκδυσιν ποιεῖται· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ὄφεις, ἔοντες ἀνθρώπων οὐ δηλήμονες, τίκτουσι τε ὡδὰ καὶ ἐκλέπουσι πολλὸν τι χοῖμα τῶν τέκνων. αἱ μὲν δὴ νυν ἔχιδναι κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν εἰσὶ· οἱ δὲ ὑπόπτεροι ἔοντες ἀθρόοι εἰσὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀραβίῃ, καὶ οὐδαμῇ ἄλλῃ κατὰ τοῦτο δοκέουσι πολλοὶ εἶναι.

Τὸν μὲν δὴ λιβανωτὸν τοῦτον οὕτω κτῶνται Ἀράβιοι, τὴν δὲ 110  
 κασίην ὥδε· ἐπεὰν καταδήσωνται βύρρησι καὶ δέρμασι ἄλλοισι Mode in which the Arabs collect the casia,  
 πᾶν τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον, πλὴν αὐτῶν τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν, ἔρχονται ἐπὶ τὴν κασίην· ἡ δὲ ἐν λίμνῃ φύεται οὐ βαθέῃ· περὶ δὲ αὐτὴν καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ αὐλίζεται κου θηρία πτερωτὰ, τῇσι νυκτερίσι προσείκελα μάλιστα· καὶ τέτρυγε δεινὸν καὶ ἐς ἀλκὴν ἀλκιμα· τὰ δὲ ἀπαμυνομένους ἀπὸ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν, οὕτω δρέπειν τὴν κασίην. Τὸ δὲ δὴ κιννάμωμον ἔτι τούτων θυμαστώτερον συλλέγουσι· ὅκου 111  
 μὲν γὰρ γίνεταί, καὶ ἦτις μιν γῆ ἢ τρέφουσά ἐστι, οὐκ ἔχουσι and the cinnamon;  
 εἰπεῖν· πλὴν ὅτι, λόγῳ οἰκότης χρεώμενοι, ἐν τοισίδε χωρίοις φασὶ  
 τινες αὐτὸ φύεσθαι ἐν τοῖσι ὁ Διόνυσος ἐτράφη· ὄρνιθας δὲ λέγουσι  
 μεγάλας φορέειν ταῦτα τὰ κάρφεια, τὰ ἡμεῖς ἀπὸ Φοινίκων μαθόντες  
 κιννάμωμον καλέομεν<sup>314</sup>. φορέειν δὲ τὰς ὄρνιθας ἐς νεοσιτὰς προσ-  
 πεπλασμένας ἐκ πηλοῦ πρὸς ἀποκρήμνοισι οὔρεσι, ἔνθα πρόσ-  
 βασις ἀνθρώπων οὐδεμίαν εἶναι· πρὸς ὧν δὴ ταῦτα τοὺς Ἀραβίους

<sup>314</sup> τὰ ἡμεῖς ἀπὸ Φοινίκων μαθόντες κιννάμωμον καλέομεν. If the cinnamon came into the hands of the Greeks through the Phœnicians,—which the derivation of the name from them seems to prove,—it will probably have come in one of two ways. If it came by sea round into the Arabian gulf, it would be landed at *λευκὴ κόμη*, and thence go by land to *Petra*, the capital of the Nabatæi (*Νεδατοῖα* of SS.), an entrepôt of great importance (*εἰς ἣν Μεινωτοὶ τε καὶ Γερβαῖοι καὶ πάντες οἱ πλησιόχωροι τὰ τῶν ἀρωμάτων φορτία κομίζουσιν*. ARTEMIDORUS *ap. Strabon.* xvi. c. 4, p. 399). From *Petra* a caravan road led to *Rhinocolura*, and another to *Gaza*, from either of which places the spices would find their way in Phœnician bottoms to Tyre. Or, if they were carried by the *Gerrhæi* in rafts up to *Babylon* (as is asserted by ARISTOBULUS *ap. Strabon.* xvi. c. 3, p. 382), and thence, by means of the artificial water communication, brought as far as *Thapsacus* on the *Euphrates*, they would come through *Tadmor* (*Palmyra*), and *Damascus*, by

land to Tyre. In either case it would be from Phœnicians that the cinnamon came into the hands of the Greeks. The site of the *Gerrhæi* is placed by ERATOSTHENES on the east coast of Arabia (*ἐν βαθεῖ κόλῳ*). Their capital was twenty miles from the coast. He stated that they were the great *land carriers* of the Arabian spices, in which case they would bring them by the former of the two routes just mentioned. A proof of their connexion with the Phœnicians is furnished by the fact, that just south of *Gerrha* were two islands which went by the names of *Aradus* and *Tyre* (two cities of the Phœnician Tripolis), and that the inhabitants of these professed to be colonies from Phœnicia, and certainly had the same religious ritual. (STRABO, xvi. c. 3, p. 382.) The tradition related in i. 1, above, brings the Phœnicians of the Mediterranean from the Persian gulf, thus reversing the relations of the two kindred races, as is so common in Hellenic historical myths. The *Gerrhæans* were Chaldean exiles from Babylon.

σοφίζεσθαι τάδε βοῶν τε καὶ ὄνων τῶν ἀπογινόμενων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὑποζυγίων τὰ μέλεα διαταμόντας<sup>315</sup> ὡς μέγιστα, κομίζειν ἐς ταῦτα τὰ χωρία· καὶ σφεα θέντας ἀγχοῦ τῶν νεοσσίων, ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι ἐκὰς αὐτέων τὰς δὲ ὄρνιθας καταπετεωμένας τὰ τῶν ὑποζυγίων μέλεα ἀναφορέειν ἐπὶ τὰς νεοσσιὰς· τὰς δὲ οὐ δυναμένας ἴσχειν καταρρήγνυσθαι ἐπὶ γῆν· τοὺς δὲ ἐπιόντας συλλέγειν οὕτω τὸ κιννάμωμον συλλεγόμενον δὲ ἐκ τούτων ἀπικνέεσθαι ἐς τὰς ἄλλας χώρας. Τὸ δὲ δὴ λήδανον, τὸ καλέουσι Ἀράβιοι λάδανον, ἔτι τούτου θωυμασιώτερον γίνεται· ἐν γὰρ δυσοδομοτάτῃ γινόμενον εὐωδέστατόν ἐστι· τῶν γὰρ αἰγῶν τῶν τράγων ἐν τοῖσι πώγωσι εὐρίσκεται ἐγγινόμενον, οἷον γλοιὸς ἀπὸ τῆς ὕλης<sup>316</sup>. χρήσιμον δ' ἐς πολλὰ τῶν μύρων ἐστὶ· θυμωδὸς τε μάλιστα τοῦτο Ἀράβιοι.

112

also the  
*ludanum*.

113

The fragrant air of Arabia, and the large-tailed sheep.

Τοσαῦτα μὲν θωμάτων περὶ εἰρήσθω ἀπόζει δὲ τῆς χώρας τῆς Ἀραβίης θεσπέσιον ὡς ἡδύ. δύο δὲ γένεα ὄνων σφί ἐστι θωύματος ἄξια, τὰ οὐδαμόθι ἐτέρωθι ἐστὶ· τὸ μὲν αὐτέων ἕτερον ἔχει τὰς οὐράς μακράς, τριῶν πήχεων οὐκ ἐλάσσονας· τὰς εἰ τις ἐπελὶ σφι ἐπέλκειν<sup>317</sup>, ἔλκεα ἂν ἔχοιεν, ἀνατριβομένεων πρὸς τῇ γῇ τῶν οὐρέων· νῦν δ' ἅπας τις τῶν ποιμένων ἐπίσταται ξυλουργεῖν ἐς τοσοῦτο· ἁμαξίδας γὰρ ποιεῦντες, ὑποδέουσι αὐτὰς τῇσι οὐρήσι, ἐνὸς ἐκάστου κτήνεος τὴν οὐρὴν ἐπὶ ἁμαξίδα ἐκάστην καταδέοντες· τὸ δὲ ἕτερον γένος τῶν ὄνων τὰς οὐράς πλατέας φορέουσι, καὶ ἐπὶ πῆχυν πλάτος.

114

Ἀποκλινομένης<sup>318</sup> δὲ μεσαμβρίας παρήκει πρὸς δύνοντα ἥλιον ἢ

<sup>315</sup> τὰ μέλεα διαταμόντας. The method of obtaining the cinnamon here described, seems to be another form of the well-known story in the Arabian Nights, of the way in which diamonds were procured from an inaccessible valley. MARCO POLO gives that story, and refers it to the mines of Golconda (p. 302), and the editor of the English translation remarks, that this agency of huge birds appears to have been a matter of general belief in Asia.

<sup>316</sup> γλοιὸς ἀπὸ τῆς ὕλης. The *ludanum* is a gum which is produced from several kinds of cistus, exuding as a juice upon the leaves and branches of the shrub. (See *Penny Cyclopædia*, vol. xiii. p. 629.) THEVENOT describes a plant called *Ladum* as growing in the island of *Naxos*. The goats feed on it, and the gum sticks to their beards, which are cut off for the purpose of securing it. It is

strange that Herodotus should transplant this practice to Arabia, though the name (*ladum*) is Arabic.

<sup>317</sup> ἐπέλκειν. Some of the MSS. have ἀπέλκειν. But this is undoubtedly the true reading. See ἐπελκομένους, used of the camels held in a leading rein, above, § 105.

<sup>318</sup> ἀποκλινομένης. This reading is preserved by S, V, a, and appears to me the true one. The other MSS have ἀποκλινομένης. See above, note 300, on § 104. The phrase μεσαμβρία ἀποκλινομένη is itself a remarkable one; for although the word ἀποκλίνεσθαι may be reasonably applied to the μεσημβρινὸς ἥλιος, it cannot properly be so to the μεσημβρία, which is in fact the time (ὥρη) defined by the highest position of the sun in the heavens. But the time being marked by a motion of the sun in space,



Αἰθιοπική χώρα, ἐσχάτη τῶν οἰκεομένων αὕτη δὲ χρυσὸν τε φέρει πολλὸν καὶ ἐλέφαντας ἀμφιλαφίας<sup>219</sup>, καὶ δένδρεα πάντα ἄγρια, καὶ ἔβενον, καὶ ἄνδρας μεγίστους καὶ καλλίστους καὶ μακροβιωτάτους<sup>220</sup>.

Products of Ethiopia.

Αὗται μὲν νυν ἐν τε τῇ Ἀσίῃ ἐσχατιαὶ εἰσι καὶ ἐν τῇ Διβύῃ. 115  
περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ τῶν πρὸς ἑσπέρην ἐσχατιέων ἔχω μὲν οὐκ ἀτρεκέως λέγειν οὔτε γὰρ ἔγωγε ἐνδέκομαι Ἑριδανὸν τινα καλέεσθαι πρὸς βαρβάρων ποταμὸν, ἐκιδιδόντα ἐς θάλασσαν τὴν πρὸς βορρῇ ἄνεμον, ὥπ' ὅτε τοῦ ἡλεκτρον φοιτᾶν λόγος ἐστὶ<sup>2</sup>,

The furthest part of Europe is imperfectly known. Apocryphal story of

the relations of that space are expressed in terms of the time which they mark. The expression εἰ δὲ ἡ σάσις ἡλλακτο τὸν ὥρῳ (ii. 26) rests upon the same mode of thought. The author speaks of "the position of the seasons," meaning by it "the position of the sun which affects the seasons." See note 12, on ii. 3.

<sup>219</sup> ἐλέφαντας ἀμφιλαφίας, "huge elephants." The term ἀμφιλαφής is originally applied to a vessel with two handles, in contradistinction to those which from their lightness required only one. It is a remarkable circumstance, that Herodotus speaks of *African* elephants only; yet, singularly enough, the only elephants which appear on the Egyptian monuments are the *Asiatic* (which are brought as tribute). And not only do elephants figure in the account of Cyrus's campaigns as given by CTESIAS (*ap. Photium, Bibl.* p. 36), but on the obelisk excavated by LAYARD at Nimroud, the *Asiatic* elephant is seen, brought as a present. One may conjecture that in the text there is a confusion between these African Ethiopians and the Asiatics who formed a portion of the seventeenth nome. (above, § 94).

<sup>220</sup> ἄνδρας μεγίστους καὶ καλλίστους καὶ μακροβιωτάτους. For the two first of these qualities, see the notes 57 and 58, on § 20. For the last, the note 56, on § 18, above, and 540, on i. 163.

<sup>2</sup> οὔτε γὰρ ἔγωγε ἐνδέκομαι Ἑριδανὸν τινα καλέεσθαι πρὸς βαρβάρων ποταμὸν, . . . ὥπ' ὅτε τοῦ ἡλεκτρον φοιτᾶν λόγος ἐστὶ. This is a curious instance of a true tradition rejected on grounds which appeared quite satisfactory, but which modern knowledge enables us easily to dispose of. The amber, which is a mineral substance found in beds of lignite, comes chiefly from the southern shores of the

Baltic, between Koenigsberg and Memel. In the time of PLINY it used to be brought by the inhabitants of the coast (who called it "glæsum," i. e. *glass*, TACITUS, *Germ.* 45) into Pannonia to Carnuntum on the Danube — (a place to be looked for between Vienna and Pressburg). From thence the Veneti conveyed it to the coasts of the Adriatic (*N. H.* xxxvii. 3); and as nothing is more unchangeable than land routes, while the conditions of civilization remain the same, it seems certain that in the time of which Herodotus is speaking, the substance was brought to the same market; though, doubtless, some may have found its way down the Danube to Istropolis, and thence to the Hellespont.

As for the name Eridanus, its root probably means *water*, and appears in the words *Ro-danus*, *Don-au*, *Dan-ube*, *Tan-ais*, *Don*, *Dan-zig*, and possibly also in the word *Dan-asis* (HESIOD, *Fragment* lxi. ed. Paris, Ἄργος ἄνυδρον ἐν Δαναῶς πόλιν ἐν ἄνυδρον, or as STRABO, i. p. 36, gives the line Ἄργος ἄνυδρον ἐν Δαναῶν θέσαν Ἄργος ἄνυδρον) and the river Jordan.

The Greeks generally considered that the substance came from certain Ἠλεκτρίδες νῆσοι in the head of the Adriatic gulf. The story ran, that in one of these there was a statue of *fin*, and in another, one of *amber*, made by Dædalus when flying from Minos. In these islands too there was a hot fountain, into which Phæton was said to have fallen, surrounded by poplar-trees, from whose leaves the amber was said to drop in the form of a gum. (ARISTOTLE, *Mirab. Auscult.* p. 836.) Under these circumstances it is easy to see how the site of the northern *Eridanus* should have come to be transferred in popular belief to the Italian river.

amber coming from the Eridanus, and tin from the Cassiterides.

οὔτε νήσους οἶδα Κασσιτερίδας ἐούσας, ἐκ τῶν ὁ κασσίτερος ἡμῖν φοιτᾷ· τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ, ὁ Ἡρίδανός αὐτὸ κατηγορεῖ τὸ οὖνομα ὡς ἔστι Ἑλληνικὸν καὶ οὐ βάρβαρον, ὑπὸ ποιητῶν δέ τινος ποιθῆναι τοῦτο δέ, οὐδενὸς αὐτόπτεω γενομένου οὐ δύναμαι ἀκοῦσαι, τοῦτο μελετῶν, ὅπως θάλασσά ἐστι τὰ ἐπέκεινα τῆς Εὐρώπης· ἐξ ἐσχάτης δ' ὧν ὃ τε κασσίτερος ἡμῖν φοιτᾷ<sup>321</sup> καὶ τὸ ἤλεκτρον.

116

Gold comes in greatest abundance from the north of Europe, from the Arimaspi, who rob the Griffins.

Πρὸς δὲ ἄρκτου τῆς Εὐρώπης πολλῶν τι πλεῖστος χρυσὸς φαίνεται ἑὸν ὅπως μὲν γινώμενος, οὐκ ἔχω οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἀτρεκέως εἰπαι· λέγεται δὲ ὑπ' ἐκ τῶν γρυπῶν ἀρπάζειν Ἀριμασποὺς<sup>322</sup>, ἄνδρας μουν-οφθάλμους· πείθονται δὲ οὐδὲ τοῦτο, ὅπως μουνόφθαλμοι ἄνδρες φύονται, φύσιν ἔχοντες τὴν ἄλλην ὁμοίην τοῖσι ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις. αἱ δὲ ὧν ἐσχατιαὶ οἴκασι, περικληθῆναι τὴν ἄλλην χώραν καὶ ἐντὸς ἀπέργουσαι, τὰ κάλλιστα δοκέοντα ἡμῖν εἶναι καὶ σπανιώτατα ἔχειν αὐτά.

117

Story of a valley in Asia whence five streams rise, of which the water is

Ἔστι δὲ πεδίον ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ περικεκλιμένον οὐρεὶ πάντοθεν, διασφάγες δὲ τοῦ οὐρέος εἰσι πέντε· τοῦτο τὸ πεδίον ἦν μὲν κοτε Χορασμίων, ἐν οὐροισι ἐὼν τῶν Χορασμίων τε αὐτῶν καὶ Ἑρκα-νίων, καὶ Πάρθων, καὶ Σαραγγέων<sup>323</sup>, καὶ Θαμαναίων· ἐπεὶ τε δὲ Πέρσαι ἔχουσι τὸ κράτος, ἔστι τοῦ βασιλέως. ἐκ δὲ ὧν τοῦ περι-

That Herodotus should not have been able to find any *eye-witness* of the northern sea is easily comprehensible. The commercial proceedings of the Greeks began after the goods had been brought down to the ports to which they had access. Between the factory on the Adriatic and the emporium on the Danube, the trade would be in the hands of the Veneti, and between the emporium and the North Sea in those of the Germans.

<sup>321</sup> ἐξ ἐσχάτης δ' ὧν ὃ τε κασσίτερος ἡμῖν φοιτᾷ. It is possible that some of the British tin from Cornwall or the Scilly isles came overland the same way as the amber; but it seems more likely that the tin of which Herodotus speaks was the stream tin brought down in the sand of the Guadiana and Guadalquivir (see PLINY, *N. H.* xxxiv. 16), which two streams confused with each other probably are the "Tartessus" of STRABO. See note 538, on i. 163, and STEPHANUS BYZ. v. Τάρτησος.

<sup>322</sup> λέγεται δὲ . . . . Ἀριμασποὺς. The authority for this story is the *Arimaspea* of ARISTEAS of Proconnesus.

See note on iv. 13. The gold no doubt came by the caravans to Russia from central Asia. See note 280.

<sup>323</sup> Πάρθων, καὶ Σαραγγέων. Parthia and Zarangia come next to each other in the list of subject countries given by the Behistun Inscription. See note 278, on § 94, above. But the Saranges and Thamansei are by Herodotus put in the *fourteenth* nome, and the Parthenians and Chorasians in the *sixteenth*. It is perhaps useless to attempt to search for any site representing the valley described in the text. Some have considered the whole story a mere fiction. But no doubt the levying a tax on the supply of water was a practice which prevailed formerly, as it does now, in countries where, as in Persia, artificial irrigation is a necessity. Possibly the origin of the story is to be looked for in the physical character of the Vale of Cashmere with its lakes, combined with the name of the Punjab, and the habits of Persia. However, it must have been framed in a locality north of the Hindoo Koosh. See note 324.

κληϊόντος οὐρεος τούτου ῥέει ποταμὸς μέγας, οὐνομα δέ οἱ ἐστὶ sold by a  
 "Ἀκης· οὗτος πρότερον μὲν ἄρδεσκε, διαλελαμμένους πενταχοῦ, τῶν monopoly of  
 εἰρημένων τούτων τὰς χώρας, διὰ διασφάγος ἀγόμενος ἐκάστης the king of  
 ἐκάστοισι· ἐπεὶ τε δὲ ὑπὸ τῇ Πέρσῃ εἰσὶ, πεπόνθασι τοιόνδε· τὰς Persia.  
 διασφάγας τῶν οὐρέων ἐνδείμας ὁ βασιλεὺς, πύλας ἐπ' ἐκάστη  
 διασφάγι ἔστησε· ἀποκεκλημένον δὲ τοῦ ὕδατος τῆς διεξόδου, τὸ  
 πεδῖον τὸ ἐντὸς τῶν οὐρέων πέλαγος γίνεται, ἐνδιδόντος μὲν τοῦ  
 ποταμοῦ ἔχοντος δὲ οὐδαμῇ ἐξήλυσιν. οὗτοι ὦν ὅπερ ἔμπροσθεν  
 ἐώθεσαν χρᾶσθαι τῷ ὕδατι, οὐκ ἔχοντες αὐτῷ χρᾶσθαι, συμφορῇ  
 μεγάλη διαχρῶνται· τὸν μὲν γὰρ χειμῶνα θεὶ σφί ὁ θεὸς <sup>324</sup>, ὥσπερ  
 καὶ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι ἀνθρώποισι· τοῦ δὲ θέρεος σπειρόντες μελίην  
 καὶ σήσαμον, χρητίζοντο τῷ ὕδατι· ἐπεὰν ὦν μηδὲν σφί παραδι-  
 δῶται τοῦ ὕδατος, ἐλθόντες ἐς τοὺς Πέρσας αὐτοὶ τε καὶ γυναῖκες,  
 στάντες κατὰ τὰς θύρας τοῦ βασιλέως, βοῶσι ὠρυόμενοι· ὁ δὲ  
 βασιλεὺς τοῖσι δεομένοισι αὐτῶν μάλιστα ἐντέλλεται ἀνοίγειν τὰς  
 πύλας τὰς ἐς τοῦτο φερούσας· ἐπεὰν δὲ διάκορος ἡ γῆ σφέν  
 γένηται πίνουσα τὸ ὕδωρ, αὐταὶ μὲν αἱ πύλαι ἀποκληῖνται, ἄλλας  
 δ' ἐντέλλεται ἀνοίγειν ἄλλοισι τοῖσι δεομένοισι μάλιστα τῶν λοι-  
 πῶν· ὥς δὲ ἐγὼ οἶδα ἀκούσας, χρήματα μεγάλα πρησσύμενος  
 ἀνοίγει, πάρεξ τοῦ φόρου. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἔχει οὕτω.

Τῶν δὲ τῇ Μάγῃ ἐπαναστάντων ἑπτὰ ἀνδρῶν, ἓνα αὐτῶν Ἴντα- 118  
 φέρνεα κατέλαβε, ὑβρίσαντα τάδε, ἀποθανεῖν αὐτίκα μετὰ τὴν Intaphernes,  
 ἐπανάστασιν ἤθελε ἐς τὰ βασιλῆα ἐσελθὼν χρηματίσασθαι τῷ one of the  
 βασιλεῖ· καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ὁ νόμος οὕτω εἶχε τοῖσι ἐπαναστάσι τῷ seven con-  
 Μάγῃ, ἔσδοον εἶναι παρὰ βασιλέα ἄνευ ἀγγέλου ἢ μὴ γυναικὶ spira-  
 τυγχάνῃ μισγόμενος ὁ βασιλεὺς· οὐκ ἔστι δὴ Ἴνταφέρνης ἐδικαίει tors, commits an  
 οὐδένα οἱ ἐσαγγεῖλαι, ἀλλ', ὅτι ἦν τῶν ἑπτὰ, ἐσιέναι ἤθελε· ὁ δὲ outrage in  
 πυλουργὸς <sup>325</sup> καὶ ὁ ἀγγελιηφόρος οὐ περιώρεον, φάμενοι τὸν βασι- the palace.  
 λέα γυναικὶ μίσγεσθαι· ὁ δὲ Ἴνταφέρνης δοκέων σφέας ψεύδεα  
 λέγειν, ποικίει τοιάδε· σπασάμενος τὸν ἀκινάκεια <sup>326</sup> ἀποτάμνει αὐτῶν

<sup>324</sup> τὸν μὲν γὰρ χειμῶνα θεὶ σφί ὁ θεός. This would not be the case south of lat. 36°, for the rainy season in India on the western side is from April to October. North of the Paropamisus and west of the Hindoo Koosh, the description would be true.

<sup>325</sup> ὁ πυλουργός. This officer would give admission into the interior of the

palace, where the ἀγγελιηφόρος would be found. See above, § 77. The singular number is probably used from Intaphernes having confined his outrage to the chief attendant.

<sup>326</sup> τὸν ἀκινάκεια. The appropriate Asiatic weapon, *Medus acinaeae*. (Hornat. Od. i. 27. 5.) Above, § 77, the conspirators draw their dirks (τὰ ἀγχε-

119

Darius  
seizes him  
and all his  
family.

τά τε ὧτα καὶ τὰς ῥίνας, καὶ ἀνείρας περὶ τὸν χαλὼν τού ἵππου  
περὶ τοὺς αὐχένας σφέων ἔδησε, καὶ ἀπήκε· Οἱ δὲ τῷ βασιλεῖ  
δεικνύασι ἑωυτοὺς, καὶ τὴν αἰτίην εἶπον δι' ἣν πεποινθότες εἴσαν·  
Δαρεῖος δὲ, ἀρρωδήσας<sup>327</sup> μὴ κοινῷ λόγῳ οἱ ἄξ πεποινκότες ἔωσι  
ταῦτα, μεταπεμπόμενος ἕνα ἕκαστον, ἀπειρεῖατο γνώμης εἰ συν-  
ἐπανοί εἰσι τῷ πεποινμένῳ· ἐπεὶ τε δὲ ἐξέμαθε ὡς οὐ σὺν ἐκείνοισι  
εἶη ταῦτα πεποινκώς, ἔλαβε αὐτόν τε τὸν Ἰνταφέρνεα καὶ τοὺς  
παῖδας αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς οἰκητοὺς πάντας, ἐλπίδας πολλὰς ἔχων  
μετὰ τῶν συγγενέων μιν ἐπιβουλεύειν οἱ ἐπανάστασιν· συλλαβὼν  
δὲ σφεας ἔδησε τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ· ἡ δὲ γυνὴ τοῦ Ἰνταφέρνεος φοιτέ-  
ουσα ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας τοῦ βασιλέως, κλαίεσκε ἂν καὶ ὀδυρέσκετο·  
ποιεῖσα δὲ αἰεὶ τῶντὸ τοῦτο, τὸν Δαρεῖον ἔπεισε οἰκτεῖραί μιν  
πέμψας δὲ ἄγγελον ἔλεγε τάδε· “ὦ γύναι, βασιλεὺς τοι Δαρεῖος  
διδόει ἕνα τῶν δεδεμένων οἰκητῶν ρύσασθαι, τὸν βούλεια ἐκ πάντων”  
ἡ δὲ βουλευσαμένη ὑπεκρίνατο τάδε· “εἰ μὲν δὴ μοι διδοὶ βασι-  
λεὺς ἐνὸς τὴν ψυχὴν, αἰρέομαι ἐκ πάντων τὸν ἀδελφεόν<sup>328</sup>.” πυθό-  
μενος δὲ Δαρεῖος ταῦτα καὶ θυμώσας τὸν λόγον, πέμψας ἡγήρουε·  
“ὦ γύναι, εἰρωτᾷ σε βασιλεὺς, τίνα ἔχουσα γνώμην τὸν ἄνδρα τε  
καὶ τὰ τέκνα ἐγκαταλιπούσα, τὸν ἀδελφεὸν εἴλεω περιεῖναι τοι· ὃς  
καὶ ἄλλοτριώτερός<sup>329</sup> τοι τῶν παίδων, καὶ ἥσσου κεχαρισμένος τοῦ

His wife  
begs off her  
brother and  
eldest son,

ρίδια), a weapon more familiar to the Greeks.

<sup>327</sup> ἀρρωδήσας. Intaphernes was the nominee of Otanes in the second election of conspirators (iii. 70), and therefore probably more closely connected with him than either Hydarnes or Megabyzus were. It is quite clear that Otanes was the most influential of all the Persian chiefs, (see note 192, above,) and, with the exception of Darius, all the conspirators were, directly or indirectly, nominated by him.

<sup>328</sup> ἐκ πάντων τῶν ἀδελφῶν. Among others, Dr. DONALDSON (*Transactions of the Philological Society*, i. p. 161) has put forward the idea that Herodotus has in this singular tale embodied the sentiments put in the mouth of Antigone in the play of Sophocles. She asserts, that she had done for her brother what she would not have done for a husband or for children, and defends her conduct by the argument:

πῶς τις μὲν ἂν μοι, παρθανόντος, ἄλλας ἦν,  
καὶ παῖς ἐπ' ἄλλου πατρὸς, εἰ τοῦδ' ἤμπε-  
πορ

μητρὸς δ' ἐν Ἀἰδῶν καὶ πατρὸς κεκευθότων  
οὐκ ἔστ' ἀδελφὸς ὅστις ἂν βλάσται ποτέ.

(vv. 909—912.)

The great verbal similarity between the expressions of the poet and the historian is patent; and a probable intercourse between Herodotus and Sophocles just about the time at which the Antigone was acted (440 B.C.) is satisfactorily made out. But the argument comes in so strangely in the play,—introduced by the question, *τίνος νόμου δὴ ταῦτα πρὸς χάριν λέγω*—that it is difficult not to conceive it taken from some popular imported story, rather than the home growth of Sophocles's imagination. If, therefore, there be any truth in the story of PLUTARCH (*De Malign. Herod.* c. 26), and if Herodotus really recited a portion of his history at Athens before the Antigone was composed, it is perhaps more likely to suppose that Sophocles adapted from him than the converse.

<sup>329</sup> ἄλλοτριώτερος. Gaisford, with the MSS., has ἄλλοτριώτατος.

ἀνδρός ἐστι." ἡ δ' ἀμείβετο τοῖσδε· "ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἀνὴρ μὲν μοι ἂν ἄλλος γένοιτο εἰ δαίμων ἐθέλοι, καὶ τέκνα ἄλλα εἰ ταῦτα ἀποβάλοιμι· πατὴρ δὲ καὶ μητὴρ οὐκ ἔτι μεν ζώντων, ἀδελφεὸς ἂν ἄλλος οὐδενὶ τρόπῳ γένοιτο· ταύτῃ τῇ γνώμῃ χρεωμένῃ, ἐλεξα ταῦτα." εὐ τε δὴ ἔδοξε τῷ Δαρείῳ εἰπεῖν ἡ γυνὴ, καὶ οἱ ἀπῆκε τοῦτόν τε τὸν παραιτέτο καὶ τῶν παίδων τὸν πρεσβύτατον, ἡσθεὶς αὐτῇ· τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἀπέκτεινε πάντας. τῶν μὲν δὴ ἑπτὰ εἰς αὐτίκα τρόπῳ τῷ εἰρημένῳ ἀπολώλεε.

and the rest are put to death.

Κατὰ δὲ κου μάλιστα τὴν Καμβύσειω νοῦσον ἐγένετο τάδε <sup>330</sup>. 120  
ὑπὸ Κύρου κατασταθεὶς ἦν Σαρδίων ὑπαρχος Ὀροίτης, ἀνὴρ Πέρσης <sup>331</sup>. οὗτος ἐπεθύμησε πρὴγματος οὐκ ὁσίου οὔτε γὰρ τι παθὼν οὔτε ἀκούσας μάταιον ἔπος πρὸς Πολυκράτους τοῦ Σαμίου, οὔτε ἰδὼν πρότερον, ἐπεθύμει λαβὼν αὐτὸν ἀπολέσαι, ὥς μὲν οἱ πλεῖνες λέγουσι, διὰ τοιγύδε τινα αἰτίαν· ἐπὶ τῶν βασιλέως θυρέων κατήμενον τόν τε Ὀροίτην καὶ ἄλλον Πέρσην, τῷ οὐνομα εἶναι Μιτραβάτεα <sup>332</sup>, νομοῦ ἄρχοντα τοῦ ἐν Δασκυλείῳ <sup>333</sup>, τούτους ἐκ λόγων ἐς νείκεα συμπεσέειν κρινομένων δὲ περὶ ἀρετῆς, εἰπεῖν τὸν Μιτραβάτεα τῷ Ὀροίτῃ προφέροντα· "σὺ γὰρ ἐν ἀνδρῶν λόγῳ, ὅς βασιλεῖ νῆσον Σάμον πρὸς τῷ σὴ νομῷ προσκειμένην οὐ προσεκτίσας, ὧδε δὴ τι εἰούσαν εὐπετέα χειρωθῆναι; τὴν τῶν τις ἐπι-

Polycrates the Samian dynast is treacherously put to death by Oroetes, satrap of Sardis, irritated by an insult of Mitrabates,

<sup>330</sup> κατὰ δὲ κου μάλιστα τὴν Καμβύσειω νοῦσον ἐγένετο τάδε. It is plain from this expression that the story Herodotus is about to tell was not found by him in connexion with the thread of the Persian history. He found no chronology in it except such as was furnished by names of the persons involved. See note 114, on § 39.

<sup>331</sup> Ὀροίτης, ἀνὴρ Πέρσης. When this Oroetes was appointed by Cyrus, does not appear from any part of Herodotus's history. After the conquest of Sardis, Cyrus appointed *Tadaius*, a Persian, the military governor (i. 153). Probably after the revolt of Pactyas, *Mazares*, who appears to have held the supreme military command (i. 156. 161), superseded him, and was regarded as the viceroy. He was succeeded by *Harpagus* (i. 162), who completed the conquest of the country. So Herodotus leaves the matter in the first book, where he probably is following Helleno-Lylian authorities. Here a *Sassian* story begins, in which Oroetes and Mitra-

bates (*Persians*)—*Mazares* and *Harpagus* having been *Medians*—appear as the high officials.

<sup>332</sup> Μιτραβάτεα. Gaistford, and the majority of MSS., have *Μιτροβάτεα*. But the name seems undoubtedly to be derived from Mithras, and one MS. gives the reading in the text. It is analogous to the Pontine name *Mithradates*, the bearers of which professed to be Achæmenids. (See note 419 on i. 121.)

<sup>333</sup> ἐν Δασκυλείῳ. Dascyleum, on the Bithynian coast, was the head-quarters of one of the Persian armies which held that part of Asia which lay within the Hæly. Magnesia on the Mæander was another principal station (below, § 122). Sardis, although the chief city of the region, does not seem to have been a military head-quarters, although it had a garrison of its own. (See notes on v. 101 and 102.) Probably its commercial importance and its luxury contributed equally to render it an undesirable station for any considerable body of soldiers.

χωρίων πεντεκαίδεκα ὀπλίτησι ἐπαναστὰς ἔσχε, καὶ νῦν αὐτῆς τυραννεύει." οἱ μὲν δὴ μὴν φασὶ τοῦτο ἀκούσαντα, καὶ ἀλγῆσαντα τῷ ὄνειδεῖ, ἐπιθυμῆσαι οὐκ οὕτω τὸν εἴπαντα ταῦτα τίσασθαι, ὥς

121

or, as some say, by a carelessness of Poly-crates.

Πολυκράτεα πάντως ἀπολέσαι δι' ὃν τινα κακῶς ἤκουσε. Οἱ δὲ ἐλάσσονες λέγουσι, πέμψαι Ὀροίτεα ἐς Σάμον κήρυκα ὅτεν δὴ χρήματος δεησόμενον οὐ γὰρ ὦν δὴ τοῦτό γε λέγεται καὶ τὸν Πολυκράτεα τυχεῖν κατακείμενον ἐν ἀνδρεῶνι, παρεῖναι δέ οἱ καὶ Ἀνακρέοντα τὸν Τήϊον καὶ κως, εἴτ' ἐκ προνοίας αὐτὸν κατηλο- γέοντα τὰ Ὀροίτεω πρήγματα, εἴτε καὶ συντυχίῃ τις τοιαύτη ἐπεγένετο· τὸν τε γὰρ κήρυκα τὸν Ὀροίτεω παρελθόντα διαλέγε- σθαι, καὶ τὸν Πολυκράτεα, τυχεῖν γὰρ ἐπεστραμμένον πρὸς τὸν τοῖχον, οὔτε τι μεταστραφῆναι οὔτε ὑποκρίνασθαι. Αἰτίαι μὲν

122

Artifice of Orates to get Poly-crates into his power.

δὴ αὐταὶ διφάσαι λέγονται τοῦ θανάτου τοῦ Πολυκράτεος γενέσθαι· πάρεστι δὲ πείθεσθαι ὁκοτέρῃ τις βούλεται αὐτέων. ὁ δὲ ὦν Ὀροίτης, ἰζόμενος ἐν Μαγνησίῃ τῇ ὑπὲρ Μαιάνδρου ποταμοῦ οἰκημένη, ἐπεμπε Μύρσον<sup>334</sup> τὸν Γύγεω ἄνδρα Λυδὸν ἐς Σάμον ἀγγελίην φέροντα, μαθὼν τοῦ Πολυκράτεος τὸν νόον. Πολυκράτης γὰρ ἔστι πρῶτος τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν Ἑλλήνων δς θαλασσοκρατέειν ἐπενόηθη, πάρεξ Μίνωός<sup>335</sup> τε τοῦ Κνωσίου καὶ εἰ δὴ τις ἄλλος πρότερος τούτου ἤρξε τῆς θαλάσσης· τῆς δὲ ἀνθρωπηῆς λεγομένης γενεῆς Πολυκράτης ἔστι πρῶτος, ἐλπιδας πολλὰς ἔχων Ἰωνίης τε καὶ νήσων ἄρξειν μαθὼν ὦν ταῦτά μιν διανοούμενον ὁ Ὀροίτης, πέμψας ἀγγελίην ἔλεγε τάδε· "Ὀροίτης Πολυκράτει ὦδε λέγει<sup>336</sup>. πυνθάνομαι ἐπιβουλεύειν σε πρήγμασι μεγάλοισι, καὶ χρήματά τοι οὐκ εἶναι κατὰ τὰ φρονήματα<sup>337</sup>. σὺ νῦν ὦδε ποιήσας ὀρθώσεις μὲν σεωπτόν, σώσεις δὲ καὶ ἐμέ· (ἐμοὶ γὰρ βασιλεὺς Καμβύσης ἐπιβουλεύει θάνατον<sup>338</sup>, καὶ μοι τοῦτο ἐξαγγέλλεται σαφηνέως·)

<sup>334</sup> Μύρσον. This name in another form (Μυρσίλος) was the Hellenic equivalent of Candaules. See note 32 on i. 7. Candaules is also made to be himself the son of a Myrsus. The individual here spoken of is probably the same as the one whose death is related afterwards. (v. 121.)

<sup>335</sup> Μίνωος. The manuscripts S and V have Μίνω.

<sup>336</sup> Ὀροίτης Πολυκράτει ὦδε λέγει. See note 118 on § 40, above.

<sup>337</sup> χρήματά τοι οὐκ εἶναι κατὰ τὰ φρονήματα. See note on v. 36.

<sup>338</sup> ἐμοὶ γὰρ βασιλεὺς Καμβύσης ἐπιβουλεύει θάνατον. The cause of this jealousy does not appear from any thing in Herodotus; but following the clue furnished by the history of Persia in the Behistun Inscription, one may perhaps conjecture that Orates, although a Persian, was favourable to the Median religious party, of which Bartius, the brother of Cambyses, and afterwards the Median usurper, were heads. (See notes 218, above, and 346, below.) It is to be remarked, that Orates seems to occupy the

σὺ νῦν ἐμὲ ἐκκομίσας αὐτὸν καὶ χρήματα, τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν αὐτὸς ἔχε, τὰ δὲ ἐμὲ ἔα ἔχειν εἵνεκέν τε χρημάτων, ἄρξεις ἀπάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος· εἰ δέ μοι ἀπιστείεις τὰ περὶ τῶν χρημάτων, πέμψον ὅστις τοι πιστότατος τυγχάνει ἐὼν, τῷ ἐγὼ ἀποδέξω." Ταῦτα 123 ἀκούσας ὁ Πολυκράτης, ἥσθη τε καὶ ἐβούλετο· καὶ κως, ἰμείρετο γὰρ χρημάτων μεγάλως, ἀποπέμπει πρῶτα κατοφύμενον Μαιάνδριον Μαιανδρίου, ἄνδρα τῶν ἀστών, ὃς οἱ ἦν γραμματιστής· δς χρόνῳ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον τούτων, τὸν κόσμον τὸν ἐκ τοῦ ἀνδρεῶνος τοῦ Πολυκράτους, ἔοντα ἀξιοθέτητον, ἀνέθηκε πάντα ἐς τὸ Ἡραῖον. ὁ δὲ Ὀροίτης μαθὼν τὸν κατάσκοπον ἔοντα προσδόκιμον, ἐποίησε τοιαύδε· λάρνακας ὀκτὼ πληρώσας λίθων, πλὴν κάρτα βραχέος τοῦ περὶ αὐτὰ τὰ χεῖλεα, ἐπιπολῆς τῶν λίθων χρυσὸν ἐπέβαλε· κατὰ δῆσας δὲ τὰς λάρνακας<sup>339</sup> εἶχε ἐτοίμας· ἐλθὼν δὲ ὁ Μαιανδριος καὶ θεσηάμενος, ἀπήγγειλε τῷ Πολυκράτει. Ὁ δὲ, πολλὰ μὲν τῶν 124 μαντιῶν ἀπαγορευόντων πολλὰ δὲ τῶν φίλων, ἐστέλλετο αὐτὸς ἀπιέναι· πρὸς δὲ, καὶ ἰδούσης τῆς θυγατρὸς ὄψιν ἐνυπνίου τοιγύδε· ἑδόκεέ οἱ τὸν πατέρα ἐν τῷ ἡέρι μετέωρον ἔοντα, λούσθαι μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Διὸς, χρεῖσθαι δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου ταύτην ἰδούσα τὴν ὄψιν, παντοίῃ ἐγίνετο<sup>340</sup> μὴ ἀποδημῆσαι τὸν Πολυκράτεια παρὰ τὸν Ὀροίτεια· καὶ δὴ καὶ ἰόντος αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν πεντηκόντερον<sup>341</sup> ἐπεφημίζετο<sup>342</sup>. ὁ δὲ οἱ ἠπέλιψε, ἣν σῶς ἀπονοστήσῃ πολλόν μιν χρόνον

Deceit played on Mæandrius, the secretary of Polycrates, donor of an offering in the Heraeum at Samos.

124 A dream of the daughter of Polycrates

same position which had previously been filled by two *Medians*, Mazares and Harpagus. (See notes 331, above, and 350, below.)

<sup>339</sup> κατὰδῆσας δὲ τὰς λάρνακας. Before the invention of locks, the only way of securing chests was by cording them. Thus EZEKIEL (xxvii. 24) speaks of "chests of rich apparel bound with cords" among the merchandize of Tyre. To fasten the cord in such a way as to baffle the attempt of a stranger to unloose it, became a point of skill under such circumstances; and the proverb, ὁ τοῦ Ὀδυσσεὺς δεσμός, in allusion to the Homeric expression (*Odys.* viii. 447) came to be applied to denote all extraordinarily secure fastenings.

<sup>340</sup> παντοίῃ ἐγίνετο, "resorted to all kinds of means." So in ix. 109, Xerxes παντοίως ἐγίνετο, to evade the performance of his rash promise to Artaynte.

<sup>341</sup> ἐπὶ τὴν πεντηκόντερον. See note 131, above. The article too is to be re-

marked. See note 87, above. The feature of the fatal galley was doubtless never wanting to the story as told at Samos.

<sup>342</sup> ἐπεφημίζετο, "uttered an ominous phrase;" i. e. she put herself in the position of an inspired soothsayer, and solemnly placed a ban upon her father's design. His reply seems to have a reference to this assumed character, and to mean that he would dedicate her as the officiating priestess at some oracle. The prominence of the superstitious element in the narrative, and the mention of Mæandrius's offering, point to the traditions of the Heraeum at Samos as a likely source of the author's information. It should be observed, that the Samians would understand by Zeus, not the Olympian deity, but the elemental principle of increase, the *Pater Aether* of Lucretius. Hence the dream of the maiden was fulfilled by her father's naked body being rained upon (below, § 125).

- παρβενεύεσθαι· ἡ δὲ ἡρήσατο ἐπιτελέα ταῦτα γενέσθαι· βούλεσθαι  
 125 γὰρ παρβενεύεσθαι πλέω χρόνον ἢ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐστερήσθαι. Πολυ-  
 κράτης δὲ πάσης συμβουλῆς ἀλογήσας, ἔπλεε παρὰ τὸν Ὀροίτεα  
 ἅμα ἀγόμενος ἄλλους τε πολλοὺς τῶν ἐταίρων ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ Δημο-  
 κήδεα τὸν Καλλιφῶντος, Κροτωνιήτην, ἄνδρα ἡγήτρον τε ἔοντα καὶ  
 τὴν τέχνην ἀσκέοντα ἄριστα τῶν κατ' ἐωντόν. ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐς  
 τὴν Μαγνησίην ὁ Πολυκράτης διεφθάρη κακῶς, οὔτε ἑωυτοῦ ἀξίως  
 οὔτε τῶν ἑωυτοῦ φρονημάτων· ὅτι γὰρ μὴ οἱ Συρηκοσίων γενόμενοι  
 τύραννοι<sup>343</sup>, οὐδὲ εἰς τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλληνικῶν τυράννων ἀξίός ἐστι  
 Πολυκράτει μεγαλοπρεπεῖην συμβληθῆναι. ἀποκτείνας δὲ μιν  
 οὐκ ἀξίως ἀπηγήσιος Ὀροίτης, ἀνεσταύρωσε· τῶν δὲ οἱ ἐπομένων  
 ὅσοι μὲν ἦσαν Σάμιοι ἀπήκε, κελεύων σφέας ἑωυτῷ χάριν εἶδέναι  
 ἔοντας ἐλευθέρους· ὅσοι δὲ ἦσαν ξεινοὶ τε καὶ δοῦλοι τῶν ἐπομένων  
 ἐν ἀνδραπύδων λόγῳ ποιούμενος εἶχε Πολυκράτης δὲ ἀνακρεμά-  
 μενος, ἐπετέλεε πᾶσαν τὴν δῖψαν τῆς θυγατρὸς· ἐλοῦτο μὲν γὰρ  
 ὑπὸ τοῦ Διὸς ὅκως νοί<sup>344</sup>, ἐχρίετο δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου ἀνιείς αὐτὸς ἐκ  
 τοῦ σώματος ἱκμάδα. Πολυκράτεος μὲν δὴ αἱ πολλαὶ εὐτυχίαι ἐς  
 τοῦτο ἐτελεύτησαν, τῇ οἱ Ἀμασις ὁ Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς προεμαν-  
 τεύσατο<sup>345</sup>.
- 126 Χρόνῳ δὲ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον καὶ Ὀροίτεα Πολυκράτεος τίσιες  
 μετῆλθον. μετὰ γὰρ τὸν Καμβύσῳ θάνατον καὶ τῶν Μάγων τὴν
- is fulfilled.
- A judgment comes soon

<sup>343</sup> οἱ Συρηκοσίων γενόμενοι τύραννοι. The allusion is to Gelon, whose victory over the Carthaginians at Himera was said to have taken place on the same day as the action at Salamis (vii. 166); and to his brother and successor Hieron, whose patronage of letters made him celebrated throughout Hellas. The word *μεγαλοπρέπεια* denotes that kind of elegant sumptuousness which the Greeks regarded as the distinctive virtue of a sovereign or chief citizen, and which showed itself especially in the maintenance of great state on public occasions, such as the Olympic festival, or the erection of public works on a great scale. ARISTOTLE describing it, says: *ἔστι τῶν δαπανημάτων οἷα λέγονται τὰ τίμια, οἷον τὰ περὶ θεοῦ ἀναθήματα καὶ κατασκευαὶ καὶ θυσαίαι, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ὅσα περὶ πᾶν τὸ δαμόνιον καὶ ὅσα πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν εὐφιλοτιμητὰ ἔστιν, οἷον εἰ που χορηγεῖν οἰονταὶ δεῖν λαμπρῶς ἢ τριηραρχεῖν ἢ καὶ ἐστιᾶν τὴν πόλιν.* (*Ethic. Nicom.* iv. p. 1122.) It

was the possession of this quality which rendered many of the Hellenic dynasts popular, and which in later times kept Alcibiades a favourite in spite of his unparalleled insolence. See his speech in THUCYDIDES (vi. 16). The Hellenic good taste, however, in spite of the passion for sumptuousness, revolted at mere profusion. An ill-directed *μεγαλοπρέπεια* became what they called *βαναυσία* (vulgarity). Likewise *μεγαλοπρέπεια* was incompatible with all regard for private advantage: *οὐ γὰρ εἰς ἑαυτὸν δαπανηρὸς ὁ μεγαλοπρεπής, ἀλλ' εἰς τὰ κοινά.* (ARISTOTLE, l. c., p. 1123.)

<sup>344</sup> ὅπῃ τοῦ Διὸς ὅκως νοί. See the note 842, above.

<sup>345</sup> τῇ οἱ Ἀμασις ὁ Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς προεμαντεύσατο. This clause is omitted in S and V. The allusion is to § 43; but it is a very inaccurate statement of the facts of the case so far as appears from the narrative of Herodotus in its present shape.



βασιλῆην, μένων ἐν τῇσι Σάρδισι Ὀροίτης ὠφέλει μὲν οὐδὲν after upon  
 Πέρσας, ὑπὸ Μήδων ἀπαραιρημένους τὴν ἀρχήν<sup>346</sup>. ὁ δὲ ἐν ταύτῃ Orates, who  
 τῇ ταραχῇ κατὰ μὲν ἔκτεινε Μιτραβάτα<sup>347</sup> τὸν ἐκ Δασκυλείου had taken  
 ἵπαρχον, ὃς οἱ ὠνείδισε τὰ ἐς Πολυκράτα ἔχοντα, κατὰ δὲ τοῦ advantage  
 Μιτραβάτῳ τὸν παῖδα Κρανάσπην, ἄνδρας ἐν Πέρσῃσι δοκίμους, of the con-  
 ἀλλὰ τε ἐξύβρισε παντοῖα· καὶ τινὰ ἀγγελῆσιον<sup>348</sup> Δαρείου ἐλθόντα fusion dur-  
 παρ' αὐτὸν, ὡς οὐ πρὸς ἡδονήν οἱ ἦν τὰ ἀγγελλλόμενα, κτείνει μιν the reign  
 ὀπίσω κομιζόμενον, ἄνδρας οἱ ὑπείσας κατ' ὁδόν, ἀποκτείνας δὲ μιν of the Ma-  
 ἠφάνισε αὐτῷ ἵππῳ. Δαρείος δὲ ὡς ἔσχε τὴν ἀρχήν, ἐπεθύμει τὸν 127  
 Ὀροίτα τίσασθαι, πάντων τε τῶν ἀδικημάτων εἵνεκεν καὶ μάλιστα  
 Μιτραβάτῳ καὶ τοῦ παιδός· ἐκ μὲν δὴ τῆς ἰθείης στρατὸν ἐπ'  
 αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐδόκεε πέμπειν, ἅτε οἰδεόντων<sup>349</sup> ἔτι τῶν πρηγμάτων,  
 καὶ νεωστὶ ἔχων τὴν ἀρχήν, καὶ τὸν Ὀροίτα μεγάλην τὴν ἰσχὺν  
 πυνθανόμενος ἔχειν τὸν χίλις μὲν Περσέων ἐδоруφόρεον, εἶχε δὲ  
 νομὸν τὸν τε Φρύγιον καὶ Λύδιον καὶ Ἰωνικόν<sup>350</sup>. πρὸς ταῦτα δὴ

<sup>346</sup> ὑπὸ Μήδων ἀπαραιρημένους τὴν ἀρ-  
 χήν. Cambyses when dying implores his  
 Persian friends μὴ περιθεῖν τὴν ἡγεμο-  
 νίην αὐτῷ ἐς Μήδους περιελθούσαν (above,  
 § 65)—a phrase which implies a restora-  
 tion of the relative position of the Medes  
 and Persians which existed before the revo-  
 lution effected by Cyrus. And the same  
 thing seems to follow from the note  
 incorporated into the text in i. 130. (See  
 note 439 thereon.) Orates, with the  
 force at his command in his satrapy, prob-  
 ably had connived at the change, in the  
 hope of acquiring an independent sove-  
 reignty for himself. The Magian began  
 his reign by an ostentatious liberality  
 towards the dependencies. See above,  
 § 67.

This view of the Magian usurpation is  
 in exact accordance with the Persian ac-  
 count as given in the Behistun Inscrip-  
 tion, and with what (it can scarcely be  
 doubted) was the real course of events.  
 But the authority followed by Herodotus  
 in his main account represented the  
 whole transaction as a mere personal  
 usurpation of the Pseudo-Smerdis. Hence  
 the real state of the case only appears by  
 such casual expressions as these showing  
 themselves in parts of the work where the  
 author is following another tradition. See  
 note 218 on § 79, above.

<sup>347</sup> Μιτραβάτα. The MSS and Gais-  
 ford have Μιτροβάτα. See note 332,

above.

<sup>348</sup> ἀγγελῆσιον. Most of the MSS here  
 have ἀγγελιηφόρον. But the reading in  
 the text is warranted by S and V, and it  
 seems likely that ἀγγελιηφόρον crept in  
 as a gloss explanatory of the technical  
 term. The Persian kings (like the Roman  
 emperors) established a regular line of  
 posts along all the great military roads.  
 Herodotus gives a description of the sys-  
 tem (viii. 98), and compares it with the  
 Hellenic λαμπαδηφορία. The word ἀγγα-  
 ρῆσιον is an adjective, and the substantive  
 ἄνδρα is to be supplied.

<sup>349</sup> οἰδεόντων. So the manuscripts S  
 and V. Gaisford, with several others, in-  
 serts ὁ before the word.

<sup>350</sup> νομὸν τὸν τε Φρύγιον καὶ Λύδιον καὶ  
 Ἰωνικόν. It is not to be assumed that  
 these three *nomes* (which are the three  
 first in Darius's cadastral system de-  
 scribed above §§ 90—94), existed so di-  
 vided at the time Orates was paramount.  
 He appears rather to be successor to the  
 position of Harpagus (see note 331,  
 above); and this position to be described  
 in terms of a later system. It seems  
 likely that a principal motive to this  
 later division was the diminution of the  
 power of chiefs like Aryandes, Harpagus,  
 and Orates; which last, after destroying  
 Mitribates, held in his hands the whole  
 of Asia within the Halys, and might with  
 very fair prospects hope to make his

128

Tact of  
Bagæus dis-  
played in  
effecting the  
destruction  
of Oroetes.

ὦν ὁ Δαρεῖος τάδε ἐμνηχανήσατο· συγκαλέσας Περσέων τοὺς δοκιμωτάτους<sup>331</sup>, ἔλεγέ σφι τάδε· “ὦ Πέρσαι, τίς ἂν μοι τοῦτο ὑμέων ὑποστὰς ἐπιτελέσειε σοφίῃ, καὶ μὴ βίῃ τε καὶ ὀμίλῃ; (ἐνθα γὰρ σοφίης δέει, βίης ἔργον οὐδέν) ὑμέων δὴ ὦν τίς μοι Ὀροίτεα ἡ ζῶοντα ἀγάγοι, ἢ ἀποκτείνειε; δς ὠφέλησε μὲν κω Πέρσας οὐδέν, κακὰ δὲ μέγала ἔοργε· τοῦτο μὲν δύο ἡμέων ἤττωσε, Μιτραβάτεά τε καὶ τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ· τοῦτο δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀνακαλέοντας αὐτὸν καὶ πεμπομένους ὑπ’ ἐμεῦ<sup>332</sup> κτείνει, ὕβριν οὐκ ἀνάσχετον φαίνων. πρὶν τι ὦν μέζον ἐξεργάσασθαι μιν Πέρσας κακὸν, καταλαμπτέος ἐστὶ ἡμῖν θανάτῳ.” Δαρεῖος μὲν ταῦτα ἐπειρώτα· τῷ δὲ ἄνδρες τριήκοντα ὑπέστησαν, αὐτὸς ἕκαστος ἐθέλων ποιεῖν ταῦτα· ἐρίζοντας δὲ Δαρεῖος κατελάμβανε κελεύων πάλλεσθαι· παλλομένων δὲ, λαγχάνει ἐκ πάντων Βαγαῖος ὁ Ἀρτόντεω<sup>333</sup>. λαχὼν δὲ ὁ Βαγαῖος ποιεῖ τοιάδε· βιβλία γραψάμενος πολλὰ<sup>334</sup> καὶ περὶ πολλῶν ἔχοντα πρηγμάτων, σφρηγιδὰ σφι ἐπέβαλε τὴν Δαρείου· μετὰ δὲ, ἥτε ἔχων ταῦτα ἐς τὰς Σάρδεις· ἀπικόμενος δὲ καὶ Ὀροίτεω ἐς ὅψιν ἐλθὼν, τῶν βιβλίων ἐν ἑκάστῳ περιαιρούμενος ἐδίδου τῷ γραμματιστῇ τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐπιλέγεσθαι· γραμματιστὰς δὲ βασιλεῖς οἱ πάντες ὑπαρχοὶ ἔχουσιν· ἀποπειρώμενος δὲ τῶν δορυφόρων ἐδίδου τὰ βιβλία ὁ Βαγαῖος, εἰ ἐνδεξαίματο ἀπόστασιν ἀπὸ Ὀροίτεω· ὁρέων δὲ σφας τά τε βιβλία σεβομένους μεγάλως, καὶ τὰ λεγόμενα ἐκ τῶν βιβλίων ἔτι μεζόνως, διδοῖ ἄλλο ἐν τῷ ἐνὶν ἔπεα τάδε· “ὦ Πέρσαι, βασιλεὺς Δαρεῖος ἀπαγορεύει ὑμῖν μὴ δορυφορεῖν Ὀροίτεα.” οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες τούτων μετήκιν οἱ τὰς αἰχμὰς ἰδὼν δὲ

ground good against the new sovereign of Persia, to whom he stood very much in the same relative position as Vespasian to Vitellius, upon the accession of the latter to the throne of the Cæsars. If Mitrabates were an Achæmenid (which seems not unlikely, see note 332, above), there would be an additional reason for Oroetes destroying him, and for Darius resenting the act. He and his sons were clansmen of Darius and his party, and hence he speaks of them presently as *δῶο ἡμέων*.

<sup>331</sup> *δοκιμωτάτους*. The manuscripts S and V have *λογιμωτάτους*.

<sup>332</sup> *τοὺς ἀνακαλέοντας αὐτὸν καὶ πεμπομένους ὑπ’ ἐμεῦ κτείνει*. These words explain the phrase *ὡς οὐ πρὸς ἡδονὴν οἱ ἦν*

τὰ ἀγγελλόμενα (above, § 126). The courier had brought a firman recalling Oroetes on the authority of the new monarch. By disobeying the firman he did what amounted to treating Darius as a rebel, and the destruction of Mitrabates and his son would be a natural proceeding in the same line of policy, supposing them Achæmenids. Just in the same way Darius destroyed the family of Intaphernes (§ 119).

<sup>333</sup> ὁ Ἀρτόντεω. This is the reading of all the MSS; but it is difficult to conceive that the same oriental name is not represented by this form, by Artyntes (vii. 67) and by Artayntes (viii. 130).

<sup>334</sup> *βιβλία γραψάμενος πολλὰ*. See note on v. 16.

τοῦτο σφεας ὁ Βαγαῖος πειθομένους τῷ βιβλίῳ, ἐνθαῦτα δὴ θαρσίσας τὸ τελευταῖον τῶν βιβλίων διδοῖ τῷ γραμματιστῇ, ἐν τῷ ἐγγράπτῳ “Βασιλεὺς Δαρεῖος Πέρσῃσι τοῖσι ἐν Σάρδισι ἐντέλλεται κτείνειν Ὀροίτεα.” οἱ δὲ δορυφόροι ὡς ἤκουσαν ταῦτα, σπασάμενοι τοὺς ἀκινάκεις κτείνουνσι παραντῖκα μιν. οὕτω δὴ Ὀροίτεα τὸν Πέρσῃν Πολυκράτεος τοῦ Σαμίλου τίσιες μετήλθον.

Ἀπικομένων δὲ καὶ ἀνακομισθέντων τῶν Ὀροίτεω χρημάτων ἐς 129 τὰ Σοῦσα, συνήνεκε χρόνῳ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον βασιλέα Δαρεῖον ἐν ἄγρῃ θηρῶν ἀποθρῶσκοντα ἀπὸ ἵππου<sup>355</sup> στραφῆναι τὸν πόδα· καί πως ἰσχυροτέρως ἐστράφη· ὁ γάρ οἱ ἀστράγαλος ἐξεχώρησε ἐκ τῶν ἄρθρων. νομίζων δὲ καὶ πρότερον περὶ ἐωυτὸν ἔχειν Αἰγυπτίων<sup>356</sup> τοὺς δοκέοντας εἶναι πρώτους τὴν ἱητρικὴν, τοῦτοισι ἐχρήτο· οἱ δὲ στρεβλοῦντες καὶ βιώμενοι τὸν πόδα, κακὸν μέζον ἐργάζοντο· ἐπ’ ἐπτά μὲν δὴ ἡμέρας καὶ ἐπτά νύκτας ὑπὸ τοῦ παρεόντος κακοῦ ὁ Δαρεῖος ἀγρυπνίησι εἵχετο· τῇ δὲ δὴ ὀγδόῃ ἡμέρῃ ἔχοντί οἱ φλαύρως, οἷα δὴ παρακούσας<sup>357</sup> τις πρότερον ἔτι ἐν Σάρδισι τοῦ Κρωτωνιῆτεω Δημοκίδεος τὴν τέχνην, ἐσαγγέλλει<sup>358</sup> τῷ Δαρείῳ· ὁ δὲ ἄγει μιν τὴν ταχίστην παρ’ ἐωυτὸν ἐκέλευσε. τὸν δὲ ὡς ἐξεύρον ἐν τοῖσι Ὀροίτεω ἀνδραπόδοισι ὅκου δὴ ἀπημελημένον, παρήγγον ἐς μέσον πέδας τε ἔλκοντα, καὶ ῥάκεσι ἐσθημένον. Σταθέντα δὲ ἐς 130 μέσον, εἰρώτα ὁ Δαρεῖος τὴν τέχνην εἰ ἐπίσταιτο· ὁ δ’ οὐκ ὑπεδέκετο, ἀρρωδέων μὴ ἐωυτὸν ἐκφῆνας τὸ παράπαν τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἢ ἀπεστερημένος· κατεφάνη δὲ τῷ Δαρείῳ τεχνάζειν, ἐπιστάμενος· καὶ τοὺς ἀγαγόντας αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσε μάστιγας τε καὶ κέντρα παραφέρειν ἐς

Darius sprains his ankle, and fails to obtain relief from the Egyptian surgeons.

Democedes of Crotona, formerly surgeon to Polycrates, is sent for,

<sup>355</sup> ἀποθρῶσκοντα ἀπὸ ἵππου. DIO CHRYSOSTOM (*Orat.* xiv. p. 231 and lxxvii. p. 663) represents the accident to Darius as having occurred in a fall from his horse. He also in the latter passage gives Demodocus (not Democedes) as the name of the successful surgeon. But these variations probably arise merely from a slip of memory in details unimportant for his purpose. TIMÆUS (*op. Athenæum*, p. 522) gives Democedes as the name of the operator.

<sup>356</sup> Αἰγυπτίων. The celebrity of the Egyptian medical practice appears from the instance of the physician sent by Amasis to Cyrus. See above, § 1.

<sup>357</sup> παρακούσας, “having casually heard.” The manuscripts S and V have

the words οἷα δὴ before παρακούσας. Gaisford follows the rest of the MSS, which omit them. The sense is not precisely identical in the two cases. By inserting the particles the author implies it as *his opinion* that probably the informant of Darius had, while in Sardis, casually heard of the skill of Democedes,—by omitting them, he states it as a positive fact.

<sup>358</sup> ἐσαγγέλλει. All the MSS but S and V, and Gaisford, have the simple form ἀγγέλλει. But the compound is more appropriate to what may be reasonably supposed to have been the act of the unknown informant,—the *sending in* the report which he had heard. Compare 2 *Kings* v. 4.

and cures  
the king.

Munificence  
of Darius  
and of the  
women of  
his harem.

131

History of  
Democedes  
before his  
arrival at  
the court  
of Poly-  
crates.

τὸ μέσον ὁ δὲ ἐνθαῦτα δὴ ὦν ἐκφαίνει, φὰς ἀτρεκέως μὲν οὐκ ἐπί-  
στασθαι ὁμίλησας δὲ ἡτρῷ φλαύρως ἔχειν τὴν τέχνην μετὰ δὲ, ὥς  
οἱ ἐπέτρεψε, Ἑλληνικοῖσι ἱήμασι χρεώμενος καὶ ἥπια μετὰ τὰ  
ἰσχυρὰ προσάγων, ἦπνου τέ μιν λαγχάνειν ἐποίεε καὶ ἐν χρόνῳ ὀλίγῳ  
ἰγνέα μιν ἔοντα ἀπέδεξε, οὐδαμὰ ἔτι ἐλπίζοντα ἀρτίπουν ἔσεσθαι.  
δωρέεται δὴ μιν μετὰ ταῦτα ὁ Δαρεῖος πεδέων χρυσέων δύο ζεύγους·  
ὁ δὲ μιν ἐπέειρετο, εἴ οἱ διπλήσιον τὸ κακὸν ἐπίτηδες νέμει ὅτι μιν  
ἰγνέα ἐποίησε; ἥσθεις δὲ τῷ ἔπει ὁ Δαρεῖος ἀποπέμπει μιν παρὰ  
τὰς ἑωυτοῦ γυναῖκας· παράγοντες δὲ οἱ εἰνούχοι ἔλθουσι πρὸς τὰς  
γυναῖκας, ὥς βασιλεῖ οὗτος εἶη ὃς τὴν ψυχὴν ἀπέδωκε ὑποκύ-  
πτουσα<sup>330</sup> δὲ αὐτέων ἐκάστη φιάλῃ ἐς τοῦ χρυσοῦ τὴν θήκην<sup>331</sup>  
ἔδωρέετο Δηموκίδεα οὕτω δὴ τι δαψιλεῖ δωρεῇ, ὥς τοὺς ἀποπίντου-  
τας ἀπὸ τῶν φιαλέων στατήρας ἐπόμενος ὁ οἰκέτης, τῷ ὄνυμα ἦν  
Σκίτων, ἀνελέγετο· καὶ οἱ χρήμα πολλόν τι χρυσοῦ συνελέχθη.

Ὁ δὲ Δημοκίδης οὗτος ὧδε ἐκ Κρότωνος ἀπυγμένος Πολυκράτει  
ὠμίλησε πατρὶ συνέχετο<sup>331</sup> ἐν Κρότωνι ὄργῃν χαλεπῇ· τοῦτον  
ἐπεὶ τε οὐκ ἐδύνατο φέρειν, ἀπολιπὼν οἴχετο ἐς Αἰγίνα· καταστάς  
δὲ ἐς ταύτην, τῷ πρώτῳ ἔτει ὑπερεβάλετο τοὺς πρώτους ἡτρουῖς,  
ἀσκεύης περ ἔων καὶ ἔχων οὐδὲν τῶν ὅσα περὶ τὴν τέχνην ἐστὶ  
ἐργαλῆα· καὶ μιν δευτέρῳ ἔτει ταλάντου Αἰγινῆται δημοσίῃ  
μισθεύνται· τρίτῳ δὲ ἔτει Ἀθηναῖοι ἑκατὸν μνέων<sup>332</sup>. τετάρτῳ δὲ

<sup>330</sup> ὑποκύπτουσα. Gaisford and the MSS have ὑποπτόουσα. See the note on vi. 119.

<sup>331</sup> ἐς τοῦ χρυσοῦ τὴν θήκην. This reading rests on the authority of the single manuscript S, but it is the only one (among many variations) not manifestly corrupt.

<sup>332</sup> πατρὶ συνέχετο. Herodotus uses the same expression in vi. 12, μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ παροῦσῃ δουλεῖν συνέχεσθαι. In both cases the annoyance spoken of is one acting by perpetual irritation. The temper of Democedes's father and the drilling of the martinet trainer of Phocæa were unbearable from the same cause, the continuity (τὸ συνεχές) of the trouble. The same idea would be conveyed by the reading ἀγρυπνίῃ συνέχετο, which is preserved by SUIDAS in citing the passage § 129. I should translate the text: "At Crotona he was kept on the fret by a father of bitter temper."

<sup>332</sup> τρίτῳ δὲ ἔτει Ἀθηναῖοι ἑκατὸν μνέων. It is quite clear from the chronology of the story that Democedes would be retained at Athens, not by the *commonalty*, but by the *Pisistratids*. The sum of money too is out of keeping with republican parsimony. From the *Achæniæ* of ARISTOPHANES, which was acted in the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, it appears that the pay of an ambassador was only two drachmæ *per diem*, and yet this extravagance went to the soul of the worthy Dicaeopolis (ὅμοι τῶν δραχμῶν, v. 67). And at this time the revenue of Athens was nearly 2000 talents; whereas in the time of Democedes it does not appear certain that there was any *public* revenue at all. These inconsistent features make it unlikely that the story of Democedes is a *contemporary* one. But the practice which prevailed in the time of Herodotus (and perhaps in the time of Homer, who reckons "the prophet" and "the physician"

ἔτει Πολυκράτης δυνῶν ταλάντων. οὕτω μὲν ἀπίκετο ἐς τὴν Σάμον. καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς οὐκ ἦκιστα Κροτωνιῆται ἱητροὶ εὐδοκίμῃσαν. ἐγένετο γὰρ ὦν τοῦτο ὅτε πρῶτοι μὲν Κροτωνιῆται ἱητροὶ ἐλέγοντο ἀνὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα εἶναι· δεύτεροι δέ, Κυρηναῖοι· κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ χρόνον καὶ Ἀργεῖοι ἤκουον μουσικὴν εἶναι Ἑλλήνων πρῶτοι<sup>333</sup>. Τότε δὲ ὁ Δημοκῆδης ἐν τοῖσι Σούσοισι ἐξησάμενος 132 Δαρεῖον, οἰκόν τε μέγιστον εἶχε καὶ ὁμοτράπεζος βασιλεῖ ἐγεγόνεε· πλὴν τε ἐνὸς τοῦ ἐς Ἑλληνας ἀπιέναι, πάντα τὰ ἄλλα οἱ παρῆν. His favour with Darius. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ἱητροὺς οἱ βασιλέα πρότερον ἰῶντο, μέλλοντας ἀνασκολοπιεῖσθαι διότι ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνος ἱητροῦ ἐσώθησαν, τούτους βασιλέα παραιτησάμενος ἐρρύσατο· τοῦτο δὲ μάντιν Ἥλειον Πολυκράτει ἐπισπόμενον, καὶ ἀπημελημένον ἐν τοῖσι ἀνδραπόδοισι, ἐρρύσατο. ἦν δὲ μέγιστον πρῆγμα Δημοκῆδης παρὰ βασιλεῖ.

Ἐν χρόνῳ δὲ ὀλίγῳ μετὰ ταῦτα, τάδε ἄλλα συνήνεκε γενέσθαι. 133 Ἀτόσση τῇ Κύρου μὲν θυγατρὶ Δαρείου δὲ γυναικὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ μαστοῦ ἔφνυμα· μετὰ δὲ, ἐκραγὲν ἐνέμετο πρόσω. ὅσον μὲν δὴ χρόνον ἦν ἔλασσον, ἡ δὲ κρύπτουσα καὶ αἰσχυνομένη ἔφραζε οὐδενί· ἐπεὶ τε δὲ ἐν κακῷ ἦν, μετεπέμψατο τὸν Δημοκῆδεα καὶ οἱ ἐπέδεξε· ὁ δὲ φὰς ὑγίεια ποιήσῃ, ἐξορκοῖ μιν ἡ μήν<sup>344</sup> οἱ ἀντυπουργήσῃν and as a boon induces her ἐκείνῃν τοῦτο τὸ ἂν αὐτῆς δεηθῇ· δεήσεσθαι δὲ οὐδενὸς τῶν ὅσα ἐς αἰσχύνῃν ἐστὶ φέροντα<sup>345</sup>. Ὡς δὲ ἄρα μιν μετὰ ταῦτα ἰώμενος 134 ὑγίεια ἀπέδεξε, ἐνθαῦτα δὴ διδαχθεῖσα ὑπὸ τοῦ Δημοκῆδεος ἡ to persuade Darius to invade Hellas. Ἀτοσσα, προσέφερε ἐν τῇ κοίτῃ Δαρείῳ λόγον τοιόνδε· “ὦ βασι-

among the *δημοεργοὶ* or public functionaries, *Odyssey*. xvii. 383) exists even to this day. The continent of Greece is supplied with doctors chiefly from Cephalonia, and there is scarcely a town of note or an Agalik which is without one. In the Morea they were often the confidential agents of the Agas. SIBTHORP (*op. Walpole's Turkey*, ii. p. 77) found at Pyrgo an individual who acted in this capacity, and who received 400 piastres salary from the district, which contained 10 villages. His profits however principally arose from presents, and from his good offices with the Aga in favour of malefactors. He had been a druggist's boy at Zante, and could neither read nor write, but he possessed some empirical knowledge, and such influence that he had

just stopped the feud between two powerful chiefs by negotiating a marriage between their families.

<sup>333</sup> ἤκουον μουσικὴν εἶναι Ἑλλήνων πρῶτοι. This would probably be at the time of *Telesilla's* highest reputation. See note on vi. 81.

<sup>344</sup> ἡ μήν. Gaisford ἡ μιν.

<sup>345</sup> ὅσα ἐς αἰσχύνῃν ἐστὶ φέροντα. Some of the MSS omit the preposition *ἐς*. But it seems to have an appropriate force, “all those things which *tend* to dishonour.” An exact parallel is supplied by iv. 90, τὰ ἐς ἄκρον φέροντα, “effects conducive to healing,” “curative effects,” and in this latter passage the preposition is found in all the MSS.

λεῦ, ἔχων δύναμιν τοσαύτην κάτῃσαι οὔτε τι ἔθνος προσκτώμενος οὔτε δύναμιν Πέρσῃσι; οἰκὸς δέ ἐστι ἄνδρα καὶ νέον καὶ χρημάτων μεγάλων δεσπότην φαίνεσθαι τι ἀποδεικνύμενον, ἵνα καὶ Πέρσαι ἐκμάθωσι ὅτι ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς ἄρχονται. ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρω δέ τοι φέρει ταῦτα ποιεῖν, καὶ ἵνα σφέων Πέρσαι ἐπιστεύωνται ἄνδρα εἶναι τὸν προσεστώτα, καὶ ἵνα τρίβωνται πολέμῳ μὴδὲ σχολὴν ἄγοντες ἐπιβουλεύωσί τοι. νῦν γὰρ ἂν τι καὶ ἀποδέξαιο ἔργον, ἕως νέος εἰς ἡλικίην αὐξανομένη γὰρ τῷ σώματι<sup>366</sup> συναύζονται καὶ αἱ φρένες, γηράσκοντι δὲ συγγηράσκουσι καὶ ἐς τὰ πρήγματα πάντα ἀπαμβλύνονται." ἡ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐκ διδαχῆς ἔλεγε· ὁ δ' ἀμείβεται τοῖσδε· "ὦ γύναι, πάντα ὅσα περ αὐτὸς ἐπινοέω ποιήσεις εἴρηκας· ἐγὼ γὰρ βεβούλευμαι, ζεύξας γέφυραν<sup>367</sup>, ἐκ τῆσδε τῆς ἡπείρου ἐς τὴν ἐτέρην ἡπείρου ἐπὶ Σκύθας στρατεύεσθαι· καὶ ταῦτα ὀλίγου χρόνου<sup>368</sup> ἔσται τελεύμενα." λέγει Ἀτοσσα τὰδε· "ὦρα νυν, ἐς Σκύθας μὲν τὴν πρώτην<sup>369</sup> ἵεναι ἔασον· οὔτοι γὰρ ἐπεὰν σὺ βούλῃ ἔσονταιί τοι· σὺ δέ μοι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα στρατεύεσθαι ἐπιθυμέω γὰρ, λόγῳ πυνθανομένη, Λακαίνας τέ μοι γενέσθαι θεραπαίνας καὶ Ἀργείας καὶ Ἀττικὰς<sup>370</sup> καὶ Κορινθίας· ἔχεις δὲ ἄνδρα ἐπιτηδεώτατον ἀνδρῶν πάντων δέξαι τε ἕκαστα τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ κατηγήσασθαι, τοῦτον ὅς σευ τὸν πόδα ἐξήισατο." ἀμείβεται Δαρεῖος· "ὦ γύναι, ἐπεὶ τοῖνυν τοι δοκέει τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἡμέας πρῶτα ἀποπειρᾶσθαι, κατασκόπους μοι δοκέει Περσέων πρῶτον ἄμεινον εἶναι ὁμοῦ τούτῳ τῷ σὺ λέγεις πέμψαι ἐς αὐτούς· οἱ μαθόντες καὶ ἰδόντες ἕκαστα αὐτῶν, ἐξαγγελέουσι ἡμῖν καὶ ἔπειτα

<sup>366</sup> αὐξανομένη γὰρ τῷ σώματι, κ.τ.λ. STOBÆUS (civ. p. 592) quotes as a dictum of Democritus: Αὐξανομένου γὰρ τοῦ σώματος συναύζονται φρένες, γηράσκοντος δὲ συγγηράσκουσι. The sentiment is an obvious one, but the phraseology is almost too similar for accident.

<sup>367</sup> ζεύξας γέφυραν. This expression apparently refers to the bridge over the Bosphorus, which the author relates to have been constructed by Mandrocles the Samian (iv. 85—87).

<sup>368</sup> ὀλίγου χρόνου. The ellipse is of the participle δέοντος.

<sup>369</sup> τὴν πρώτην. The ellipse is of the substantive δδόν.

<sup>370</sup> Ἀττικὰς. In spite of this desire of Atossa, which would hardly be unknown to the Persian courtiers, her own brother-

in-law, Artaphernes, is represented some time afterwards as asking whereabouts in the world Athens was (v. 73). It may be said that he affected this ignorance with a view of striking terror into the Athenian commissioners. But, on the other hand, it is very conceivable that the story of Atossa's intrigues was in a great degree invented for the purpose of justifying the Athenians, who ostensibly were the originators of the war. See note on v. 97. ÆSCHYLUS in the *Persians* rather represents Atossa as the opposite of the character here attributed to her; and the very part which she is here made to play is by later writers given to the wife of Xerxes. See ÆLIAN (*Hist. Animal.* xi. 27).

ἐξεπιστάμενος ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τρέψομαι." Ταῦτα εἶπε· καὶ ἅμα ἔπος 135

τε καὶ ἔργον ἐποίησε· ἐπεὶ τε γὰρ τάχιστα ἡμέρῃ ἐπέλαμψε, καλέσας Περσέων ἄνδρας δοκίμους πεντεκαίδεκα, ἐνετέλλετό σφι ἐπομένους Δημοκῆδεϊ διεξελθεῖν τὰ παραθαλάσσια τῆς Ἑλλάδος· ὅπως τε μὴ διαδρῆσεται σφεας ὁ Δημοκῆδης, ἀλλὰ μιν πάντως ὀπίσω ἀπάξουσιν. ἐντειλάμενος δὲ τούτοις ταῦτα, δεύτερα καλέσας αὐτὸν Δημοκῆδεα ἐδέετο αὐτοῦ, ὅπως ἐξηγησάμενος πᾶσαν καὶ ἐπιδέξας τὴν Ἑλλάδα τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι ὀπίσω ἦξει· δῶρα δὲ μιν τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τοῖσι ἀδελφεοῖσι ἐκέλευε πάντα τὰ ἐκείνου ἐπιπλα λαβόντα ἄγειν, φᾶς ἄλλα οἱ παραπλήσια ἀντιδώσειν πρὸς δὲ, ἐς τὰ δῶρα ὀλκάδα οἱ ἔφη συμβαλέεσθαι<sup>371</sup> πλήσας<sup>372</sup> ἀγαθῶν παντοίων, τὴν ἅμα οἱ πλεύσεσθαι· Δαρείος μὲν δὴ, δοκέειν ἐμοί, ἀπ' οὐδενὸς δολεροῦ νόου ἐπαγγέλλετο οἱ ταῦτα· Δημοκῆδης δὲ δείσας μὴ εὐ ἐκπειρῶτο Δαρείος, οὔτι ἐπιδραμὼν πάντα τὰ διδόμενα ἐδέκετο, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἑωυτοῦ κατὰ χώραν ἔφη καταλείψειν ἵνα ὀπίσω σφέα ἀπελθὼν ἔχου· τὴν μὲντοι ὀλκάδα τὴν οἱ Δαρείος ἐπαγγέλλετο ἐς τὴν θωρητὴν τοῖσι ἀδελφεοῖσι, δέκεσθαι ἔφη. ἐντειλάμενος δὲ καὶ τούτῳ ταῦτα ὁ Δαρείος ἀποστέλλει αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ θάλασσαν.

Καταβάντες δὲ οὗτοι ἐς Φοινίκην καὶ Φοινίκης ἐς Σιδῶνα πύλιν, 136  
αὐτίκα μὲν τριήρεας δύο ἐπλήρωσαν, ἅμα δὲ αὐτῇσι καὶ γαυλὸν<sup>373</sup> They take ship at

<sup>371</sup> συμβαλέεσθαι, "would contribute." The metaphor is one derived from the peculiar custom in Hellenic entertainments for each of the guests to bring a portion of the feast. These contributions were called *σύμβολα*. Democedes doubtless would have carried with him presents from his distinguished patients on the occasion of his journey, and Darius for his part promised him a transport freighted with all kinds of valuables,—his share (as it were) of the outfit.

<sup>372</sup> πλήσας. The nominative case is to be observed. Darius had already freighted the vessel (or given orders to that effect), and now promised Democedes that it should be ready to sail with him. If *πλήσαντα* had been used, the freighting of the merchantman would have been a part of Darius's promise.

<sup>373</sup> γαυλόν. This word appears to be the Phœnician term for a merchant vessel. It is derived by Bochart from the Hebrew root *gol*, "round." The term is therefore the exact equivalent of *naūs στρογγύλη*, which is perhaps the Greek translation of

it. In viii. 97 the expression *γαυλὸς φοινικῆος* is used.

It is rather curious that Herodotus, who has *just before* used the word *ὀλκάς* of this very vessel, should now change the term and persist in changing it (§ 137). Possibly this arises from the circumstance that the story of the *escape* of Democedes may be derived from the south of Italy, the inhabitants of which were familiar with Carthaginian traders in Sicily, and consequently with the Phœnician name *γαυλὸς* for a merchant vessel,—whereas the account of his fortunes at the Persian court may have come from another quarter, where the more common phrase *ὀλκάς* was in general use. (See the note 131 on § 44.) That the story of the *escape* of Democedes actually was current at Crotona appears from an independent source. It was the practice there for the chief magistrate's servant to accompany his master on the seventh day of the month to the public altars, habited in a *Persian garb*. The local tradition accounting for this custom was, that the people stript of his robes

Sidon, and after surveying the coast of Hellas, arrive at Tarentum. By the collusion of Aristophilides, the prince, Democedes escapes to Crotona.

μέγαν παντοίων ἀγαθῶν<sup>374</sup>. παρεσκευασμένοι δὲ πάντα ἔπλεον ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα· προσίσχοντες δὲ<sup>375</sup>, αὐτῆς τὰ παραθαλάσσια ἐθνεύντο καὶ ἀπεγράφοντο· ἐς δὲ τὰ πολλὰ αὐτῆς καὶ οὐνομαστότατα θεησάμενοι ἀπικοντο τῆς Ἰταλῆς ἐς Τάραντα. ἐνθαῦτα δὲ ἐκ ῥηστῶν<sup>376</sup> τῆς Δημοκίδεος, Ἀριστοφιλίδης τῶν Ταραντίνων ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῦτο μὲν τὰ πηδάλια παρέλυσε τῶν Μηδικῶν νεῶν<sup>377</sup>, τοῦτο δὲ αὐτοὺς τοὺς Πέρσας ἔρξε ὡς κατασκοπούς· δῆθεν ἐόντας· ἐν ᾧ δὲ οὗτοι ταῦτα ἔπασχον, ὁ Δημοκίδης ἐς τὴν Κρότωνα ἀπικνέεται· ἀπηγμένου δὲ ἤδη τοῦτου ἐς τὴν ἐσωτοῦ, ὁ Ἀριστοφιλίδης ἔλυσε τοὺς Πέρσας, καὶ τὰ παρέλαβε τῶν νεῶν ἀπέδωκε σφι. Πλείοντες δὲ ἐνθεύτεν οἱ Πέρσαι καὶ διώκοντες Δημοκίδεα ἀπικνέονται ἐς τὴν Κρότωνα, εὐρόντες δὲ μιν ἀγοράζοντα, ἀπτοντο αὐτοῦ· τῶν δὲ Κροτωννητῶν οἱ μὲν καταρρωδέοντες τὰ Περσικὰ πρήγματα προΐεναι ἐτοίμοι ἦσαν, οἱ δὲ ἀντάπτουτό τε καὶ τοῖσι σκυτάλοις<sup>378</sup> ἔπαιον τοὺς Πέρσας, προῖσχομένους ἔπεα

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The Persians follow, and, attempting to seize him, are beaten,

the Persian who laid hands upon Democedes, and claimed him as Darius's slave; and, to show their contempt, dressed up the prytanis's orderly in them. (TIMÆUS *ap. Athenæum*, p. 522.)

<sup>374</sup> παντοίων ἀγαθῶν. Gaisford, by placing a comma before these words, obscures the real sense of the passage. The merchant-vessel was filled with all kinds of precious merchandize, but not the trimmes, which were intended merely as a convoy. The word πληροῦν applied to a trireme means simply "to man," and is used commonly in this sense. παντοίων ἀγαθῶν is governed by some such word as ἐπλησας, gathered by inference from it. See note 190 on i. 59.

<sup>375</sup> προσίσχοντες, "on making the land." The conception of the author is, that the vessel made a run direct from Sidon to the coast of Greece. But although they surveyed and noted down the whole of the sea-board, no definite account of what they did appears until their arrival at Tarentum. It seems probable from this, that no account, directly or indirectly, from the lips of Democedes, can be the source of the story. He, according to Herodotus, was so completely the guide to the Persians in the matter, that after losing him they at once returned homewards (§ 137, ἵστερημένοι τοῦ ἡγεμόνος). It is very unlikely, therefore, that a story for which he himself was the authority should omit all reference to τὰ

οἰνομαστότατα Ἑλλάδος, which were visited in the course of the voyage. See above, note 362.

<sup>376</sup> ἐκ ῥηστῶν. This expression is used in the sense of ἐκ ῥηδιουργίας, and perhaps acquired the meaning of fraudulency by the same process of association, viz. as being the opposite of "strict-dealing." In the same way *facilis* came to be used in Latin in the expression "faciles nymphæ," to denote the opposite of *rigid* morality, and in English *las* conduct implies shuffling.

<sup>377</sup> τῶν Μηδικῶν νεῶν. The ships themselves were neither Median nor Persian, but Phœnician; but in Hellas, especially in those parts which had the least intercourse with the east, ὁ Μῆξος would be the common phrase for the Persian power, and the adjective derived from this word would be applied to vessels sailing under their flag.

<sup>378</sup> τοῖσι σκυτάλοις. The word σκυτάλη, or σκυτάλον, means the stick around which a strip of leather was wound, on which dispatches were sent by the government of Sparta to their functionaries abroad. But although in Athenian Greek a technical term, it was most probably the common word for a staff in Lacedæmon, and might not unnaturally bear the same sense in a mainly Dorian city like Crotona. Its use, therefore, in this passage, is not wonderful, especially if the narrative is of Magna-Grecian origin.





τάδε "ἄνδρες Κροτωνιῆται, ὁράτε τὰ ποίετε· ἄνδρα βασιλέως and, in  
 δρηγέτην γενόμενον ἐξαιρέεσθε· καὶ κὼς ταῦτα βασιλεῖ Δαρεῖω spite of  
 ἐκκρήσει" <sup>379</sup> περὺβρίσθαι; κὼς δὲ ὑμῖν τὰ ποιούμενα ἔξει καλῶς, threats,  
 ἦν ἀπέλησθε ἡμέας; ἐπὶ τίνα δὲ τῆσδε προτέρην στρατευσόμεθα robbed.  
 πόλιν; τίνα δὲ προτέρην ἀνδραποδίζεσθαι πειρησόμεθα;" ταῦτα  
 λέγοντες τοὺς Κροτωνιῆτας οὐκ ὦν ἔπειθον ἀλλ' ἐξαιρεθέντες <sup>380</sup>  
 τε τὸν Δημοκῆδεα καὶ τὸν γαυλὸν τὸν ἅμα ἦγοντο ἀπαιρεθέντες  
 ἀπέπλεον ὅπισω ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, οὐδ' ἔτι ἐξήγησαν τὸ προσωτέρω  
 τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀπικόμενοι ἐκμαθεῖν, ἑστερημένοι τοῦ ἡγεμόνος <sup>381</sup>.

τοσόνδε μέντοι ἐνετειλατό σφι Δημοκῆδης ἀναγομένοισι, κελεύων Democedes  
 εἰπεῖν σφέας Δαρεῖω ὅτι ἄρμοστοι τὴν Μίλωνος θυγατέρα Δημο- bids them  
 κῆδης γυναῖκα· τοῦ γὰρ δὴ παλαιστέω Μίλωνος ἦν οὐνομα πολλὸν tell Darius  
 παρὰ βασιλεῦ· κατὰ δὴ τοῦτό μοι δοκέει σπεύσαι τὸν γάμον τοῦτον he had mar-  
 τελέσας χρήματα μεγάλα Δημοκῆδης, ἵνα φανῇ πρὸς Δαρείου <sup>382</sup> rried Milo's  
 εὖ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἑωυτοῦ δόκιμος. Ἀναχθέντες δὲ ἐκ τῆς Κρότωνος daughter.

οἱ Πέρσαι ἐκπύπτουσι τῇσι νηυσὶ ἐς Ἰηπυγίην καὶ σφέας δουλεύ- 138  
 οντας ἐνθαῦτα Γίλλος ἀνὴρ Ταραντίνος φυγὰς ῥυσάμενος, ἀπήγαγε On their re-  
 παρὰ βασιλέα Δαρείου· ὁ δὲ ἀντὶ τούτων ἐτοίμος ἦν δίδουσι τοῦτο turn they  
 ὅ τι βούλοιο αὐτός· Γίλλος δὲ αἰρέεται κάτοδόν οἱ ἐς Τάραντα are ship-  
 γενέσθαι, προαπηγησάμενος τὴν συμφορὴν ἵνα δὲ μὴ συνταράξῃ wrecked on  
 τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἦν δι' αὐτὸν στόλος μέγας πλὴν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰταλίην, Isapygia, and  
 Κνιδίους μούρους ἀποχρᾶν οἱ ἔφη τοὺς κατὰγοντας γίνεσθαι, redeemed  
 δοκέων ἀπὸ τούτων ἐόντων τοῖσι Ταραντίνοισι φίλων μάλιστα δὴ from slavery  
 τὴν κάτοδόν οἱ ἔσεσθαι. Δαρεῖος δὲ ὑποδεξάμενος ἐπετέλεε· πέμ- by Gillus, a  
 ψας γὰρ ἄγγελον ἐς Κνίδον κατὰγειν σφέας ἐκέλευε Γίλλον ἐς Tarentine  
 Τάραντα· πειθόμενοι δὲ Δαρεῖω Κνιδίωι Ταραντίνους οὐκ ὦν ἔπει exile, whom  
 θον, βίην δὲ ἀδύνατοι ἦσαν προσφέρειν. ταῦτα μὲν νυν οὕτω the Cnidians  
 ἐπρήχθη· οὗτοι δὲ πρῶτοι ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀπίκοντο at Darius's  
 Πέρσαι, καὶ οὗτοι διὰ τοιόνδε πρῆγμα κατάσκοποι ἐγένοντο. request  
 fruitlessly  
 endeavour  
 to get re-  
 stored to his  
 country.

<sup>379</sup> ἐκκρήσει, "will be sufficient for." See viii. 70: τότε μὲν νυν οὐκ ἐξέχρησέ σφι ἡ ἡμέρη ναυμαχίην ποιήσασθαι. Translate, "How will Darius put up with this outrage that has been committed upon him?"

<sup>380</sup> ἐξαιρεθέντες. This word implies that Democedes was taken out of their very hands by his rescuers. (See TIMÆUS quoted in note 373, above.) They were robbed indeed of the transport, but not in

a contest brought to so direct a personal issue, and hence the milder phrase ἀπαιρεθέντες.

<sup>381</sup> ἑστερημένοι τοῦ ἡγεμόνος. See note 375, above.

<sup>382</sup> ἵνα φανῇ πρὸς Δαρείου. The more usual phrase would be ἵνα φανῇ Δαρεῖω. But ἵνα φανῇ is equivalent in point of sense to ἵνα νομισθῇ, which would be followed by πρὸς Δαρείου as the most usual construction.

139

Fall of  
Samos at  
the instance  
of Syloson,  
the exiled  
brother of  
Polycrates.

Origin of  
his ac-  
quaintance  
with Da-  
rius.

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, Σάμον βασιλεὺς Δαρείος αἰρέει πολίων πασέων  
πρώτην Ἑλληνίδων καὶ βαρβάρων, διὰ τοιήνδε τινὰ αἰτίην Καμ-  
βύσεω τοῦ Κύρου στρατευομένου ἐπ' Ἀἴγυπτον, ἄλλοι τε συχνοὶ ἐς  
τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἀπίκοντο Ἑλλήνων, οἱ μὲν, ὡς οἶκος, κατ' ἐμπορίην,  
οἱ δὲ στρατευόμενοι, οἱ δὲ τινες καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς χώρας θεῖται, τῶν  
ἦν καὶ Συλοσῶν ὁ Αἰάκεος Πολυκράτεος τε ἐὼν ἀδελφεὸς καὶ φεύ-  
γων ἐκ Σάμου<sup>333</sup>. τοῦτον τὸν Συλοσῶντα κατέλαβε εὐτυχίη τις  
τοιήδε· λαβὼν χλανίδα καὶ περιβαλόμενος πυρρὴν ἡγόραξε ἐν τῇ  
Μέμφι· ἰδὼν δὲ αὐτὸν Δαρείος, δορυφόρος τε ἐὼν Καμβύσεω καὶ  
λόγου οὐδενὸς κω μεγάλου, ἐπεθύμησε τῆς χλανίδος καὶ αὐτὴν  
προσελθὼν ὠνέετο· ὁ δὲ Συλοσῶν ὁρέων τὸν Δαρεῖον μεγάλως  
ἐπιθυμούντα τῆς χλανίδος, θελὴ τύχῃ χρεώμενος λέγει· “ἐγὼ  
ταύτην πωλέω μὲν οὐδενὸς χρήματος· δίδωμι δὲ ἄλλως εἰ περ  
οὕτω δεῖ γενέσθαι” πάντως τοι αἰνέσας ταῦτα ὁ Δαρείος παρα-  
λαμβάνει τὸ εἶμα. ὁ μὲν δὴ Συλοσῶν ἡπίστατό οἱ τοῦτο ἀπολω-  
λέναι δι' εὐηθίην<sup>334</sup>. ὡς δὲ τοῦ χρόνου προβαίνοντος Καμβύσης τε  
ἀπέθανε καὶ τῷ Μάγῳ ἐπανέστησαν οἱ ἐπτά, καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐπτά  
Δαρείος τὴν βασιλιήν ἔσχε, πυνθάνεται ὁ Συλοσῶν ὡς ἡ βασι-  
λιή περιεληλύθει ἐς τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα<sup>335</sup>, τῷ κοτὲ αὐτὸς ἔδωκε ἐν  
Αἰγύπτῳ δεσθῆντι τὸ εἶμα· ἀναβὰς δὲ ἐς τὰ Σούσα ἕξετο ἐς τὰ  
πρόθυρα τῶν βασιλέος οἰκίων, καὶ ἔφη Δαρείου εὐεργέτης εἶναι·  
ἠγγέλλει ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ πυλουργὸς τῷ βασιλεῖ, ὁ δὲ θωυμάσας  
λέγει πρὸς αὐτόν· “καὶ τίς ἐστι Ἑλλήνων εὐεργέτης<sup>336</sup>, φ' ἐγὼ  
προαιδεύμαι<sup>337</sup> νεωστὶ μὲν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχων; ἀναβέβηκε δὲ τίς [ἡ

<sup>333</sup> φεύγων ἐκ Σάμου. He was expelled by his brother, (see above, § 39,) who after this made a close alliance with Amasis. While this lasted, of course Syloson could not go to Egypt; but he took advantage of the presence of Cambyse's army to do so.

<sup>334</sup> δι' εὐηθίην, “from his good-nature.” What the Greeks understood by εὐηθία is well explained by a phrase of THUCYDIDES (iii. 83): τὸ εὐθεὸς οὐ τὸ γενναῖον πλείστον μετέχει, “simplicity, which is a chief element in nobleness.” It is the exact opposite of “knowingness,” and of course when carried to excess degenerates into “silliness,” of which quality it is often used as an euphemistic name.

<sup>335</sup> ἐς τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα. The manu-

scripts M, K, P, F, have ὡς for ἐς. See note 352 on ii. 121.

<sup>336</sup> εὐεργέτης. This term is used almost technically. See the note on § 154, ἐς τὸ πρόσω μεγάθεος τιμῶνται.

<sup>337</sup> φ' ἐγὼ προαιδεύμαι, “to whom I am under obligations.” It is difficult to see how this sense is to be derived from the word αἰδεῖσθαι; but such a one is imperatively required both here and in i. 61. The preposition has no meaning of antecedence in point of time, but rather of preference, as in προτιμᾶν. Thus προαιδεῖσθαι may mean, “to have special respect for,” “to feel reverence in the presence of;” and as the receipt of a favour produces a feeling of inferiority, the sense required in the text may have sprung up.

οὐδείς] <sup>300</sup> κω παρ' ἡμέας αὐτῶν; ἔχω δὲ χρέος ὡς εἰπεῖν οὐδέν <sup>300</sup> ἀνδρὸς Ἑλληνος. ὁμῶς δὲ αὐτὸν παράγετε ἔσω, ἵνα εἰδῶν τί θέλων λέγει ταῦτα." παρήγγε ὁ πυλουργὸς τὸν Συλοσῶντα· στάντα δὲ ἐς μέσον εἰρώτευν οἱ ἐρμηνέες τίς τε εἶη, καὶ τί ποιήσας εὐεργέτης φησὶ εἶναι βασιλέος; εἶπε ὦν ὁ Συλοσῶν πάντα τὰ περὶ τὴν χλανίδα γενόμενα, καὶ ὡς αὐτὸς εἶη κείνος ὁ δούς· ἀμείβεται πρὸς ταῦτα Δαρεῖος· "ὦ γενναϊότατε ἀνδρῶν, σὺ κείνος εἰ δὲ ἐμοὶ οὐδεμίαν ἔχοντί κω δύναμιν ἔδωκας, εἰ καὶ σμικρά; ἀλλ' ὦν ἴσῃ γε ἡ χάρις ὁμοίως ὡς εἰ νῦν κοθέν τι μέγα λάβοιμ· ἀνθ' ὦν τοι χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον ἄπλετον δίδωμι, ὡς μὴ κοτέ τοι μεταμελήσει Δαρεῖον τὸν Ἰστάσπεος εὖ ποιήσαντι." λέγει πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Συλοσῶν· "ἐμοὶ μήτε χρυσὸν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, μήτε ἄργυρον δίδου, ἀλλ' ἀνασώσάμενός μοι δὸς τὴν πατρίδα Σάμου, τὴν νῦν, ἀδελφεοῦ τοῦ ἐμοῦ Πολυκράτεος ἀποθανόντος ὑπὸ Ὀροίτew, ἔχει δούλος ἡμέτερος· ταύτην μοι δὸς ἄνευ τε φόνου καὶ ἐξανδραποδίσιος." Ταῦτα ἀκούσας Δαρεῖος, ἀπέστειλλε στρατὴν τε καὶ στρατηγὸν Ὀτάνα <sup>300</sup> ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἐπὶ γενόμενον, ἐντειλάμενος ὅσων ἐδεήθη ὁ Συλοσῶν ταῦτά οἱ ποιεῖν ἐπιτελέα. καταβὰς δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν <sup>301</sup> ὁ Ὀτάνης ἔστειλλε τὴν στρατὴν.

Τῆς δὲ Σάμου Μαιάνδριος ὁ Μαιανδρίου εἶχε τὸ κράτος, ἐπιτρο-

141

Otanes is charged to restore Syloson to his country.

142

<sup>300</sup> ἀναβέβηκε δὲ τίς κω παρ' ἡμέας αὐτῶν; "and who of them has up to this time come up the country to our court?" The MSS vary between ἀναβέβηκε δ' ἡ τις ἢ οὐδεὶς κω, ἀναβέβηκε δὲ τις ἢ οὐδεὶς κω, and ἀναβέβηκε δὴ τις ἢ οὐδεὶς κω. Gaisford has adopted the first of these readings. But although in the writers of the lower times (ARISTIDES and ÆLIAN) the expressions ἡ τις ἢ οὐδεὶς, and ἡ τι ἢ οὐδὲν, appear to have been used as the equivalent of οὐδεὶς and οὐδὲν, I doubt whether in this passage the reading does not arise from an union of two alternative variants, οὐδεὶς and τίς the interrogative. By striking out either the words τίς ἢ, or ἡ οὐδεὶς, from the text of S and V, a genuine reading will remain. The same cause probably produced the corruption of the passage of Xenophon, which Valcknaer quotes in justification of ἡ τις ἢ οὐδεὶς.

<sup>300</sup> ἔχω δὲ χρέος ὡς εἰπεῖν οὐδέν. Some MSS (which Gaisford follows) omit the word ὡς. Others vary between the

reading in the text and χρέος οὐδὲν ὡς εἰπεῖν.

<sup>300</sup> στρατηγὸν Ὀτάνα. Probably Otanes took the position which had been held by Oroetes. (See note 350 on § 127.) It can hardly be supposed that the first subject in Persia, now become the king's father-in-law, would take the command of a mere local expedition for a specific purpose. The application of Syloson to Darius is represented as immediately succeeding the accession of the latter, who speaks of himself as νεωστὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχων, and as yet having had no visitors from Greece (§ 140). The division of the satrapies can therefore scarcely have been established at the time.

<sup>301</sup> καταβὰς ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν. It does not appear what seaboard is intended here; and probably no definite place was meant by the story. Above (§ 135) by the same phrase the coast of Phœnicia will be meant, if §§ 135, 136 belong originally to the same tradition.



*Mæandrius* left viceroy of Samos, builds and endows a shrine of Zeus Eleutherius, and then endeavours to establish a common-wealth.

His overtures are ill received,

143

and he repents his offer and imprisons

παῖν παρὰ Πολυκράτεος λαβὼν τὴν ἀρχήν<sup>391</sup>. τῷ δικαιοτάτῳ ἀνδρῶν βουλομένῳ γενέσθαι, οὐκ ἐξεγένετο· ἐπεὶ γὰρ οἱ ἐξαγγέλθη ὁ Πολυκράτεος θάνατος, ἐποίεε τοιαύδε· πρῶτα μὲν Διὸς Ἐλευθερίου βωμὸν ἰδρύσατο, καὶ τέμενος περὶ αὐτὸν οὕρισε τοῦτο τὸ νῦν ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ ἐστί· μετὰ δὲ, ὥς οἱ ἐπεποιήτο, ἐκκλησίην συναγείρας πάντων τῶν ἀστών ἐλεξε τάδε· “ἐμοὶ, ὥς ἴστε καὶ ὑμεῖς, σκῆπτρον καὶ δύναμις πᾶσα ἡ Πολυκράτεος ἐπιτέτραπται, καὶ μοι παρέχει νῦν ὑμέων ἄρχεω· ἐγὼ δὲ τὰ τῷ πέλας ἐπιπλήσω<sup>392</sup> αὐτὸς κατὰ δύναμιν οὐ ποιήσω· οὔτε γάρ μοι Πολυκράτης ἤρεσκε δεσπόζων ἀνδρῶν ὁμοίων ἐωυτῷ<sup>393</sup>, οὔτε ἄλλος ὅστις τοιαῦτα ποιεῖ. Πολυκράτης μὲν νῦν ἐξέπλησε μοῖραν τὴν ἐωυτοῦ· ἐγὼ δὲ ἐς μέσον τὴν ἀρχὴν τιθεὶς ἰσονομίην ὑμῖν προαγορεύω. τοσάδε μέντοι δικαίῳ γέρεα ἐμεωυτῷ γενέσθαι· ἐκ μὲν γὰρ τῶν Πολυκράτεος χρημάτων ἐξαίρετα ἕξ τάλαντά μοι γενέσθαι· ἱρῶσύνην δὲ πρὸς τούτοις αἰρεῦμαι αὐτῷ τ’ ἐμοὶ καὶ τοῖσι ἀπ’ ἐμεῦ αἰεὶ γινομένοις, τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ἐλευθερίου τῷ αὐτὸς τε ἱρὸν ἰδρυσάμεν, καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίην ὑμῖν περιτίθηναι.” ὁ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα τοῖσι Σαμίοις ἐπαγγέλλετο· τῶν δὲ τις ἐξαναστὰς εἶπε· “ἀλλ’ οὐδ’ ἄξιός ἐστι σύ γε<sup>394</sup> ἡμέων ἄρχεω, γεγονός τε κακός· καὶ ἐὼν δλεθρός· ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ὅπως λόγον δώσεις τῶν μετεχειρίσας χρημάτων.” Ταῦτα εἶπε, ἐὼν ἐν τοῖσι ἀστούσι δόκιμος<sup>395</sup>, τῷ οὐνόματι Τελέσαρχος· Μαϊάνδρος δὲ νόφ λαβὼν ὥς εἰ μετήσει τὴν ἀρχὴν ἄλλος τις ἀντ’ αὐτοῦ τύραννος καταστήσεται, οὐδ’ ἔτι ἐν

<sup>391</sup> ἐπιτροπαίην παρὰ Πολυκράτεος λαβὼν τὴν ἀρχήν, “having received the supreme authority from the hands of Polycrates to hold it in commission.” So iv. 147, *Theras ἐπιτροπαίην εἶχε τὴν ἐν Πάτρῳ βασιλίην*. (See note 105 on § 36.) *Mæandrius* is spoken of in v. 27, incidentally, simply as the *βασιλεὺς* of Samos, probably because Herodotus is there following a Hellenistic authority, unrecognized of the details of Polycrates’s history.

<sup>392</sup> τὰ τῷ πέλας ἐπιπλήσω. The same expression is used in vii. 136, αὐτὸς τὰ κείνοις ἐπιπλήσει ταῦτα οὐ ποιήσεν.

<sup>393</sup> δεσπόζων ἀνδρῶν ὁμοίων ἐωυτῷ. Polycrates was probably one of the old aristocracy himself. See the notes 124,

above, and 306, below.

<sup>394</sup> σύ γε. See the next note.

<sup>395</sup> ἐὼν ἐν τοῖσι ἀστούσι δόκιμος. Probably a member of the old aristocracy of houses which had been put down by Polycrates. Hence his insult to *Mæandrius* as being of mean birth (*γεγονὸς κακός*), and that *he at any rate (σύ γε)* had not a claim to bear office over *them*. The only office *Mæandrius* had wished for was the priesthood of a particular temple; but the priestly office was in most cases one of the special prerogatives of peculiar families. (See the notes on v. 67, and v. 69, and also on iv. 161.) The party to which *Telesarchus* belonged seems to have recovered power upon the revolution effected by *Aristagoras*. See the first note on vi. 5, and vi. 22.

νόψ εἶχε μετιέναι αὐτήν<sup>397</sup>. ἀλλ' ὡς ἀνεχώρησε ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, his ene-  
 μεταπεμπόμενος ἕνα ἕκαστον ὡς δὴ λόγον τῶν χρημάτων δώσων, mics.  
 συνέλαβε σφεας καὶ κατέδησε· οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐδεδάτο· Μαιάνδριον δὲ His end  
 μετὰ ταῦτα κατέλαβε νοῦσος· ἐλπίζων δέ μιν ἀποθανέσθαι ὁ seeming  
 ἀδελφεὸς, τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Λυκάρητος, ἵνα εὐπετεστέρως κατὰσχῃ likely, his  
 τὰ ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ πρήγματα, κατακτείνει τοὺς δεσμώτας πάντας. οὐ brother Ly-  
 γὰρ δὴ, ὡς οἶκασι, ἐβουλόατο εἶναι ἐλεύθεροι. ers to death.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὦν ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὴν Σάμον οἱ Πέρσαι κατάγοντες Συλο- 144  
 σῶντα, οὔτε τίς σφί χεῖρας ἀνταίρεται ὑπόσπονδοι τε ἔφασαν εἶναι  
 ἐτοῖμοι οἱ τοῦ Μαιανδρίου στασιῶται<sup>398</sup> καὶ αὐτὸς Μαιάνδριος The Per-  
 ἐκχωρήσαι ἐκ τῆς νήσου κατανέσαντος δ' ἐπὶ τούτοισι Ὀτάνεω sian force  
 καὶ σπεισασμένοι, τῶν Περσέων οἱ πλείστου ἄξιοι θρόνους θέμε- with Sylo-  
 νοι<sup>399</sup> κατεναντίον τῆς ἀκροπόλιος ἐκατέατο. Μαιανδρίῳ δὲ τῷ son arrives  
 τυράννῳ ἦν ἀδελφεὸς ὑπομαργότερος<sup>400</sup> τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Χαρίλεως at Samos,  
 οὗτος ὁ τι δι' ἐξαμαρτῶν ἐν γοργύρῃ ἐδέδετο· καὶ δὴ τότε ἐπακούσας and a truce  
 τε τὰ πρησόμενα καὶ διακύνφας διὰ τῆς γοργύρης, ὡς εἶδε τοὺς is made  
 Πέρσας εἰρηναιῶς κατημένους, ἐβόα τε καὶ ἔφη λέγων Μαιανδρίῳ by the fac-  
 θέλειν ἐλθεῖν ἐς λόγους· ἐπακούσας δὲ ὁ Μαιάνδριος λύσαντας tion of Mæ-  
 αὐτὸν ἐκέλευε ἄγειν παρ' ἐωντόν· ὡς δὲ ἄχθη τάχιστα, λοιδορέων andrius, but  
 τε καὶ κακίζων μιν ἀνέπειθε ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖσι Πέρσησι, λέγων broken by a  
 τοιαύδε· “ἐμὲ μὲν, ὦ κάκιστε ἀνδρῶν, ἔοντα σεωντοῦ ἀδελφεὸν καὶ half-witted  
 ἀδικήσαντα οὐδὲν ἄξιον δεσμοῦ δήσας γοργύρης ἤξίωσας, ὀρέων δὲ brother of  
 τοὺς Πέρσας ἐκβάλλοντάς τε σε καὶ ἄνοικον ποιεῖντας, οὐ τολμᾶς Meandrius,  
 τίσασθαι οὕτω δὴ τι ἔοντας εὐπετέας χειρωθῆναι; ἀλλ' εἴ τι σύ 145  
 σφεας καταρρώδηκας, ἐμοὶ δὸς τοὺς ἐπικούρους· καὶ σφεας ἐγὼ  
 τιμωρήσομαι τῆς ἐνθάδε ἀπίξιος, αὐτὸν δὲ σε ἐκπέμψαι ἐκ τῆς  
 νήσου ἐτοῖμός ἐίμι.” Ταῦτα ἔλεξε ὁ Χαρίλεως Μαιάνδριος δὲ 146

<sup>397</sup> οὐδ' ἔτι ἐν νόψ εἶχε μετιέναι αὐτήν. For a conjecture as to the origin of the opposition made to Meandrius's plan, see note 409, below.

<sup>398</sup> στασιῶται. Some MSS have στρα-  
 τιῶται, which perhaps is the preferable  
 reading; as from the expression ἐπικού-  
 ρους (§ 146) the dynasty appears to have  
 been supported by mercenaries.

<sup>399</sup> θρόνους θέμενοι. In the Lycian  
 monument discovered by FELLOWES, the  
 Persian commander is represented sitting  
 upon a δίφρος, not on a θρόνος, with his  
 feet on a footstool, while the prisoners are

brought before him. The same group is  
 found on many of the Nineveh marbles,  
 but in none is the seat a θρόνος, i. e. a  
 high-backed chair. Perhaps the high  
 rank of Otanes (see above, notes 350 and  
 390) caused the adoption of the θρόνος,  
 if he was present in person, or even in  
 actual command of the army of which a  
 detachment formed the expedition to Sa-  
 mos.

<sup>400</sup> ὑπομαργότερος, “half-lunatic.” The  
 same epithet is applied to Cambyses,  
 (above, § 29,) and to Cleomenes (vi. 75).

who, while his brother escapes by a secret passage, attacks the Persians unawares, and kills the men of highest rank.

147

Otanes in revenge orders a general massacre.

ὑπέλαβε τὸν λόγον, ὥς μὲν ἐγὼ δοκέω, οὐκ ἐς τοῦτο ἀφροσύνης ἀπικόμενος ὥς δόξαι τὴν ἐνωτοῦ δύναμιν περιέσεσθαι τῆς βασιλείας, ἀλλὰ φθονήσας μᾶλλον Συλοσῶντι εἰ ἀπονητὴ ἔμελλε ἀπολάμψεσθαι ἀκέραιον τὴν πόλιν. ἐρεθίσας ὦν τοὺς Πέρσας, ἔθελε ὥς ἀσθενέστατα ποιῆσαι τὰ Σάμια πρήγματα καὶ οὕτω<sup>401</sup> παραδιδόναι, εὖ ἐξεπιστάμενος ὥς παθόντες οἱ Πέρσαι κακῶς προσεμπικρανέεσθαι ἔμελλον τοῖσι Σαμίοισι· εἰδῶς τε ἐνωτῷ ἀσφαλέα ἔκδουσιν εἴουσιν ἐκ τῆς νήσου τότε ἐπεὰν αὐτὸς βούληται· ἐπεποίητο γάρ οἱ κρυπτὴ διώρυξ ἐκ τῆς ἀκρόπόλιος φέρουσα ἐπὶ θάλασσαν. αὐτὸς μὲν δὴ ὁ Μαιάνδριος ἐκπλέει ἐκ τῆς Σάμου τοὺς δὲ ἐπικούρους πάντας ὀπλίσας ὁ Χαρίλεως καὶ ἀναπετάσας τὰς πύλας, ἐξῆκε ἐπὶ τοὺς Πέρσας οὔτε προσδεκομένους τοιοῦτο οὐδὲν δοκέοντάς τε δὴ πάντα συμβεβάναι· ἐμπεισόντες δὲ οἱ ἐπικούροι τῶν Περσέων τοὺς διφροφορευμένους<sup>402</sup> τε καὶ λόγον πλείστου ἔοντας ἔκτεινον. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν ταῦτα ἐποίησαν ἡ δὲ ἄλλη στρατιὴ ἡ Περσικὴ ἐπεβοήθει· πιεζύμενοι δὲ οἱ ἐπικούροι, ὀπίσω κατειλήθησαν ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. Ὅτάνης δὲ ὁ στρατηγὸς ἰδὼν πάθος μέγα Πέρσας πεπονθότας, ἐντολὰς τε τὰς Δαρεϊῶς οἱ ἀποστέλλων ἐνέτέλλετο, μήτε κτείνειν μηδένα Σαμίῶν μήτε ἀνδραποδίζεσθαι ἀπαθέα τε κακῶν ἀποδοῦναι τὴν νήσον Συλοσῶντι, τουτέων μὲν τῶν ἐντολέων μεμνημένος ἐπελάνθανετο, ὁ δὲ παρήγγειλε<sup>403</sup> τῇ στρατιῇ, πάντα τὸν ἂν λάβωσι καὶ ἄνδρα καὶ παῖδα ὁμοίως κτείνειν· ἐνθαῦτα τῆς στρατιῆς οἱ μὲν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἐπολιόρκεον οἱ δὲ ἔκτεινον πάντα τὸν ἐμποδὼν γινόμενον, ὁμοίως ἔν τε ἱρῷ καὶ ἔξω ἱροῦ.

148 Μαιάνδριος δ' ἀποδρὰς ἐκ τῆς Σάμου ἐκπλέει ἐς Λακεδαίμονα<sup>404</sup>.

<sup>401</sup> οὕτω, "then and not before." See note 22 on i. 5.

<sup>402</sup> τοὺς διφροφορευμένους. DINON related that it was a point of etiquette with the Persian kings never to get out of their carriage at once upon the ground, however small the distance might be, nor yet to use the assistance of an attendant's arm, but to step out on to a golden stool (*δίφρος*), which an official, called *διφροφόρος*, always carried behind the carriage. (*ap. Athenæum*, xii. p. 514.) It seems not unlikely that οἱ διφροφορευμένοι here means those chiefs who were of such a rank as to possess the right of being attended by this functionary.

<sup>403</sup> παρήγγειλε. It does not seem ab-

solutely necessary to suppose that Otanes was on the spot. If he had been, he would probably have been among the *διφροφορευμένοι* Πέρσαι,—indeed, in the post of honour among them,—and his rescue would have been so difficult, that it could hardly have escaped mention. The expression seems not inappropriate to orders forwarded from head-quarters, for instance, from some place on the main, like the Panionium, which would be a very few miles from the city Samos.

<sup>404</sup> ἐς Λακεδαίμονα. Thither the Samians opposed to Polycrates had fled just about the time of Cambyses's expedition to Egypt. (Above, § 45.)

ἀπικόμενος δ' ἐς αὐτὴν καὶ ἀνευεικάμενος τὰ ἔχων ἐξεχώρησε, ἐποίησε τοιάδε ὅκως ποτήρια ἀργυρέα τε καὶ χρύσεια προθεῖτο, οἱ μὲν θεράποντες αὐτοῦ ἐξέσμων<sup>465</sup> αὐτὰ, ὁ δὲ ἂν τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον τῷ Κλεομένει τῷ Ἀναξανδρίδῳ ἐν λόγοισι ἐὼν, βασιλεύοντι Σπάρτης, προῆγέ μιν ἐς τὰ οἰκία ὅκως δὲ ἴδοιτο Κλεομένης τὰ ποτήρια, ἀπεθώμαζε τε καὶ ἐξεπλήσσετο, ὁ δὲ ἂν ἐκέλευε<sup>466</sup> αὐτὸν ἀποφέρεισθαι αὐτῶν ὅσα βούλουτο· τοῦτο καὶ δις καὶ τρίς εἶπαντος Μαιανδρίου, ὁ Κλεομένης δικαιοτάτος ἀνδρῶν γίνεται<sup>467</sup>, ὃς λαβεῖν μὲν διδόμενα οὐκ ἐδίκαιεν· μαθὼν δὲ ὡς ἄλλοισι<sup>468</sup> διδούς τῶν ἀστῶν εὐρήσθαι τιμωρίην<sup>469</sup>, βὰς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐφόρους ἄμεινον εἶναι ἔφη τῇ Σπάρτῃ τὸν ξεῖνον τὸν Σάμιον ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι ἐκ τῆς Πελοποννήσου, ἵνα μὴ ἀναπέιση ἢ αὐτὸν ἢ ἄλλον τινὰ Σπαρτιητέων κακὸν γενέσθαι· οἱ δ' ὑπακούσαντες ἐξεκήρυξαν Μαιάνδριον<sup>470</sup>.

Meandrius, with great wealth, escapes to Lacedæmon.

Virtuous conduct of Cleomenes the king.

<sup>465</sup> ἐξέσμων. The more common form is not *σμάω*, but *σμήγω*. *σμήγμα* is an abstergent substance used for the same purpose as our soap. (*Athenæus*, ix. p. 409.) The servants of Meandrius were employed in cleaning his cups with a plate-powder, which, when wiped off, of course showed their lustre to the greatest advantage, and he took the opportunity to bring Cleomenes home with him exactly on these occasions. Herodotus uses the word *διασμέντες*, "scouring," of the brass goblets of the Egyptians (ii. 37). But here the effect to the eye was produced by *cleaning off* the *σμήγμα*, and showing the maiden lustre of the metal. Hence the compound in the text is the more appropriate.

<sup>466</sup> ἂν ἐκέλευε, "habitually bade him," just as ἂν προῆγε, "habitually led him on," and ἀπελάυνε' ἂν, "used to be driven away," § 51, above. For this use of ἂν see MATTHEW, *Gr. Gr.* § 599, a.

<sup>467</sup> δικαιοτάτος ἀνδρῶν γίνεται. This seems to have been a traditional character of Cleomenes. The Lacedæmonian story related in v. 51 goes to the same point.

<sup>468</sup> μαθὼν δὲ ὡς ἄλλοισι. Probably these were the opposite party in Lacedæmon to that of which Cleomenes may be considered as the representative. That opposite party was unquestionably the one which held the pure Dorian blood in highest estimation, and was favourable to Doric interests, or, in other words, to the maintenance of the aristocratic family governments. If we suppose Cleomenes

to have succeeded his father Anaxandrides between the arrival of the first exiles (§ 45) and that of Meandrius, an additional reason appears why the former should have succeeded in their application for aid and the latter not. Anaxandrides was apparently of more decided Dorian feeling than his son. He had brought the wars with Arcadia to a successful termination (i. 67),—an event which raised the power of the Doric race, and the Lacedæmonians at their head, to an unprecedented pitch. (See i. 68, put together with i. 56.) Cleomenes, on the contrary, disclaimed being a Dorian, (v. 72,) and even tried to organize an Arcadian confederacy (vi. 74). See the notes on v. 41 and v. 75.

<sup>469</sup> τιμωρίην. The more appropriate word would be *βοήθειαν*. But Meandrius might very likely have put himself forward in Lacedæmon as the representative of the ancient party which had been humbled by Polycrates, to which the exiles (mentioned § 45) belonged; and it is not impossible that the fact which lies at the bottom of the story related by Herodotus in §§ 142, 3, was, that he attempted to reorganize a constitution in which this party should have its due weight. But Telesarchus, like the Bourbons at their restoration to France, showed that he had learnt nothing and forgotten nothing during the suspension of his civil rights.

<sup>470</sup> ἐξεκήρυξαν Μαιάνδριον. The manuscript S has for these words merely the single word *ἀπέπεμον*.

149 Τὴν δὲ Σάμον σαγηνεύσαντες οἱ Πέρσαι παρέδωσαν Συλοσῶντι<sup>411</sup>,  
 Syloson is left in pos-  
 session of  
 Samos after  
 the popula-  
 tion had  
 150 ἔρῃμον εὖσαν ἀνδρῶν. ὑστέρῃ μέντοι χρόνῳ καὶ συγκατοίκισε  
 αὐτὴν ὁ στρατηγὸς Ὀτάνης, ἐκ τε δῆμος ὀνείρου καὶ νούσου ἣ μιν  
 κατέλαβε νοσῆσαι τὰ αἰδοῖα.

150 Ἐπὶ δὲ Σάμον στρατεύματος ναυτικοῦ οἰχομένου Βαβυλώνιοι  
 ἀπέστησαν<sup>412</sup>, κάρτα εὖ παρεσκευασμένοι. ἐν ὧσιν γὰρ ὁ τε  
 Μάγος ἤρχε καὶ οἱ ἐπτά ἐπανέστησαν, ἐν τούτῳ παντὶ τῷ χρόνῳ<sup>413</sup>  
 καὶ τῇ ταραχῇ ἐς τὴν πολιορκίην παρεσκευάδατο· καὶ πως ταῦτα  
 ποιεῖντες ἐλάνθανον. ἐπεὶ τε δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανέος ἀπέστησαν,  
 ἐποίησαν τοιοῦνδε· τὰς μητέρας ἐξελόντες, γυναικὰ ἕκαστος μίαν  
 προσεξαίρετο τὴν ἐβούλετο ἐκ τῶν ἐωντοῦ οἰκίων· τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς  
 ἀπάσας συναγαγόντες ἀπέπνιξαν τὴν δὲ μίαν ἕκαστος σιτοποιῶν<sup>414</sup>.  
 ἐξαίρετο· ἀπέπνιξαν δὲ αὐτὰς ἵνα μὴ σφῶν τὸν σῖτον ἀναισιμώ-

<sup>411</sup> Τὴν δὲ Σάμον σαγηνεύσαντες οἱ Πέρσαι παρέδωσαν Συλοσῶντι. For these words S has οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι παρέδωσαν Συλοσῶντι Σάμον, thus continuing the last sentence, and omitting the word *σαγηνεύσαντες*. These variations seem too great to be accidental: and it is remarkable that Herodotus should in vi. 31 give an explanation of the meaning of the word *σαγηνεύειν* at some length, if he had previously used it here. Some presumption hence arises, that when the passage vi. 31 was written, this part of the text is more likely to have existed in the shape at present given by the manuscript S. See what appears like another variation in the note on vi. 101.

<sup>412</sup> Βαβυλώνιοι ἀπέστησαν. The time to which Herodotus assigns this event agrees very fairly with the statement of the Behistun Inscription. In that, the first public event recorded, after the counter-revolution in which the Magian was slain and the kingdom established on the old footing, is the (apparently simultaneous) revolt of Atrines son of Opidarnes, who rebels and becomes king of Susiana, and of Natitabirus who becomes king of Babylon, professing to be Nabokodrosor son of Nabinidus. Darius sends to Susiana, takes Atrines and slays him; but marches in person against Babylon, forces a passage (on the 27th day of the month *Atryyata*) across the Tigris on rafts, defeating the army of Natitabirus, and (on the second day of the month *Anamaka*) engages Natitabirus at Zázana on the Euphrates, and drives his army into the river. He then proceeds to Ba-

bylon, takes it, seizes Natitabirus, and afterwards puts him to death. In the Inscription there is nothing to induce a supposition that the month *Anamaka* does not succeed the month *Atryyata* in the same year. No doubt while Darius is at Babylon a great many nations are in the Inscription recorded to have revolted. But see note 415, below.

<sup>413</sup> ἐν τούτῳ παντὶ τῷ χρόνῳ. The policy of the Magian would doubtless be favourable to their plans. See the expression in § 67: *ὅστε ἀποθανόντος αὐτοῦ πόθον ἔχειν πάντας τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ πᾶρες αὐτῶν Περσέων*, and the note 346 on § 126.

<sup>414</sup> σιτοποιῶν, literally, "as a preparer of food." But the word perhaps may be taken generally, so as to mean any female domestic servant. When it is considered how large a portion of domestic service consisted of the preparation of food, (for the wheat had to be *ground* in the family,) and how bare the dwellings of the ancients were of furniture, it is not surprising that this word should be used in a general sense, or at any rate that the office expressed by it should be regarded as important beyond all comparison with any other branch of menial duty. Thus the Platæans, under similar circumstances to those in the text, reserved a certain number of *γυναικες σιτοποιοι*, (THUCYDIDES, ii. 78,) and EURIPIDES makes Polyxena describe her destiny in captivity, by putting the *ἀνάγκη σιτοποιὸς ἐν δόμοις* in the first place of the servile tasks she had reason to expect. (*Hecuba*, 362.)



σωσι. Πυθόμενος δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Δαρείος, καὶ συλλέξας ἅπασαν τὴν 151  
 ἐκείνου δύναμιν, ἐστρατεύετο ἐπ' αὐτούς· ἐπελάσας δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν <sup>Darius proceeds in</sup>  
 Βαβυλῶνα ἐπολιόρκει φροντίζοντας οὐδὲν τῆς πολιορκίας ἀνα- <sup>person to</sup>  
 βαίνοντες γὰρ ἐπὶ τοὺς προμαχέωνας τοῦ τείχεος οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι <sup>Babylon,</sup>  
 κατωρχέοντο, καὶ κατέσκηπτον Δαρείον καὶ τὴν στρατιὴν αὐτοῦ· <sup>but is re-</sup>  
 καὶ τις αὐτῶν εἶπε τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος· "τί κάτησθε ἐνθαῦτα, ὦ Πέρ- <sup>sisted by</sup>  
 σαι, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀπαλλάσσεσθε; τότε γὰρ αἰρήσετε ἡμέας ἐπεὶ <sup>the besieged</sup>  
 ἡμίονοι τέκωσι." τοῦτο εἶπε τῶν τις Βαβυλωνίων οὐδαμὰ ἐλπίζων <sup>difficulty</sup>  
 ἂν ἡμίονον τεκεῖν· Ἐπτὰ δὲ μηνῶν καὶ ἐνιαυτοῦ διεληλυθότες 152  
 ἤδη <sup>for nineteen</sup>  
 ὁ Δαρείος τε ἡσχαλλε καὶ ἡ στρατιὴ πᾶσα οὐ δυνατὴ εἶναι <sup>months.</sup>  
 ἐλεῖν τοὺς Βαβυλωνίους· καὶ τοὶ πάντα σοφίσματα καὶ πάσας  
 μηχανὰς ἐπεποιήκει ἐς αὐτοὺς Δαρείος· ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὥς ἐδύνατο ἐλεῖν  
 σφέας, ἄλλοις τε σοφίσμασι πειρησάμενος καὶ δὴ καὶ τῷ Κῦρος  
 εἰλὲ σφεας καὶ τοῦτ' ἐπειρήθη· ἀλλὰ γὰρ δεινῶς ἦσαν ἐν φυλα-  
 κῇσι οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι, οὐδὲ σφεας οἷός τε ἦν ἐλεῖν.

Ἐνθαῦτα, εἰκοστῇ μηνί, Ζωπύρῳ τῷ Μεγαβύζου δς τῶν ἐπτὰ 153  
 ἀνδρῶν <sup>116</sup> ἐγένετο τῶν τὸν Μάγον κατελόντων, τούτου τοῦ <sup>117</sup> Με- <sup>In the</sup>  
 γαβύζου παιδὶ Ζωπύρῳ ἐγένετο τέρας τότε· τῶν οἱ σιτοφόρων <sup>twentieth</sup>  
 ἡμιόνων μία ἔτεκε <sup>118</sup>. ὥς δὲ οἱ ἐξαγγέλθη καὶ ὑπὸ ἀπιστίας <sup>month, a</sup>  
 αὐτὸς ὁ Ζώπυρος εἶδε τὸ βρέφος, ἀπέλπας τοῖσι δούλοισι μηδενὶ <sup>mule be-</sup>  
 φράζειν τὸ γεγονός, ἐβουλεύετο· καὶ οἱ πρὸς τὰ τοῦ Βαβυλωνίου <sup>longing to</sup>  
<sup>Zopyrus,</sup>  
 φράζειν τὸ γεγονός, ἐβουλεύετο· καὶ οἱ πρὸς τὰ τοῦ Βαβυλωνίου <sup>son of Me-</sup>  
 φράζειν τὸ γεγονός, ἐβουλεύετο· καὶ οἱ πρὸς τὰ τοῦ Βαβυλωνίου <sup>gabyzus,</sup>  
 φράζειν τὸ γεγονός, ἐβουλεύετο· καὶ οἱ πρὸς τὰ τοῦ Βαβυλωνίου <sup>drops a</sup>  
 φράζειν τὸ γεγονός, ἐβουλεύετο· καὶ οἱ πρὸς τὰ τοῦ Βαβυλωνίου <sup>foal,</sup>

<sup>113</sup> ἐπτὰ δὲ μηνῶν καὶ ἐνιαυτοῦ διελη-  
 λυθότες ἤδη. It seems not impossible  
 that this length of time assigned to the  
 siege arises from a confusion on the part  
 of the authorities followed by Herodotus  
 of two sieges; in the first of which Darius  
 commanded in person, while in the other  
 the city was taken by Intaphres, a Median.  
 In the Behistun Inscription the former  
 appears as the third, the latter as the  
 ninth of the great successes which are  
 recorded. See the notes 412, above,  
 418, below, and 1 on iv. 1.

<sup>116</sup> δς τῶν ἐπτὰ ἀνδρῶν. In some MSS  
 these words are preceded by τοῦ or τούτου,  
 the latter of which Gaisford adopts.

<sup>117</sup> τούτου τοῦ. This reading rests on  
 the authority of S. Another MS has τοῦ-  
 τῳ τῷ. Gaisford reads τούτῳ.

<sup>118</sup> τῶν οἱ σιτοφόρων ἡμιόνων μία ἔτεκε.  
 Ctesias makes this feature the only one  
 in the narrative of Herodotus which he  
 allows. He himself represents Zopyrus

as being in command of Babylon, and as  
 being slain in a revolt of the inhabitants  
 not under Darius, but under Xerxes.  
 The capture of the city he represents as  
 achieved by a Megabyzus, husband of  
 Xerxes's daughter Amytis (*ap. Photium,*  
*Bibl. p. 39*). See the note 440, below,  
 and also note 631 on i. 187. Herodo-  
 tus also relates Xerxes to have carried  
 off the golden statue from Babylon (i. 183).  
 In the Behistun Inscription Darius is re-  
 presented as having twice taken Babylon  
 after a revolt, which on the second occa-  
 sion is excited by one Aracus, an Armenian,  
 who, like Natitabirus in the first, professes  
 to be Nabokodrosor. See the note 415,  
 above.

<sup>119</sup> ὑπὸ ἀπιστίας. There seems to have  
 been a kind of animal in Cappadocia, con-  
 sidered to be a mule, which habitually  
 produced young. (THEOPHRASTUS, *ap.*  
*Plin. Hist. Nat. viii. 44*.) It was how-  
 ever of a distinct species.

154

and he, considering the fated time to have arrived, devises an artifice.

He mutilates himself,

155

ρήματα, ὃς κατ' ἀρχὰς ἔφησε ἐπεάν περ ἡμίνοι τέκωσι τότε τὸ τεῖχος ἀλώσεσθαι, πρὸς ταύτην τὴν φήμην <sup>420</sup> Ζαπύρῳ ἐδόκεε εἶναι ἀλώσιμος ἤδη ἢ Βαβυλῶν σὺν γὰρ θεῷ ἐκείνῳ τε εἰπεῖν καὶ ἑωυτῷ τεκεῖν τὴν ἡμίονον. Ὡς δὲ οἱ ἐδόκεε μόρσιμον εἶναι ἤδη τῇ Βαβυλῶνι ἀλίσκεσθαι, προσελθὼν Δαρεῖον ἀπεπυνθάνετο, εἰ περὶ πολλοῦ κάρτα ποιέεται τὴν Βαβυλῶνα ἐλεῖν; πυθόμενος δὲ ὡς πολλοῦ τιμῆτο, ἄλλο ἐβουλεύετο ὅπως αὐτός τε ἔσται ὁ ἐλὼν αὐτὴν καὶ ἑωυτοῦ τὸ ἔργον ἔσται· κάρτα γὰρ ἐν τοῖσι Πέρσησι αἱ ἀγαθοεργίαι ἐς τὸ πρόσω μεγάθεος τιμῶνται <sup>421</sup>. ἄλλῃ μὲν νυν οὐκ ἐφράζετο ἔργῳ δυνατὸς εἶναι μιν ὑποχειρὴν ποιῆσαι, εἰ δ' ἑωυτὸν λωβησάμενος αὐτομολήσειε ἐς αὐτούς. ἐνθαῦτα ἐν ἐλαφρῷ ποιησάμενος, ἑωυτὸν λωβᾶται λώβην ἀνέκεστον ἀποταμῶν γὰρ ἑωυτοῦ τὴν ῥίνα καὶ τὰ ὄντα, καὶ τὴν κόμην κακῶς περικεῖρας, καὶ μαστιγώσας <sup>422</sup>, ἦλθε παρὰ Δαρείον. Δαρεῖος δὲ κάρτα βαρέως ἤνευκε, ἰδὼν ἄνδρα δοκιμώτατον λελωβημένον· ἔκ τε τοῦ θρόνου ἀναπηδήσας <sup>423</sup> ἀνέβωσέ τε καὶ εἵρετό μιν, ὅστις εἴη ὁ λωβησάμενος καὶ ὃ τι ποιήσαντα; ὁ δὲ εἶπε· “οὐκ ἔστι οὗτος ὠνήρ ὅτι μὴ σὺ, τῷ ἔστι δύναμις τοσαύτη ἐμὲ δὴ <sup>424</sup> ὥδε διαθεῖναι· οὔτε τις ἀλλοτρίων, ὦ βασιλεῦ, τᾶδε ἐργασται, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἐγὼ ἔμευντόν, δευῶν τι ποιούμενος Ἀσσυρίους Πέρσησι καταγελαῶν.” ὁ δ' ἀμείβετο· “ὦ σχετλιώτατε ἀνδρῶν, ἔργῳ τῷ αἰσχίστῳ οὖνομα τὸ κάλλιστον ἔθευ, φὰς διὰ τοὺς πολιορκουμένους σεωυτὸν ἀνέκεστως διαθεῖναι·

<sup>420</sup> φήμην. S has φήμιν both here and in i. 43, where see note 133.

<sup>421</sup> ἐς τὸ πρόσω μεγάθεος τιμῶνται, “are rated with a view to advance in greatness.” The practice appears to have been to keep a kind of register in which “good services” were entered, and perhaps also the reward which was rendered for each. The information given by Mordecai which saved Ahasuerus from assassination was of this kind, and accordingly “it was written in the book of the chronicles before the king” (*Esther* ii. 23). Under this system it was possible to adopt that custom of which Herodotus expresses his admiration (i. 137), i. e. strike a balance of the merits and demerits of any party against whom a charge was brought. Thus, when Ahasuerus could not sleep, and the chronicles were read to him to amuse him, he asked, “What honour and dignity hath been done to Mordecai for this?” (*Esther* vi. 2.) So too Syloson, like Mordecai,

“sat at the king's gate” (i. 140): καὶ ἔφη Δαρείου εὐεργέτης εἶναι. A curious instance of this distributive justice is given in vii. 194.

<sup>422</sup> μαστιγώσας. The word ἑωυτὸν is to be supplied.

<sup>423</sup> ἐκ τοῦ θρόνου ἀναπηδήσας. The strongest proof which an oriental could give of emotion. See note on vii. 212.

<sup>424</sup> ἐμὲ δὴ. The sense is nearly, but not quite, the same as would be given by ἐμὲ γε. The expression in the text seems to mean “a man of my rank.” Zopyrus intimates that whatever outrages might be committed upon others, yet when they came to him (δὴ), there they must stop, whereas ἐμὲ γε would leave it undecided to what cause his security might be due,—for instance, it might be to his personal courage. For an oriental court it is plain that the expression in the text is in better keeping. One manuscript (S) omits the particle δὴ.

τί δ', ὦ μάταιε, λελωβημένου σεῦ θάσσον οἱ πολέμοι παραστήσονται<sup>435</sup>; κῶς οὐκ ἐξέπλωσας τῶν φρενῶν<sup>436</sup>, σεωντὸν διαφθείρας; ὁ δὲ εἶπε· “εἰ μὲν τοι ὑπερετίθεα τὰ ἐμὲλλον ποιήσῃ, οὐκ ἂν με περιεΐδες· νῦν δ' ἐπ' ἐμεωντοῦ βαλόμενος ἔπρηξα· ἤδη ὦν, ἦν μὴ τῶν σῶν δεήσῃ, αἰρέομεν Βαβυλῶνα· ἐγὼ μὲν γάρ, ὥς ἔχω, αὐτο- and after  
 μολήσω ἐς τὸ τεῖχος, καὶ φήσω πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὥς ὑπὸ σεῦ τάδε arranging  
 πέπονθα. καὶ δοκέω πείσας σφέας ταῦτα ἔχειν οὕτω τεύξεσθαι a plan of  
 στρατιῆς· σὺ δὲ ἀπ' ἧς ἂν ἡμέρης ἐγὼ ἐσέλθω ἐς τὸ τεῖχος, ἀπὸ combined  
 ταύτης ἐς δεκάτην ἡμέρην<sup>437</sup>, τῆς σεωντοῦ στρατιῆς τῆς οὐδεμία operations  
 ἔσται ὥρῃ ἀπολλυμένης, ταύτης χιλίους τάξον κατὰ τὰς Σεμρά- with Da-  
 μιος καλεομένης πύλας· μετὰ δὲ αὐτίς, ἀπὸ τῆς δεκάτης ἐς ἐβδό- rius,  
 μην, ἄλλους μοι τάξον δισχιλίους κατὰ τὰς Νωίων καλεομένας  
 πύλας· ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ἐβδόμης διαλείπειν εἴκοσι ἡμέρας, καὶ ἔπειτα  
 ἄλλους κάτισον ὁγαγῶν κατὰ τὰς Χαλδαίων καλεομένης πύλας,  
 τετρακισχιλίους· ἐχόντων δὲ μήτε οἱ πρότεροι μηδὲν τῶν ἀμυνούν-  
 των μήτε οὗτοι, πλὴν ἐγχειριδίων τοῦτο δὲ ἔαν ἔχειν. μετὰ δὲ τὴν  
 εἰκοστήν ἡμέρην, ἰθὺς τὴν μὲν ἄλλην στρατιὴν κελεύειν περίξ  
 προσβάλλειν πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος<sup>438</sup>, Πέρσας δὲ μοι τάξον κατὰ τε τὰς  
 Βηλίδας καλεομένης πύλας καὶ Κισσίας· ὥς γὰρ ἐγὼ δοκέω, ἐμέο  
 μεγάλα ἔργα ἀποδεξαμένου, τά τε ἄλλα ἐπιτρέφονται ἐμοὶ Βαβυ-  
 λῶνιοι καὶ δὴ καὶ τῶν πυλέων τὰς βαλανόγρας. τὸ δ' ἐνθεύτεν,  
 ἐμοὶ τε καὶ Πέρσῃσι μελήσει τὰ δεῖ ποιεῖν.”

Ταῦτα ἐντειλάμενος ἦε ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας, ἐπιστρεφόμενος<sup>439</sup>, ὥς 156  
 δὴ ἀληθῶς αὐτόμολος· ὀρέοντες δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων οἱ κατὰ τοῦτο

<sup>435</sup> παραστήσονται, “will yield,” literally “place themselves by us.” The common use is of the active voice with an ellipse of *ἐαυτοῦς*, just as in the English phrase “give up.” See the note 41 on § 13, above.

<sup>436</sup> κῶς οὐκ ἐξέπλωσας τῶν φρενῶν. A similar expression occurs vi. 12: ἐκπλώσαντες ἐκ τοῦ νόου.

<sup>437</sup> ἐς δεκάτην ἡμέρην, “on the tenth day.” The accusative case is used with the preposition *ἐς* to specify the day on which any given event is to take place. Doubtless the idiom is to be explained by the ellipse of some such word as ἀναριθμοῦνται, which from the familiarity of the expression came to be omitted, like *δέοντος* in the phrase ὁλόγου δέοντος. Thus

Alcestis, in EURIPIDES, speaking of her impending death, says:—

καὶ τόδ' οὐκ ἐς αἶριον  
 οὐδ' ἐς τρίτην μοι μῆνός ἐρχεται κακόν.  
 (Alcest. 321.)

<sup>438</sup> περίξ προσβάλλειν πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος. This expression shows that in the mind of the original narrator of *this story* walls of such a size as those described in i. 178 were not thought of. He had in view something like what continually occurred in the military operations of Hellas, where, from the size of the fortifications, a simultaneous attack on every point was not an unpromising scheme. See note 437, below.

<sup>439</sup> ἐπιστρεφόμενος, “turning his head back,” i. e. as if to see if he was observed.

deserts to  
Babylon.

He carries  
out his  
plan,

157

τεταγμένοι, κατέτρεχον κάτω, καὶ ὀλγόν τι παρακλίναντες τὴν ἐτέρην πύλιν, εἰρώτεον τίς τε εἴη καὶ ὅτευ δεόμενος ἦκοι ; ὁ δὲ σφί ἡγόρευε, ὡς εἴη τε Ζώπυρος καὶ αὐτομολέοι ἐς ἐκείνους· ἦγον δὴ μιν οἱ πυλουργοὶ, ταῦτα ὡς ἤκουσαν, ἐπὶ τὰ κοινὰ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων καταστάς δὲ ἐπ' αὐτὰ, κατοικτιζέτο φὰς ὑπὸ Δαρείου πεπουνθέναι τὰ ἐπεπόνθει ἐπ' ἐαυτοῦ παθέειν δὲ ταῦτα, διότι συμβουλεύσαι<sup>430</sup> οἱ ἀπανιστάναι τὴν στρατιήν, ἐπεὶ τε οὐδεὶς πόρος ἐφαίνετο τῆς ἀλώσιος, "νῦν τε," ἔφη λέγων, "ἐγὼ ὑμῖν, ὦ Βαβυλώνιοι, ἦκω μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν, Δαρεῖφ δὲ καὶ τῇ στρατιῇ καὶ Πέρσῃσι μέγιστον κακόν· οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἐμέ γε ὧδε λαβησάμενος καταπροίξεται<sup>431</sup>. ἐπίσταμαι δ' αὐτοῦ πάσας τὰς διεξόδους τῶν βουλευμάτων<sup>432</sup>." Τοιαῦτα ἔλεγε· οἱ δὲ Βαβυλώνιοι ὀρέοντες ἄνδρα τῶν ἐν Πέρσῃσι δοκιμωτάτων<sup>433</sup> ῥινός τε καὶ ὧτων ἐστερημένον μάστιγι τε καὶ αἵματι ἀναπεφυρμένον, πάγχυ ἐλπίσαντες λέγειν μιν ἀληθέα καὶ σφί ἦκειν σύμμαχον, ἐπιτραπέσθαι ἐτοῖμοι ἦσαν τῶν ἐδέετο σφέων· ἐδέετο δὲ στρατιῆς· ὁ δὲ, ἐπεὶ τε αὐτῶν τοῦτο παρέλαβε, ἐποίησε τά περ τῷ Δαρεῖφ συνεθήκατο. ἐξαγαγὼν γὰρ τῇ δεκάτῃ ἡμέρῃ τὴν στρατιήν τῶν Βαβυλωνίων, καὶ κυκλωσάμενος τοὺς χιλίους τοὺς πρώτους ἐνετείλατο Δαρεῖφ τάξαι, τούτους κατεφόνευσε. μαθόντες δὲ μιν οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι τοῖσι ἔπεσι τὰ ἔργα παρεχόμενον ὁμοῖα, πάγχυ περιχαρές ἔοντες, πᾶν δὴ ἐτοῖμοι ἦσαν ὑπηρετέειν<sup>434</sup>. ὁ δὲ διαλιπὼν ἡμέρας τὰς συγκειμένας, αὐτὶς ἐπιλεξάμενος τῶν Βαβυλωνίων ἐξήγαγε καὶ κατεφόνευσε τῶν Δαρείου στρατιωτῶν τοὺς δισχιλίους· ἰδόντες δὲ καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι, πάντες Ζώπυρον εἶχον ἐν στόμασι αἰνέοντες· ὁ δὲ

<sup>430</sup> συμβουλεύσαι. This contrast of this infinitive with the indicative ἐφαίνετο which presently follows should not be overlooked. Zopyrus professed that he had given counsel, which he had really not given, on grounds which were really solid ones. The change of construction delicately distinguishes what in English an additional sentence is required to express. He professed "that he had been thus treated for having advised Darius"—so he said—"to withdraw the army, seeing that there was no apparent means"—as indeed was the case—"of taking the city."

<sup>431</sup> καταπροίξεται. See note 106, above.

<sup>432</sup> αὐτοῦ πάσας τὰς διεξόδους τῶν βου-

λευμάτων, "all the ins and outs of his plans." See note on vii. 234.

<sup>433</sup> τῶν ἐν Πέρσῃσι δοκιμωτάτων. The manuscripts S, V have τὸν ἐν Π. δοκιμωτάτον. Others τῶν ἐν Π. δοκιμωτάτων, which Gaisford adopts. But either the reading of S and V or the one I have adopted seems required. The reading of the other MSS and Gaisford seems to be made up of the mixture of the two.

<sup>434</sup> πᾶν δὴ ἐτοῖμοι ἦσαν ὑπηρετέειν, "then, whatever they might have thought before, offered to follow his counsel in every thing." See note 424, above, and note 443 on ii. 148.

αὐτὶς διαλιπὼν τὰς συγκειμένας ἡμέρας, ἐξήγαγε ἐς τὸ προειρη-  
 μένον καὶ κυκλωσάμενος κατεφόνευσε τοὺς τετρακισχιλίους· ὥς  
 δὲ καὶ τοῦτο κατέργαστο, πάντα δὴ ἦν ἐν τοῖσι Βαβυλωνίοισι  
 Ζώπυρος καὶ στρατάρχης τε οὗτός σφι καὶ τειχοφύλαξ ἀπεδέ-  
 δεκτο. Προσβολὴν δὲ Δαρείου κατὰ τὰ συγκείμενα ποιευμένου 158  
 περίξ τὸ τεῖχος, ἐνθαῦτα δὴ πάντα τὸν δόλον ὁ Ζώπυρος ἐξέφαινε· and suc-  
 οἱ μὲν γὰρ Βαβυλώνιοι ἀναβάντες ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος, ἡμύνοντο τὴν cede in be-  
 Δαρείου στρατιὴν προσβάλλουσιν ὁ δὲ Ζώπυρος τὰς τε Κισσίας tray the  
 καὶ Βηλίδας καλεομένας πύλας ἀναπετάσας, ἐσήκε τοὺς Πέρσας ἐς city.  
 τὸ τεῖχος· τῶν δὲ Βαβυλωνίων οἱ μὲν εἶδον τὸ ποιηθὲν οὗτοι  
 ἔφευγον ἐς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Βήλου τὸ ἱρὸν, οἱ δὲ οὐκ εἶδον ἔμενον ἐν  
 τῇ ἐνωτοῦ τάξιν ἕκαστος, ἐς δὲ δὴ καὶ οὗτοι ἔμαθον προδοδομένοι.

Βαβυλὼν μὲν νυν οὕτω τὸ δεύτερον αἰρέθη. Δαρείος δὲ ἐπεὶ τε 159  
 ἐκράτησε τῶν Βαβυλωνίων, τοῦτο μὲν σφῶν τὸ τεῖχος περιεῖλε Darius de-  
 καὶ τὰς πύλας πάσας ἀπέσπασε· τὸ γὰρ πρότερον ἔλων Κῦρος τὴν stroy the  
 Βαβυλῶνα ἐποίησε τούτων οὐδέτερον τοῦτο δὲ ὁ Δαρείος τῶν walls, and  
 ἀνδρῶν τοὺς κορυφαίους μάλιστα ἐς τρισχιλίους ἀνεσκόλοπισε 3000 of the impales  
 τοῖσι δὲ λοιποῖσι Βαβυλωνίοισι ἀπέδωκε τὴν πόλιν οἰκέειν. ὥς δ' inhabitants.  
 ἔξουσι γυναῖκας οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι ἵνα σφι γένεα ὑπογίγηται, τάδε The present  
 Δαρείος προιδὼν ἐποίησε· τὰς γὰρ ἐνωτῶν, ὥς καὶ κατ' ἀρχὰς Babylonians  
 δεδηλωται, ἀπέπνιξαν οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι τοῦ σίτου προορέωντες a new popu-  
 ἐπέταξε τοῖσι περιοικοῖσι ἔθνεσι γυναῖκας ἐς Βαβυλῶνα κατ- lation.  
 ιστάναι, ὅσας δὴ 436 ἐκάστοισι ἐπιτάσσειν ὥστε πέντε μυριάδων τὸ  
 κεφαλαῖωμα τῶν γυναικῶν συνῆλθε 437· ἐκ τουτέων δὲ τῶν γυναικῶν  
 οἱ νῦν Βαβυλώνιοι γεγόνασιν.

Ζωπύρου δὲ οὐδεὶς ἀγαθοεργίην Περσέων ὑπερεβάλετο παρὰ 160  
 Δαρείῳ κριτῇ, οὔτε τῶν ὕστερον γενομένων οὔτε τῶν πρότερον δι

<sup>436</sup> τρισχιλίους ἀνεσκόλοπισε. In the Nineveh bas-reliefs the representation of the taking of a fortress commonly contains figures impaled on stakes, and no doubt the same mode of inflicting death has always continued to prevail under successive suzerains.

<sup>437</sup> ὅσας δὴ. See note 525 on i. 157.

<sup>437</sup> πέντε μυριάδων τὸ κεφαλαῖωμα τῶν γυναικῶν συνῆλθε. This number suggests 50,000 as the amount of the surviving marriageable males in the idea of the narrator of the story. Making all allowance for the destruction of the population in the

two sieges, it is difficult to suppose this a natural relic of the inhabitants of an enclosure like that described in i. 178. Let the reader conceive a circle drawn around the London Post Office with a radius of 12,000 yards, or very nearly seven miles, this circle circumscribed by a square, and the square surrounded by a rampart standing 348 feet high and 87 feet thick at the bottom, the whole encompassed by a fosse large enough to supply the material for it; and then imagine the population which the *enceinte* must have been intended to contain.

Zopyrus considered by Darius as inferior to no Persian for good services rendered. Honours bestowed on him. His grandson an exile at Athens.

μη Κύρος μῦνος· τοῦτῃ γὰρ οὐδεὶς Περσέων ἤξιός τε καὶ ἐαυτὸν συμβαλέειν. πολλάκις δὲ Δαρεῖον λέγεται γνώμην τήνδε ἀποδέξασθαι, ὡς βούλοιο ἂν Ζώπυρον εἶναι ἀπαθεία τῆς ἀεικείης<sup>438</sup> μᾶλλον, ἢ Βαβυλωνίαις οἱ εἴκοσι πρὸς τῇ ἐούσῃ προσγενέσθαι. ἐτίμησε δὲ μιν μεγάλας καὶ γὰρ δῶρά οἱ ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος ἐδίδου<sup>439</sup> ταῦτα τὰ Πέρσῃσι ἐστὶ τιμώτατα, καὶ τὴν Βαβυλωνίαν οἱ ἔδωκε ἀτελέα νέμεσθαι μέχρι τῆς ἐκείνου ζῆς· καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ ἐπέδωκε. Ζωπύρου δὲ τούτου γίνεταί Μεγαβύζος, ὃς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἀντία Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων ἐστρατήγησε· Μεγαβύζου δὲ τούτου γίνεταί Ζώπυρος, ὃς ἐς Ἀθήνας αὐτομόλῃσε<sup>440</sup> ἐκ Περσέων.

<sup>438</sup> ἀεικείης. This is the reading of the majority of manuscripts. S has αἰκίης. Gaisford ἀεικίης. See note 404 on i. 115.

<sup>439</sup> δῶρά οἱ ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος ἐδίδου. See note 213, above.

<sup>440</sup> ὃς ἐς Ἀθήνας αὐτομόλῃσε. Possibly in the desire of this individual to create an exalted notion of his ancestor's reputation, may be found an explanation of the difference between Herodotus's and Ctesias's accounts of the capture of Babylon. (See note 418, above.) But even then we must suppose the story to have passed through an Hellenic channel before it could acquire the features it possesses at present. (See note 428, above.) At the same time, in its substance it has a genuine Asiatic character. RAWLINSON, after adverting to the statement of Poly-

senus, that the stratagem was copied from one practised by a certain Transoxian Sacan with a view of destroying the army of Darius, well remarks that this latter in all its minutest features is a standard oriental story, applied in different ages by the Persian bards and traditionists to Persus and the Hiyáthelah, by Abu Rihán to Kanishka and the Indians, and by the historians of Cashmeer to their famous king Lalitáditya. (Note on the Behistun Inscription, p. xxi.) The Latin adaptation of the tale to Sextus Tarquinius and Gabii is familiar to every schoolboy (Livy i. 58, 54), and is worth comparing if only to observe the features belonging to his own age and country with which each writer unconsciously invests it.

## EXCURSUS ON III. 5.

IN the "Outline of Assyrian History" which RAWLINSON has sketched out from the *data* furnished him by the Nimroud sculptures, an opinion is confidently put forward that the *Kadytis* of Herodotus is in fact Gaza, a name appearing in the Nimroud monuments under the form *Khasita*. This form Rawlinson argues that the Greeks changed into Kadytis, as *Akheib* into *Eodippa*. Together with this notion, he brings forward the conjecture, that the capture of Gaza by Pharaoh alluded to in the heading of a prophecy of JEREMIAH<sup>1</sup>, is identical with that of Kadytis mentioned by Herodotus<sup>2</sup> as having been effected by Neco, the son of Psammitichus, after the battle of Magdolus; and he adds that the description of Herodotus in the present passage is exactly applicable to Gaza, and will by no means answer to Jerusalem.

I am unable to concur in any of these opinions, except perhaps the one that the description of Kadytis does not correspond with Jerusalem,—a circumstance of which an explanation has been attempted in the foot-note on the passage. But, if possible, the description is even less applicable to Gaza. Whatever Kadytis may have been, and whatever amount of corruption may have crept into the text of Herodotus describing its site, it is quite clear that in the apprehension of that writer there were several *ἐμπόρια* lying between it and *Ienysus*. Now certainly nothing of this sort was to be found between Gaza and Ienysus, for the former was the southernmost of the

<sup>1</sup> xlvii. 1 (in the LXX translation, xxix. 1).

<sup>2</sup> ii. 159.

Philistine cities, and the latter a mere watering-place just on the edge of the desert, a very few miles from it<sup>3</sup>. Indeed **ARRIAN** calls Gaza itself the actual frontier<sup>4</sup>.

Again, taking Herodotus's views of the proceedings of Psammitichus, it seems impossible to conceive that monarch leaving so important a position as Gaza in his rear during a twenty-nine years' siege of *Azotus*. In the course of his gradual encroachments northwards, the Philistine towns would have fallen into his hands one after the other, and Gaza the very first in the natural order of things. But *Kadytis* (whatever Herodotus understood by it) is represented by him as captured, not by Psammitichus at all, but by his son Neco, at a time which was at least thirty, and perhaps forty, years after the commencement of the siege of *Azotus*.

The hypothesis of the conversion of *Khazita* into both *Kadytis* and *Gaza* appears also to me to involve great difficulties. The Greek language would have presented no obstacle whatever to the direct adoption of the form *Khazita*; so that the only way of accounting for the existence both of *Kadytis* and of *Gaza* as representatives of it involves the assumption that the two words, starting from a common original (*Khazita*), arrived in Hellas by different routes, having in the mean time become so modified as to have acquired on their reappearance in Greek, two such widely different aspects. But I am not aware of any facts calculated to lend the least plausibility to this hypothesis, unless it be the one, that while Herodotus does not mention *Gaza*, other authors are equally ignorant of *Kadytis*,—although the commercial importance of the former must have brought it under the notice of the Hellenic merchants who traded to Egypt, and through them (if in no other way) under the notice of Herodotus himself.

But if it be necessary to find a reason for our author not naming *Gaza*, I should be more inclined to adopt a conjecture that he does really mean that city when he speaks of the *Syrian Agbatana* (iii. 64),—a place as unknown to other writers as *Kadytis*. The word *Agbatana* is by Rawlinson himself interpreted to mean “a place of strength for treasures<sup>5</sup>,”—a signification which would make it almost a translation of *Gaza*. And indeed if the Syrian *Agbatana* be not *Hamath*.

<sup>3</sup> See **RENNELL**, *Geography of Herodotus*, cited in note 16 on iii. 5.

<sup>4</sup> Ἐσχάτη δ' ἦκεντο ὡς ἐν Αἰγύπτου ἐκ Φουλικῆς λόφτι ἐπὶ τῇ ἀρχῇ τῆς ἐρήμου.

<sup>5</sup> See note 348 on i. 98, above.



on the Orontes, it is more likely to be Gaza than any other place. The name is the only ground for its identification with either the one or the other; for, so far as the description in Herodotus is concerned, it may lie any where on the road between the Persian and the Egyptian frontiers. As it seems to be the *same* word with *Hamath*, and only a translation of *Gaza*, I myself should be inclined to regard it as the former, if compelled to decide between the two alternatives<sup>6</sup>. But in such questions, all that can be done is to balance probabilities, and to be distinctly aware that they are only probabilities, and are not to be propounded as ascertained facts.

If the account of Herodotus be taken in combination with the books of *Kings* and *Chronicles*, it seems clear that from the beginning of the reign of Psammitichus at least, the Egyptian sovereigns commenced a system of aggression which was soon met by resistance on the part of the great monarchs of Mesopotamia, and that the struggle only terminated by the conquest of Egypt under Cambyzes. Before the reign of Psammitichus the two powers had indeed come into collision with one another on several occasions, but from this time forward the contest seems to have been nearly continuous. Psammitichus had, when an exile from Egypt, taken refuge in Syria, and, subsequently to his return, had experienced the great use which might be made of foreign auxiliaries<sup>7</sup>. From the time of his becoming sovereign of his native country, he seems to have turned his thoughts to the best means of availing himself of external resources, maintaining an Ionian and Carian force, and encouraging the cultivation of the Hellenic language and Hellenic intercourse<sup>8</sup>. That he had, in the apprehension of Herodotus's informants, extended his influence over the Philistine territory, is evident not only from his capture of Azotus after a blockade of 29 years<sup>9</sup>, but from his meeting the Scythian invaders and concluding a treaty with them, some where on the Philistine side of the desert<sup>1</sup>. All this hangs very ill together with the notion that *Gaza*, the key to the military road, should yet remain to fall before his son Neco several years afterwards as the fruit of victory in a pitched battle at Magdolus. It seems more

<sup>6</sup> See note 171 on iii. 62, above.

<sup>8</sup> Id. ii. 154.

<sup>9</sup> Id. ii. 157.

<sup>7</sup> HEROD. ii. 152.

<sup>1</sup> Id. i. 105.

natural, if the common reading of JEREMIAH xlvii. 1 be adopted<sup>2</sup>, that the "smiting of Gaza" should be the *first open* encroachment upon the Philistine towns, of whose conquest the capture of Azotus might be considered to constitute the keystone. Those Philistine towns had been crippled by the kings of Judah<sup>3</sup>, and the kingdom of Judah in its turn (under Manasseh, Hezekiah's son) been humbled by the Assyrian empire<sup>4</sup>. During the turbulent times of Manasseh's successor Amon, and the minority of Josiah, the kingdom of Judah could have had no time to recover strength; and this is the state of things with which Psammitichus's reign synchronizes,—a state obviously most encouraging to an ambitious and powerful neighbour. But the prophet Jeremiah, aware that all the countries on the coast of the Mediterranean were to be regarded as the extremities of the huge body of which Assyria was the heart, may well have warned them, even before a single blow was struck, of the flood that would "rise up out of the north" as the result of this policy of aggression<sup>5</sup>.

The conduct of Neco, as described by Herodotus<sup>6</sup>, is just what might be expected from a king desirous of carrying out the plans of his father, and who had acquired or inherited a predominant influence on the coast of the Mediterranean. His first design in proposing to make his canal may well have been the transporting a fleet from that sea to the Persian Gulf, in order to follow the line of the reputed conquests of Sesostris. Subsequently, either from the cause given by Herodotus or some other, he determined to invade Assyria by the coast road, reckoning on the neutrality of the king of Judah<sup>7</sup>. In this expectation, natural as it may have been, considering the past and present relations of Judah with Assyria, he was disappointed. Josiah attempted to oppose him, and paid the forfeit of his temerity with his life. Jerusalem, if not captured, was at any rate so completely put at the mercy of Neco as to receive his nominee as king, and pay a large contribution in money<sup>8</sup>. Three years after this

<sup>2</sup> The variation of the MSS of the ancient Versions shows that the passage furnishes but a doubtful foundation for a chronological argument, it being obviously only a heading of the prophecy, and not a portion of it.

<sup>3</sup> 2 Chron. xxvi. 6, and 2 Kings xviii. 8.

<sup>4</sup> 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11.

<sup>5</sup> xlvii. 2.

<sup>6</sup> ii. 158, 159.

<sup>7</sup> 2 Kings xxiii. 29. 2 Chron. xxxv. 20.

<sup>8</sup> 2 Chron. xxxvi. 5.

event the Egyptian army is found on the banks of the Euphrates\*, and, eleven years after, it has been destroyed or driven back into Egypt, every portion of the territory overrun by it having been in the mean time recovered by the Assyrian monarch, Jerusalem captured, and the vassal of Neco on the throne there carried off into captivity<sup>1</sup>.

But when combining the notices in Herodotus which relate to this time with the account given in the historical books of the Old Testament, it is absolutely necessary to be fully aware how small a portion of the important incidents above enumerated (spreading as they do over the space of eleven or twelve years) is to be found noticed in the Greek writer. If we had no other source of information on the subject than his work affords, all that we should know would be, that Neco, desisting from an ineffectual attempt to connect the Nile with the Arabian Gulf, attempted certain expeditions by land—with what success or against whom the narrative does not say, and we have no reason to believe that the narrator knew. One thing alone is told with any definiteness of detail, and that one is (as in so many other instances of traditionary history) connected with an offering in a temple<sup>2</sup>,—a temple too which in the time of Herodotus was no longer standing<sup>3</sup>. Neco fought a battle with certain Syrians at Magdolus, and afterwards took a city called Kadytis, of no less importance than Sardis. If we were to find in an account of the fortunes of Napoleon nothing but a statement that at one time he endeavoured to create a flotilla on the northern coast of France, and afterwards, desisting from this, made several campaigns, in one of which he captured a large city (of a name otherwise unknown), and sent the standard of the regiment which had guarded his person on the occasion to be suspended in the cathedral of Nôtre Dame; no one could fail to trace in such a selection of incidents the influence of popular tradition, not necessarily false or even exaggerated, but of very little value in assisting the arrangement of more copious or authentic documents. And it is not easy to see any difference between this case and that furnished by our author.

\* JEREMIAH: xlv. 2.

<sup>1</sup> 2 Kings xxiv. 7. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 6.

<sup>2</sup> See note 52 on i. 13, and note 262 on ii. 101, above.

<sup>3</sup> STRABO, x. c. 1, p. 165. See note 327 on i. 92, above.

## EXCURSUS ON III. 74.

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THE deciphering of the Behistun (or Bisutun) Inscription by RAWLINSON, from the light which it has thrown upon the early history of Persia, has enabled us to form a truer estimate than before was possible, both of the nature of the sources of information possessed by Herodotus, and of the amount of allowance to be made in estimating his authority. It has been referred to above in several notes on the First and the Third Books, as a reason for modifying in a very important degree the inferences which have been drawn, and might otherwise legitimately be drawn, from the statements of the "Father of History;" but it seems desirable to explain in a more connected manner than is possible within the limits of a foot-note, the general bearing of the two authorities upon one another.

It is impossible to doubt, that in the *main outline* of the events recorded, the credit to be attached to the Inscription is incomparably greater than that which can be claimed by any existing historian, or by the whole of them put together. The Inscription is a formal account of the acts of Darius, sculptured by his own authority, and consequently possesses as authentic a character as a medal or a contemporaneous state paper; that is to say, its authority is absolute for events and dates, although the colour given to the events would naturally be made conformable to the views of the sovereign by whose order they were recorded.

The site of this inscription is the lower part of a naturally scarped precipice of enormous height—it is said nearly 1500 feet—in which the range of mountains constituting the northern boundary of the

plain of *Kermanshah* suddenly terminates towards the East. At a height of about 100 feet from the base, a smooth surface has been formed by cutting into the rock, and in this, presenting the appearance of a bas-relief set in a frame, Darius, with a crown on his head and a bow in his hand, is represented as setting his foot upon a prostrate figure, who with stretched-out hands appears to ask for mercy. Nine other personages, with their hands pinioned behind them, and connected by a rope which passes round their necks, approach the monarch; and behind him stand two attendants, apparently of high rank,—as their costume, except for the crown, is the same as that of Darius himself—carrying the one a bow, the other a lance upon which he leans. In the air above the group hovers the figure of Ormuzd, which is substantially the same as that in the title-page of Mr. Layard's *Nineveh*, and over the heads of the human figures are tablets containing cuneiform or arrow-headed writing explaining who they are. But the most important part of the whole are the inscriptions in the same character containing the annals of the monarch. These Rawlinson has discovered to be *trilingual*, although the elements of the words in each being cuneiform might induce the belief in a superficial observer that the language was the same throughout. To the three languages he gives the several names of Persian, Median, and Babylonian. The first is contained in five columns (of which the four first are twelve feet in length and about six in breadth), immediately under the group of figures just described. Judging from the scale given together with the drawing of the group<sup>1</sup>, the dignity of the personages seems to have been regarded in the size of which the sculptor represented them. Darius himself, and the figure upon which he is trampling (who is Gomates the Magian), are made full six feet in height. The two attendants on the king are no more than five feet, six or seven inches, while the conquered chiefs with ropes round their necks barely rise above four feet,—with the exception of the last, *Sarukha the Sacan*, who besides being a little taller than his companions in misfortune, wears a tiara, whereas they are all bare-headed.

<sup>1</sup> In the JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, vol. x., which is devoted to Rawlinson's Commentary on the Cuneiform Inscriptions of Babylonia and Assyria, and contains the interpretation of the Persian tablets on which the views in this Excursus rest.

Of the five columns the first and third are, according to Rawlinson, very fairly legible. They contain ninety-six and ninety-two lines respectively, which are broken up—the one into nineteen, the other into fourteen paragraphs, each beginning with the form *Thātiya Dāryawush k'hshâyathiya* (Saith Darius the king). The second column extends to ninety-six lines, but it is much injured by a fissure in the rock, which extends along the whole length of the tablet. The fourth column contains ninety-two lines, the greater part lamentably injured. The last legible paragraph (the 18th) in this column furnishes a list of those individuals who *alone* were with Darius when he “slew Gomates the Magian, who was called Bartius,” and the very natural bias to bring the account given by Herodotus to aid in deciphering this, produced one or two erroneous guesses which a second careful inspection of the Inscription on the spot has corrected. The assistants of Darius are now undoubtedly ascertained to have been Intaphernes son of Veispares, Otanes son of Socres, Gobryas son of Mardonius, Hydarnes son of Megabignes, Megabyzus son of Dadoes, and Ardomanes son of Vaces. Following this list of names there was once another paragraph, which is entirely obliterated, and appears never to have had any equivalent in the Median translation;—a singular circumstance, which suggests the conjecture that its obliteration may have been ordered during the lifetime of the monarch, perhaps as a conciliatory measure towards his Median subjects. The fifth column only extended to half the length of the other four, containing but thirty-five lines, and it is described by Rawlinson as having been of a supplemental character, and to have contained an account of two revolts; the one in Susiana, which was crushed by Gobryas, the other one conducted by Sarukha, the chief of the Sacans who dwelt upon the Tigris, which was put down by Darius himself. Rawlinson states however, that one side of this tablet is completely destroyed, and that it is impossible to give a complete translation, although it appears (he says) that both expeditions ended successfully. The Sacan *Sarukha*, who is the last of the string of figures sculptured in the bas-relief, has been added subsequently to the other eight by a further smoothening of the face of the rock.

Fortunately the *first* column of the inscription, which is in the best preservation, contains by far the most important statements in a

historical point of view. Its four leading paragraphs are a repetition of the contents of a tablet over the head of the monarch in the bas-relief, and run as follows.

"I am Darius the great king, king of kings, king of Persia, king of the provinces, son of Hystaspes, grandson of Arsames, an Achæmenian."

"Saith Darius the king: my father was Hystaspes, of Hystaspes the father was Arsames, of Arsames the father was Aryaramnes, of Aryaramnes the father was Teispes; [whose] father [was] Achæmenes."

"Saith Darius the king: on that account are we called of Achæmenes; from of old we have been unsubdued; from of old those of our race were kings."

"Saith Darius the king: eight of my race were kings before me; I am the ninth."

The fifth paragraph acknowledges his power to be the gift of Ormuzd, and the sixth gives a list of the provinces which, by the favour of Ormuzd, had come under his power<sup>1</sup>. In the seventh and eighth he declares the entire subjection of these to him, and declares that throughout them he maintains the true faith and roots out heresy, and in the next six he gives a complete history of the circumstances which led to his own succession, as follows.

"Saith Darius the king: Ormuzd granted me the empire. Ormuzd brought help to me until I acquired this empire. By the grace of Ormuzd I hold this empire."

"Saith Darius the king: This is what was done by me before I became king. He who was named Cambyses, the son of Cyrus of our race, he was here king before me. Of that Cambyses was a brother named Bartius, of the same mother and the same father<sup>2</sup> as Cambyses. Cambyses slew that Bartius. When Cambyses had slain Bartius, that which Bartius had stirred up was unknown to the state. Afterwards Cambyses proceeded to Egypt. When Cambyses

<sup>1</sup> The list is given in the note 278 on iii. 94. But a subsequent visit to the spot has induced Rawlinson to add *Gadara* after *Sogdiana*, or, as he would now write it, *Suguda*.

<sup>2</sup> Rawlinson reverses in his translation the order of the original, making it "of the same father and the same mother." I have preserved a relative position of the parents which was possibly not unimportant according to Median notions. See note 441 on i. 130, above.

had proceeded to Egypt, afterwards the state became irreligious; afterwards a lie became abundant both in Persia and Media and the other provinces."

"Saith Darius the king: Afterwards was a man, a Magian, named Gomates. He rose up from Pissichada, a mountain named Arakadres: from thence on the 14th day of the month Viyakhna, then it was that he rose up; to the state he thus lied: 'I am Bartius, who am Cyrus's son, Cambyses' brother.' Afterwards the whole state came into the conspiracy; it passed from Cambyses to him, both Persia and Media and the other provinces: he seized the empire. On the 9th day of the month Garmapada then it was he thus seized the empire. Afterwards Cambyses chafing died."

"Saith Darius the king: That empire of which Gomates the Magian deprived Cambyses, that empire from of old belonged to our race. After Gomates the Magian had deprived Cambyses of both Persia and Media and the other provinces, he did according to his desire; he became king."

"Saith Darius the king: There was not a man, neither Persian nor Median, nor any one of our family, who would deprive Gomates the Magian of the empire. The state feared to oppose him. He often proclaimed to the state as he had known Bartius do, in that same way he proclaimed to the state, 'Beware it hold me not in other account than as Bartius, son of Cyrus.' No one was bold; every one was standing around Gomates the Magian until I came. Afterward I adored Ormuzd. Ormuzd brought me aid. On the 10th day of the month Bagayadish, then did I with faithful men slay Gomates the Magian and those who were his chief associates. Siktakhotes was the fort named; Nisaea the region of Media: there I slew him: I deprived him of his empire: by the grace of Ormuzd I became king. Ormuzd gave me the empire."

"Saith Darius the king: The empire which had been wrested from our race that I recovered; I established it firmly; as in the days of old, so did I. The *rites* which Gomates the Magian had *introduced*, I *prohibited*<sup>4</sup>. I restored to the state the chants and the worship,

<sup>4</sup> Rawlinson renders this sentence, "He would frequently address the state which knew [the old] Bartius, for that reason he would address the state, saying, 'Beware lest it regard me as if I were not Bartius the son of Cyrus.'"

<sup>5</sup> The words in italics are doubtfully interpreted by Rawlinson.



and to those families which Gomates the Magian had deprived of them. I firmly established the kingdom, both Persia and Media and the other provinces as in the days of old. Thus did I restore what had been taken away. Thus did I, by the grace of Ormuzd, that Gomates the Magian might not blot out our race."

In comparing this official statement with the account of Herodotus, it is plain at the first blush of the matter, that while in the one case the successful sovereign appears as the representative of great interests, the champion of a race of distinct blood and religious faith, and seems pointed out for the position he takes by the illustrious descent which he boasts, if not actually by near relationship to the sovereigns he succeeds; in the other his personal prowess and energetic character are made the sole source of his success, and there is no intimation that by birth he was a person of any distinction. His father holds a provincial government under the Persian king, and he himself, while serving in the Persian army which occupied Egypt, is a person of no importance, glad to accept a present of a cloak, and so little likely to be able to make any kind of return for it, although of a generous temper, that the donor regrets the sudden access of liberality which had induced him to part with his garment<sup>6</sup>. While, therefore, the two accounts of Darius's fortunes are not necessarily incompatible with one another, they certainly do seem to spring from entirely different sources. One could almost as little gather the illustrious connexions and the political party of Darius from Herodotus, as one could his peculiar temperament from the rock tablets. In these we recognize the dry but authentic record of those widely operating influences which issue in momentous political changes; in the narrative of the logographer we may (I apprehend) no less decisively remark the characteristics of popular tradition, which seizes and preserves in a way that nothing else can do the *ethical* characteristics of men of mark, while it soon drops or modifies the *historical facts* which really constituted the staple of their lives. Each of these classes of evidence has its value in after times. The historian of Napoleon will neither neglect the songs of Beranger nor the bulletins of the *Moniteur*, if he wishes to form a complete estimate of his hero. The Dundee Ballads are in their way

<sup>6</sup> HEROD. iii. 139, 140.

quite as valuable as the Annual Register. The greatest misuse of either the one or the other is to consider them as documents of the same kind, and to treat them as if nothing more was required in combining them than to piece out the one with fragments gathered from the other.

If, however, a different principle of interpretation be adopted, and the rock inscription be regarded as the official record of the Persian court, while the narratives of Herodotus and Ctesias are referred to as conveying the current notions of different localities and different classes, embodied in such stories as were likely to come to the knowledge of Hellenic merchants and Persian court-physicians, and moreover modified more or less by their individual habits and ways of thinking, a perfectly coherent idea may be formed of the whole transaction, without either detracting from the character of any one of the sources of information, or attributing the weightiest historical events to motives which belong to the region of fiction. The following sketch is an attempt to supply a clue for the criticism of the early history of these great states, on which at that time the destinies of the world depended.

The relation of Media to Persia, antecedently to the revolution in which Astyages was dethroned, seems to have approached that of a suzerain over a dependency, analogous perhaps to that of the house of Hapsburg over the old Swiss Cantons before the time of Tell. The Persian clans, however much they might value the purity of their own blood, would be naturally despised by the Median courtiers, as the Scotch highlanders were by the frivolous associates of the English Stuarts, and as the Tyrolese are by the aristocracy of Austria. If the Achæmenids were even at first, as seems probable, the most noble of the Persian clans, this circumstance would not in any way help to save them from the contemptuous designation of peasants and herdsmen in the common conversation of the fastidious oligarchy of the capital. A Ban of Croatia would probably have met with no more complimentary a description at Vienna ten years ago.

Cyrus the Great, whom the inscription recognizes as of the family of Darius, without however in any way ascribing to him that heroic character or pre-eminent fame with which he is invested by Herodotus and the later historians, was unquestionably the offspring of a mixed marriage between Mandane, the daughter and *heiress* of

Astyages', and some Achæmenid, not considered at the time to be of such a rank as to acquire by this marriage any predominant weight. This is accounted for by Herodotus in exactly the way in which one might expect popular traditions to account for it. He is said to have been of a quiet temper, although of a good family'. If the real motive, however, of marrying Mandane to a Persian was to prevent the excessive aggrandizement of her husband, some other security than mere temper would doubtless have been sought; and nothing would be more obvious than to select for her a husband, who, if of royal blood, should at the same time not be likely to succeed to the throne of his country. Now I am disposed to think there is a considerable probability that the individual thus selected was actually a collateral relation of Darius, and so connected with him as to make the latter, at the time of the death of the last surviving child of Cyrus, next heir to the crown of Media.

In Book vii. § 11 of Herodotus, Xerxes is made to trace his own pedigree up to his eponymous ancestor Achæmenes, and so completely without any motive for introducing this scrap of genealogy, that the most obvious reason for his doing it seems to be, that Herodotus, having obtained it from some quarter or other, was desirous of incorporating it in his narrative, and saw no other way of doing so but by putting it in the mouth of the monarch himself. That it does not belong to the cycle of traditions which are the source of the narrative of the infancy of Cyrus is certain from the fact, that in that narrative the father of Cyrus's parent Cambyses bears a name identical with that of his illustrious grandson', whereas in the pedigree of Xerxes that same Cambyses is made the son of *Teispes*. And the exact accordance of the pedigree with the Behistun Inscription for the greater part of its extent would seem to be a decisive proof that it is derived directly or indirectly from the same source, if only the remainder of it can be explained consistently with the same record; and this I will endeavour to show may be done most naturally by adopting the hypothesis just mentioned.

The pedigree Xerxes gives of himself (taken downwards for the sake of convenience) runs as follows. (1) Achæmenes, (2) Teispes,

' HEROD. I. 109.

° ID. I. 107.

° *πυρόνομαι ὡς ἄρα Μανδάνης τε εἴη παῖς τῆς Ἀστυάγης θυγατρὸς καὶ Καμβύσεω τοῦ Κέρου* (I. 111).

(8) Cambyses, (4) Cyrus, (5) Teispes, (6) Ariaramnes, (7) Arsames, (8) Hystaspes, (9) Darius, (10) Xerxes, which (it will be seen) becomes identical with the authentic genealogy of the Behistun Inscription, if the second, third, and fourth terms of the series be taken away. This, however, without some satisfactory explanation of the reason for which Herodotus was induced to adopt them, is a mode of reconciling discordant statements by no means to be approved. But what if the only error here should be, that Herodotus, or rather the authority followed by him, had put two separate genealogies (belonging to the two branches of the same family) *one after the other* instead of *side by side*? What if the pedigree of Cyrus ran (1) Achæmenes, (2) Teispes, (3) Cambyses, (4) Cyrus, and that of Darius *in exact accordance with the Behistun Inscription*, starting from the common ancestor, (1) Teispes, (2) Ariaramnes, (3) Arsames, (4) Hystaspes, (5) Darius? This mistake is so natural a one, and accounts so well for the form given to the genealogical tree in the passage in question, that it can be fairly assumed *as a probable hypothesis*, remaining to be confirmed or weakened by the conformity or disagreement of other facts with it.

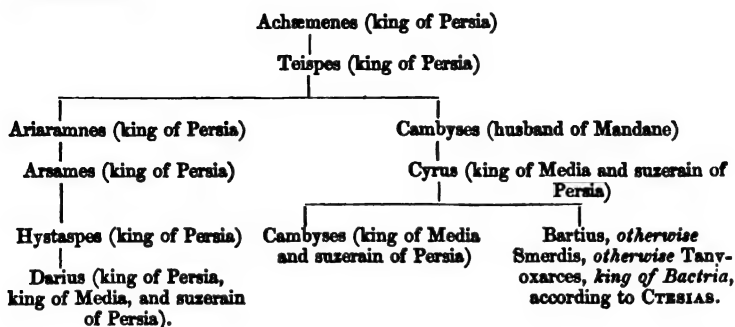
The internal government of Media in the time of Astyages appears clearly to have been a monarchy surrounded by an extremely powerful oligarchy, united to one another by the bond of the Magian religious system. The religion of Persia, on the other hand, appears to have approached very nearly to pure Theism, or at any rate to have been quite alien from the symbolism and the complicated ceremonial of Media. This difference of religion superadded to the differences of civilization must have increased the improbability of Cyrus the Persian succeeding to the throne of Astyages, had not the tyranny of the latter induced his nobles, and among them Harpagus, *his own relation*<sup>1</sup>, to conspire against him, and, with the assistance of Cyrus and his hardy Persian troops, to dethrone him. Jealousy of each other (perhaps aided by the physical force which Cyrus had at command) probably prevented them from doing that which Astyages thought would have been the natural thing,—making one of their own body (Harpagus himself for instance) the successor<sup>2</sup>; and these considerations doubtless added force to the claims of Cyrus through his mother, which of themselves, had he been of pure blood,

<sup>1</sup> HEROD. i. 109.

<sup>2</sup> Id. i. 129.

would have been irresistible<sup>3</sup>; and thus the son of Cambyses the Persian became king of Media and *suzerain* of Persia, but not *king* of Persia in the same sense in which the sovereigns of the line mentioned in the Behistun Inscription were, from Achæmenes down to Hystaspes inclusive. Consequently his name would not be introduced into *that* list, although his position would be higher than that of any of his family. But this elevation of Cyrus to the imperial throne could never have been acquiesced in if he had not been able to accommodate himself to the order of things into which he had been introduced. It was only natural that he should adopt the state religion, and be received as a Magian. This, as has been remarked in the note 441 on i. 180, is apparently the principle involved in the strange proceeding recorded by Ctesias, that Cyrus secured his power by first adopting as *his mother*, and then *marrying*, Amytis, the daughter of Astyages, her husband being actually slain to enable him to do this<sup>4</sup>. The first act of the revolution was thus brought to an end, and no further troubles seem to have arisen till after the death of Cyrus.

The pedigree of the Achæmenids may, after what has been said, be with considerable probability set out as follows, in substantial accordance with Herodotus and Ctesias, as well as with the Behistun rock tablets.



<sup>3</sup> Ἀστυάγης μὲν ἐστὶ γέρον, καὶ ἄποις ἔρσενος γόνον· εἰ δὲ θελήσει, τοῦτου τελευτήσαςτος, ἐς τὴν θυγατέρα ταύτην ἀναβῆναι ἢ τυραννὺς κ.τ.λ. (i. 109.)

<sup>4</sup> Nascatur magus ex Gelli matrisque nefando

Conjugio, et discat Persicum aruspicium. CATULLUS, xc.

That the interests of the Magians and that of the dynasty of Astyages were bound up together, and that the possible succession of Cyrus was looked forward to as something fatal to the former as well as the latter, appears from HERODOTUS (i. 128).

It will now in its turn enable us to offer an explanation of some parts of the Inscription which are otherwise unintelligible. Darius, in the first part of what may be called his annals, as well as in the tablet above his own figure in the bas-relief, asserts that there have been *eight kings of his race* before him, and that he himself is the *ninth*. As it is plain from the genealogy which accompanies this assertion that three of the number were not in the direct line from Achæmenes to himself, and consequently were not kings of Persia, they must be sought for elsewhere. I believe that they are Cyrus the Great, Cambyses, and the true Smerdis. It may be argued against this view, that as he speaks of Smerdis (Bartius) as a fomentor of troubles, it is not to be supposed that he would acknowledge him as a sovereign *de jure*. To this, however, I cannot agree. Ctesias expressly states that Cyrus left his son Tanyoxarces (who is identical with the Bartius of the Inscription) an *independent sovereign* of a portion of his dominions, at the same time that he constituted the elder brother Cambyses his successor in the *empire*<sup>5</sup>; and although subsequent proceedings cost the younger son his life, yet this would not (I conceive) at all detract from the disposition to acknowledge his royal character. Jehu paid a similar mark of respect to the idolatress Jezebel immediately after he had caused her destruction<sup>6</sup>. And it is to be observed that Bartius's conduct is nowhere spoken of as if it had extended to open rebellion against Cambyses. He is rather conceived of as secretly tampering with the subjects of the latter, and, if destroyed at all during his reign, as cut off by assassination,—in so mysterious a manner as to occasion very different reports both of the time and the circumstances of his death, and to furnish more than one pretender with plausible grounds for asserting his existence. For until after the death of Cambyses it was popularly believed that he was alive and reigning; therefore, *up to that time* it was impossible that he should have been publicly declared a rebel and as such deprived of his royal character, even if we grant that this consequence would, in oriental ways of thinking,

<sup>5</sup> Κύρος δὲ μέλλων τελευτᾶν Καμβόσῃ μὲν τὸν πρῶτον υἱὸν βασιλείᾳ καθίστη, Τανυοξάρκῃ δὲ τὸν νεώτερον ἐπέστησε δεσπότῃ Βακτριῶν καὶ τῆς χώρας καὶ Χοραμνίων καὶ Παρθίων καὶ Καρμανίων, ἀτελεῖς ἔχειν τὰς χώρας διορισμένους. *Ap. Photium, Biblioth.*

<sup>6</sup> 2 Kings ix. 34.

follow from such a public declaration. And *after* the death of Cambyses, and the assertion being publicly made that the professed Bartius was an impostor, there would remain no motive for such a gratuitous insult to the memory of a prince who no longer stood in the way of Darius.

To return to the history of the empire after the death of Cyrus; it may be gathered from every account of Cambyses that his distinctive character was that of a despiser of the prevailing religion, his hostility to which was carried to the extreme of intolerance. A savage in temperament and filled with religious fanaticism, his policy put an end to the calm which had been produced by the compromise of his father Cyrus, and induced the troubles which it was the interest of his brother Bartius, king of the Bactrians', to foment. It was only natural under such circumstances that the Medians should seize the opportunity of Cambyses's absence in Egypt to endeavour to rid themselves of him, and at the same time revive the supremacy of their own religion. It had become a question between supremacy or extinction; and accordingly the general revolt spoken of in the Behistun tablets took place, and was for a time eminently successful, until the Ormuzd worshippers under the guidance of Darius—the next heir to the empire after the death of Bartius—once more obtained the victory, and by the consummate skill of their champion succeeded in consolidating it. Indeed the true political significance of the Magian usurpation,—represented as it is by Herodotus in the light of a private scheme, carried into effect by an ambitious and unprincipled pretender,—yet shows itself here and there in his narrative, in insulated passages which harmonize ill with the story that he follows in his main account, but are in exact agreement with the course of proceedings as recorded in the Behistun tablets. Several of these undesigned confirmations of the official account have been remarked in the notes<sup>1</sup>, and probably more will be detected by a reader whose attention has been once called to the subject.

The narrative of Herodotus represents the cadastral system introduced by Darius as his *first* measure after setting up the monument to

<sup>1</sup> See the passage of Ctesias quoted above, and also one cited in note 441 on i. 130, by which the ardent attachment of the Bactrians to the Magian system is proved to demonstration.

<sup>2</sup> See, for example, note 439 on i. 130; note 204 on iii. 70; note 238 on iii. 88.

which the strange story of his horse was attached<sup>9</sup>. But this system, from its very nature, implies a centralization of government. It was calculated by its operation to render the monarch far more independent of his powerful vassals<sup>1</sup>, and likewise to procure him personal popularity in the outlying countries, the imposts on which were fixed by it at a definite sum, instead of being left dependent on the will of the ruffianly chiefs who happened to be in command. It was only to be expected that this limitation of arbitrary power should be unpalatable to the semi-barbarous Persian chivalry, and that they should express their contempt for the financial turn of their sovereign by nicknaming him "a tradesman<sup>2</sup>." Now when Herodotus puts the erection of the monument and the introduction of the cadastral scheme together, this is (I apprehend) due to the circumstance of the two relating to the salient points of Darius's life. His accession to the throne of Media not merely made him the feudal superior of the king of Persia, but united in one family the hereditary sovereignty of both countries, and thus furnished him with a power that his predecessors had not possessed,—that of converting a bundle of states into an organic whole. Except under such circumstances, it is likely that the centralization effected by him would have been impossible; and we see that those Persians who were not Achæmenids, as well as the Magian usurpers, are represented by Herodotus as pursuing the opposite policy, and one calculated to encourage the independence of the separate states<sup>3</sup>. But even with such advantages of position it is inconceivable that such a revolution as that effected in the creation of the Persian empire (as we find it at the end of Darius's reign) can have been brought about by him rapidly. It is more reasonable to consider it as the ultimate state into which things subsided at the end of a long series of wars and civil troubles. And this is exactly what the Behistun Inscription would lead us to believe. The annals, which take up the greater portion of the first and the whole of the

<sup>9</sup> iii. 89.

<sup>1</sup> See the note 50 on iii. 127.

<sup>2</sup> κἀπηλος, HEROD. iii. 89.

<sup>3</sup> The Magians were greatly regretted by *all* the Asiatic states when they were killed, with the solitary exception of the Persians (iii. 67). Oroetes abstained from aiding the movement against them, when he had the whole force of Asia at his command (iii. 127. See note 350 thereon). And Aryandes asserted the power of a sovereign by issuing a coinage (iv. 166).



remaining three tablets which completed the original monument, are nothing more or less than the details of those campaigns which issued in the acquisition of absolute dominion over the twenty-three provinces, these provinces themselves being enumerated immediately after the formal recitation of Darius's titles, that is, in the *very beginning* of the Inscription. The acquisition of the empire and its reduction under a system of central government is plainly regarded by the Persian monarch, in the same light as the French Code was by Napoleon: it is the great work in which he looks to go down to posterity, —the résumé of his achievements. Before it could have been effected the spirit of the individual races must have been quelled, their separate interests fused together, and the weight of individual nobles diminished to an extent which could scarcely have been produced by any other agency than that which the Inscription shows us to have been at work, viz. bloody wars of race and religion, terminating in the establishment of a central predominant power wielding the resources of the whole empire.

Such a course of events is quite natural, and in accordance with what has taken place in many other countries. The struggles which resulted in the supremacy of Darius have their parallel in the Thirty Years' War of modern Europe, and in our own Wars of the Roses. Henry the Seventh is the English Darius in many important elements of his character and fortunes, although wanting his personal accomplishments and generous temper.

Conformably to what might have been expected from a train of events such as has been sketched out, it appears that Darius changed the seat of government from Agbatana to Susa. This was as important a step as it would be to transfer the British court and legislature from London to Edinburgh; or as it would have been if the Bourbons on their restoration had made Bourdeaux the capital of France. Yet the fact only appears *indirectly* from the narrative of Herodotus<sup>4</sup>, who is perfectly unconscious of the momentous revolution of interests necessarily involved in such a policy, and never explicitly notices it at all.

Again, the extreme anxiety about the personal identity of Bartius, and the very mysterious circumstances attending his death, receive

<sup>4</sup> See i. 153 and iii. 64, compared with vi. 119; vii. 3; iii. 129; ix. 108.

an entirely new illustration if the relationship of Darius to Cyrus was what we have suggested. It is perfectly certain that very many persons believed Gomates to be the genuine son of Cyrus, and perhaps with justice. Darius believed himself to be the *only* person cognizant of the death of the real Smerdis<sup>6</sup>. Prexaspes must have believed the same<sup>7</sup>. Otanes, in his turn, fancied the pretender's secret known only to him<sup>8</sup>. One thing is clear, that it was absolutely necessary for the Persian party to destroy Gomates, and that they had the same motive for denying his claim to be the son of Cyrus that the Orange party in the reign of James II. had for trumping up the story of the warming-pan. The claim of legitimate succession has always been too powerful an engine not to be coveted by aspirants to power, and secured, if necessary, by the commission of crime; and the removal of the only obstacle to Darius's accession (whether Gomates or Bartius) was at last achieved by a *small band* of conspirators<sup>9</sup>, who justified their act to the world by the equivocal evidence of producing the head of their victim and that of his brother<sup>9</sup> in public.

But by whatever means Darius may have acquired his power, it is plain from various incidents mentioned in the narrative of Herodotus, that he used it in a prudent and temperate manner. If he spared nothing to establish the supremacy of the religious party of which, according to the Behistun Inscription, he was the champion, yet, that result having been obtained, he appears to have been at least tolerant of the conquered party. The fierce fanaticism which had served him excellently as a weapon of offence must have become very inconvenient when he had no longer rivals to overthrow; and it was only to be expected that he should revert to the policy of Cyrus and carefully avoid that of Cambyses. And hence, probably, arose that revival of Median customs and religious rites in the court of the new dynasty, which is indicated in the consultation of Magian

<sup>6</sup> HEROD. iii. 71.

<sup>7</sup> Id. iii. 74.

<sup>8</sup> Id. iii. 68.

<sup>9</sup> This is the statement of the Behistun tablets as well as of Herodotus.

<sup>9</sup> I am much inclined to suspect that the *two* Magians of Herodotus's story (iii. 78, 79) grew out of the *two* pretenders, Gomates and Veisdates, of the Behistun annals. *Each* of these professed to be Bartius the son of Cyrus; but there seems to have been a considerable interval between their attempts,—the one being the first, the other the seventh of the nine figures which in the original bas-relief appear as conquered by Darius. See note 415 on iii. 152, for a parallel case.

soothsayers by his son Xerxes<sup>1</sup>, the Magian hero worship at Ilium<sup>2</sup>, the scrupulous reverence for Delos exhibited by the Median commander Datis<sup>3</sup>, and (as it would seem) the recognition in later times of the necessity of a Magian priest even where the ceremonial belonged to a simple religious system<sup>4</sup>. Indeed the remarkable tendency of the Persians to adopt foreign customs, which Herodotus himself remarks as an especial characteristic, would probably have baffled the attempt of Darius, had he even been desirous of making one, to retain them, after inheriting the wealth and civilization of their late masters, in the simplicity of their ancient manners and ancient faith. The more sagacious chiefs of the old school doubtless, like Artembares<sup>5</sup>, prophesied the degeneracy of a generation brought up in habits which would have excited the horror of Cyrus, but their protest was in vain; and in the time of Herodotus it can scarcely be doubted that the court of the Great King presented in morals, religion, and social indulgence of all kinds, a picture in no respect different from that which might have been seen in the worst days of the Median or Assyrian dynasties.

<sup>1</sup> vii. 19. 37, compared with iii. 35, and note 103, thereon.

<sup>2</sup> vi. 97.

<sup>4</sup> i. 132.

<sup>3</sup> vii. 43.

<sup>5</sup> ix. 122.

# ἩΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ ἹΣΤΟΡΙΩΝ ΤΕΤΑΡΤΗ.

## ΜΕΛΠΟΜΕΝΗ.

**I** After the capture of Babylon, Darius undertakes an expedition against Scythia to

**META** δὲ τὴν Βαβυλῶνος αἵρεσιν ἐγένετο ἐπὶ Σκύθας αὐ τοῦ Δαρείου<sup>1</sup> ἔλασις<sup>2</sup>. ἀνθεύσης γὰρ τῆς Ἀσίης ἀνδράσι καὶ χρημάτων μεγάλων συνιόντων, ἐπεθύμησε ὁ Δαρείος τίσασθαι Σκύθας, ὅτι ἐκείνοι πρότεροι ἐσβαλόντες ἐς τὴν Μηδικὴν καὶ νικήσαντες μάχῃ τοὺς ἀντιουμένους ὑπῆρξαν ἀδικίης<sup>3</sup>. τῆς γὰρ ἄνω Ἀσίης

<sup>1</sup> αὐ τοῦ Δαρείου. Schweighäuser reads αὐτοῦ Δαρείου, as if Darius had not taken Babylon in person. And perhaps this was the notion of the authority followed by Herodotus in the Scythian history. See the note 415 on iii. 152.

<sup>2</sup> τοῦ Δαρείου ἔλασις. The narrative is continued below, § 82. In the Behistun inscription there are four original columns in which the conquests of Darius are recorded, the fourth being a recapitulation of them. From this it appears that Babylon was twice taken by his troops, the second time commanded by Intaphres, a Median; and this is the last of his feats in the original inscription. But there is a *supplementary column*, unfortunately illegible, which appears to relate to an expedition against the Sacæ,—the name by which, according to Herodotus, the Persians called *all* the Scythians (vii. 64). No doubt he was represented as succeeding here as well as in the other campaigns; for in a field cut in the rock above all the inscriptions, in which the figure of Darius is seen trampling upon Gomates the Magian, there comes a string of

eight kings pinioned, and behind these a figure in a pointed cap, with the inscription, "This is Sarúhka the Sacan." Although the inscription of the supplementary column is unreadable, it is yet plain, 1. That if it described the Scythian expedition, the Persian arms were represented as victorious. 2. That the expedition must have taken place at a later period in Darius's reign than is supposed by Herodotus; for the supplementary column is of a later date; and the latter part of the fourth of the original inscription is taken up with an address to the king's successors to follow up his policy, by which he had preserved the favour of Ormuzd and consolidated the empire.

<sup>3</sup> ὑπῆρξαν ἀδικίης. The anxiety shown by all nations, except those who, like the Caunians (i. 172), have a war-god for their tutelary deity, to justify themselves by pretexts even the flimsiest for beginning war on their neighbours is very remarkable. It would seem that naked injustice is an unbearable spectacle even to uncivilized races. See the pretence of the Ægi-netans for enslaving the Samian refugees

ἦρξαν, ὥς καὶ πρότερόν μοι εἴρηται, Σκύθαι ἔτεα δυὼν δέοντα <sup>punish a former in-</sup> τριήκοντα· Κιμμερίους γὰρ ἐπιδιώκοντες<sup>6</sup> ἐσέβαλον ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, <sup>viasion of Asia.</sup> καταπαύσαντες τῆς ἀρχῆς Μήδους· οὗτοι γὰρ πρὶν ἢ Σκύθας ἀπικέσθαι ἦρχον τῆς Ἀσίας.

Τοὺς δὲ Σκύθας ἀποδημήσαντας ὀκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσι ἔτεα, καὶ<sup>7</sup> διὰ χρόνου τοσούτου κατιώνας ἐς τὴν σφετέρην, ἐξεδέξατο οὐκ ἐλάσ-  
σων πόνος τοῦ Μηδικοῦ· εὗρον γὰρ ἀντιουμένην σφι στρατιὴν οὐκ ὀλίγην αἱ γὰρ τῶν Σκυθέων γυναῖκες, ὥς σφι οἱ ἄνδρες ἀπῆσαν  
χρόνον πολλόν, ἐφοίτεον παρὰ τοὺς δούλους. Τοὺς δὲ δούλους οἱ <sup>2</sup>  
Σκύθαι πάντας τυφλοῦσι<sup>8</sup>, τοῦ γάλακτος εἵνεκεν τοῦ πίνουσι, <sup>The Scythians blind their slaves, living mainly on mare's milk.</sup>  
ποιεῖντες ὧδε· ἐπεὰν φυσητήρας λάβωσι ὁστέϊνους αἰλοῖσι προσ-  
εμφερεστάτους, τούτους ἐσθέντες ἐς τῶν θηλέων ἵππων τὰ ἄρθρα  
φυσῶσι τοῖσι στόμασι· ἄλλοι δὲ, ἄλλων φυσεόντων, ἀμέλγουσι  
(φασὶ δὲ τοῦδε εἵνεκα τοῦτο ποιέειν, τοῦ τὰς φλέβας<sup>9</sup> τε πίμ-  
πασθαι φυσεωμένας τῆς ἵππου καὶ τὸ οὖθαρ κατεῖσθαι) ἐπεὰν  
δὲ ἀμέλξωσι τὸ γάλα, ἐσχέαντες ἐς ξύλινα ἀγγεῖα κοῖλα καὶ  
περιστίζαντες κατὰ τὰ ἀγγεῖα τοὺς τυφλοὺς, δονέουσι τὸ γάλα·  
καὶ τὸ μὲν αὐτοῦ ἐπιστάμενον ἀπαρύσαντες ἡγεύνται εἶναι τιμώ-  
τερον τὸ δ' ὑπιστάμενον ἡσσον τοῦ ἐτέρου. τούτων μὲν εἵνεκα<sup>9</sup>  
ἅπαντα τὸν ἂν λάβωσι οἱ Σκύθαι ἐκτυφλοῦσι· οὐ γὰρ ἀρόται εἰσὶ,  
ἀλλὰ νομάδες. Ἐκ τούτων δὴ ὦν σφι τῶν δούλων καὶ τῶν <sup>3</sup>  
γυναικῶν ἐπετράφη νεότης· οἱ ἐπεὶ τε ἔμαθον τὴν σφετέρην γένεσιν, <sup>A mixed race from</sup>

(iii. 59), and that of the Corinthians for invading Samos (iii. 48, 49). See also the notes on v. 96, and on vi. 140.

<sup>6</sup> Κιμμερίους γὰρ ἐπιδιώκοντες. See note on § 11.

<sup>7</sup> καί. This word is omitted from the manuscript F.

<sup>8</sup> τοὺς δὲ δούλους οἱ Σκύθαι πάντας τυφλοῦσι. In the place of these words the manuscript S has οὓς Σκύθαι τυφλοῦσι πάντας.

<sup>9</sup> τοῦ τὰς φλέβας. The manuscript S has this reading. The others, which Gaisford follows, omit τοῦ.

<sup>9</sup> δονέουσι τὸ γάλα. Herodotus describes this as if the stirring the milk were a step in the process of getting cream from it. But in fact it is a part of the operation of making koumiss. The Calmucks found among the Cosacks of the Don are described by CLARKE as mixing one-sixth of warm water with five-

sixths of mare's milk, which mixture is kept in continual agitation till fermentation ensues. This result is hastened by adding a little old koumiss by way of leaven. They also go through an additional step, by distilling this liquor over fires of dung, and getting from it a kind of bad brandy (*Travels in Russia*, vol. 1. pp. 313, seqq.); but this seems to belong to modern civilization.

<sup>9</sup> τούτων μὲν εἵνεκα. The meaning of the writer is, not that the blindness of the slaves rendered them more serviceable for the duty imposed upon them, but that they were blinded because they could perform this service—the only one put upon them—equally well. Of course their blindness prevented the possibility of their ever absconding, which would otherwise be rendered very easy by the nomad life their masters led.

these slaves opposed their masters on the return from the invasion of Asia,

and after obstinate resistance, took to flight on the masters substituting whips for their weapons.

ἡντιοῦντο αὐτοῖσι κατιοῦσι ἐκ τῶν Μήδων καὶ πρῶτα μὲν τὴν χώραν ἀπετάμοντο, τάφρον ὀρυζάμενοι εὐρέαν<sup>10</sup>, κατατείνουσιν ἐκ τῶν Ταυρικῶν οὐρέων ἐς τὴν Μαιώτιν λίμνην, ἥπερ ἐστὶ μέγιστη μετὰ δὲ, πειρεωμένοισι ἐσβάλλειν τοῖσι Σκύθησι ἀντικατιζόμενοι ἐμάχοντο· γινομένης δὲ μάχης πολλάκις, καὶ οὐ δυναμένων οὐδὲν πλέον ἔχειν τῶν Σκυθῶν τῇ μάχῃ, εἰς αὐτῶν ἔλεξε τάδε “οἶα ποιεῦμεν, ἄνδρες Σκύθαι; δούλοισι τοῖσι ἡμετέροισι μαχόμενοι, αὐτοὶ τε ἐλάσσονες κτεινόμενοι γινόμεθα καὶ ἐκείνους κτείνοντες ἐλασσόνων τὸ λοιπὸν ἄρξομεν νῦν ὧν μοι δοκεῖ αἰχμᾶς μὲν καὶ τόξα μετεῖναι, λαβόντα δὲ ἕκαστον τοῦ ἵππου τὴν μάστιγα ἰέναι ἄσπον αὐτῶν· μέχρι μὲν γὰρ ὄρεον ἡμέας ὄπλα ἔχοντας, οἱ δὲ ἐνόμιζον ὁμοῖοί τε καὶ ἐξ ὁμοίων ἡμῖν εἶναι· ἐπεὰν δὲ ἴδωνται μάστιγας ἀντὶ ὄπλων ἔχοντας, μαθόντες ὥς εἰσι ἡμέτεροι δούλοι  
4 καὶ συγγιγνόντες τοῦτο, οὐκ ὑπομενέουσι.” Ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ Σκύθαι ἐποίησαν ἐπιτελέα· οἱ δ' ἐκπλαγέντες τῷ γινομένῳ, τῆς μάχης τε ἐπελάθοντο καὶ ἔφευγον<sup>11</sup>. οὕτω οἱ Σκύθαι τῆς τε

<sup>10</sup> τάφρον ὀρυζάμενοι εὐρέαν. RUBEN-  
QUIS (in 1253) found a ditch extending  
across the isthmus of the Crimea, and a  
custom house for levying duties,—chiefly  
on salt. The distance is very little more  
than two geographical miles, and the posi-  
tion would appear by the account of  
BARON TOTT (quoted by Rennell, p. 98)  
to be a very strong one. He says that if  
properly palisaded and armed, it would  
defend the Crimea from an army of  
100,000 men. From this circumstance,  
and from that of ΣΤΡΑΒΟ (vii. c. 4, p. 92)  
giving the name of *Taphrii* to the inha-  
bitants of the coast of the *Καρκινίτης*  
*κόλπος* (the modern *Ulu Deynits*, or  
*Dead Sea*), which runs up to the isthmus  
from the west, Rennell and others have  
assumed that the trench mentioned here  
by Herodotus must be at *Pericop*. But  
from § 20 it seems pretty certain to have  
been in the neighbourhood of *Taganrock*.  
That there was the appearance of a dyke  
at *Pericop* in very early times is quite to  
be expected from the nature of the locality.  
The Crimea, which rises abruptly on the  
south to the height of 1200 feet above the  
sea, sinks gradually to the north, and at  
last with so easy a slope as to lose itself  
insensibly in the great plain of the adja-  
cent country N. of the isthmus,—which is  
very little above the level of the Euxine.

But the isthmus across which the lines of  
*Pericop* are drawn, although itself a plain,  
overtops the plain without by about 40  
feet. This however it joins with so gentle  
a slope as to appear artificially joined.  
(TOTT, *op. Rennell*, p. 67—70.) From  
this description it is obvious that the  
alluvial deposits of the Borysthenes and  
the accumulations of sea sand must have  
gradually converted the Crimea from an  
island into a peninsula, but have been  
confined to the lower level during the  
process. In the mean time the difference  
of level mentioned by Tott will have pro-  
duced to the eye the effect of an escarp-  
ment, and given the channel, as it gra-  
dually narrowed, the appearance of a  
dyke.

<sup>11</sup> καὶ ἔφευγον. An exactly similar  
story to this in the text is related in the  
Chronicles of Novogorod; and, as in He-  
rodotus's tale, the tradition attaches to a  
certain locality. The slaves of Novogorod,  
who had cohabited with the wives of the  
citizens during their seven years' absence  
in the siege of a Greek town, fly, when  
their old masters begin to brandish their  
whips, to a place which continued to bear  
the name of *Chlappigrod* (Slaves' Castle).  
See the note on vii. 129: Ποσειδέωνος  
τοῖσιν τὸν αὐλῶνα.

Ἀσῆς ἦρξαν, καὶ ἐξελασθέντες αὐτὶς ὑπὸ Μήδων, κατήλθον  
τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ ἐς τὴν σφετέρην. τῶν δὲ εἵνεκα ὁ Δαρείος τίσασθαι  
βουλόμενος, συνήγειρε ἐπ' αὐτοὺς στράτευμα.

Ὡς δὲ Σκύθαι λέγουσι, νεώτατον ἀπάντων ἐθνέων εἶναι τὸ 5  
σφέτερον τοῦτο δὲ γενέσθαι ὧδε· ἄνδρα γενέσθαι πρῶτον ἐν τῇ γῇ  
ταύτῃ, ἐούσῃ ἐρήμῳ, τῷ οὐνομα εἶναι Ταργίταον<sup>12</sup>. τοῦ δὲ Ταργι-  
τάου τοῦτου τοὺς τοκέας<sup>13</sup> λέγουσι εἶναι, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιστὰ  
λέγοντες, λέγουσι δ' ὦν<sup>14</sup> Δία τε καὶ Βορυσθένης τοῦ ποταμοῦ  
θυγατέρα· γένεος μὲν τοιούτου δὴ τινος γενέσθαι τὸν Ταργίταον,  
τοῦτου δὲ γενέσθαι παῖδας τρεῖς, Δειπόξαϊν, καὶ Ἀρπόξαϊν, καὶ νεώ-  
τατον Κολάξαϊν ἐπὶ τούτων ἀρχόντων<sup>15</sup>, ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ φερόμενα  
χρῦσα ποιήματα, ἄροτρον τε καὶ ζυγὸν καὶ σάγαριν καὶ φιάλην,  
πεσέειν ἐς τὴν Σκυθικὴν καὶ τῶν ἰδόντα πρῶτον τὸν πρεσβύτατον,  
ἄσπον ἵνα βουλόμενον αὐτὰ λαβεῖν<sup>16</sup>. τὸν δὲ χρυσὸν ἐπιόντος καί-  
εσθαι· ἀπαλλαχθέντος δὲ τούτου προσίεναι τὸν δεύτερον, καὶ τὸν  
αὐτὶς ταῦτα ποιεῖν τοὺς μὲν δὴ καίοντες τὸν χρυσὸν ἀπώσα-  
σθαι<sup>17</sup>, τρίτῳ δὲ τῷ νεωτάτῳ ἐπελθόντι κατασβῆναι· καὶ μὴν ἐκείνον  
κομίσαι ἐς ἑωυτοῦ, καὶ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους ἀδελφεοὺς πρὸς ταῦτα  
συνγρόντας, τὴν βασιλὴν πᾶσαν παραδούναι τῷ νεωτάτῳ. Ἀπὸ 6  
μὲν δὴ Δειποξάϊος γεγονέναι τούτους τῶν Σκυθέων, οἱ Αὐχάται<sup>18</sup>  
γένος καλέονται· ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ μέσου Ἀρποξάϊος, οἱ Κατάρροι τε καὶ  
Τράσπιδες<sup>19</sup> καλέονται· ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ νεωτάτου αὐτῶν τοὺς βασιλεῖς,  
Scythian traditions of the origin of their race; which is derived from the youngest son of Targitaus, who was a son of Zeus and a daughter of the Borysthenes.

<sup>12</sup> τῷ οὐνομα εἶναι Ταργίταον. In this name some have supposed the root of the word 'Turk' to exist. What the derivation of that name is remains an uncertain point; but it is one by which all the Tartars of the north of the Black Sea and Caspian (a region including the whole of Herodotus's Scythia) prefer to be designated (ADELUNG, *Mithridates*, i. p. 453), although the Nogay and Crim Tartars, who coincide more closely with Herodotus's Scythians, call themselves 'Mankat.' (ID. *ib.* p. 471.)

<sup>13</sup> τοκέας. The manuscripts M, F, a, b, c have γονέας.

<sup>14</sup> λέγουσι δ' ὦν. See note 220 on iii. 80.

<sup>15</sup> ἀρχόντων. This word is omitted by S and V.

<sup>16</sup> ἄσπον ἵνα βουλόμενον αὐτὰ λαβεῖν. The manuscripts S and V have ἄσπον ἵνα αὐτῶν βουλόμενον λαβεῖν.

<sup>17</sup> ἀπώσασθαι. The two manuscripts S and V have for this word the reading ἀπαλάσσεσθαι, which Schweighäuser and Gaisford consider to have arisen from a gloss. To me it appears to be a genuine variant, although not preferable to the reading of the other MSS.

<sup>18</sup> Αὐχάται. These tribes are placed by PLINY (*N. H.* iv. 12) as inland of *Taphræ*, which is on the Sinus Carcinites in the immediate vicinity of the isthmus. See above, note 10. He defines the site by saying that the *Hypanis* rises in the midst of their territory,—which river he connects with the *Bug* by an artificial channel. None of the four names *Auchatæ*, *Catiari*, *Traspiæ*, and *Paralatæ* occur in the account of Scythia which follows.

<sup>19</sup> Τράσπιδες. The MSS vary between this form, *Τράπιδες*, and *Τράπιοι*. The last is the reading of S and V.

They call themselves *Auchatæ*, *Catiari*, *Traspiæ*, *Paralatæ*.

and gene-

7  
rically *Skoti-*  
loti. The  
Greeks call  
them *Scythians*.  
They had  
existed 1000  
years at the  
time of Da-  
rius's inva-  
sion.

Their sacred  
fetishes of  
gold.

In the coun-  
try to the  
north they  
say the air  
is full of  
feathers.

8  
Traditions  
of the Pon-  
tine Greeks  
make *Hera-*  
*cles* the an-  
cestor of the  
Scythians,

οὐ καλέονται Παραλάται· σύμπασι δὲ εἶναι οὖνομα Σκολότους, τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπωνυμίην Σκύθας δὲ Ἑλληνες οὖνόμασαν<sup>20</sup>. Γεγονέναι μὲν νῦν σφεας ὧδε λέγουσι οἱ Σκύθαι· ἔτεα δὲ σφι, ἐπεὶ τε γεγόνασι, τὰ σύμπαντα λέγουσι εἶναι ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου βασιλέως Ταργιτάου ἐς τὴν Δαρείου διάβασιν τὴν ἐπὶ σφέας χιλίων οὐ πλέω, ἀλλὰ τσαῦτα. τὸν δὲ χρυσὸν τοῦτον τὸν ἱρὸν φυλάσσουσι οἱ βασιλῆες ἐς τὰ μάλιστα, καὶ θυσίησι μεγάλῃσι ἱλασκόμενοι μετέρχονται<sup>21</sup> ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος· ὃς δ' ἂν ἔχων τὸν χρυσὸν τὸν ἱρὸν ἐν τῇ ὁρτῇ ὑπαίθριος κατακοιμηθῇ, οὗτος λέγεται ὑπὸ Σκυθῶν οὐ διενιαντίζειν δίδωσθαι δὲ οἱ διὰ τοῦτο ὅσα ἂν ἔπῃ ἐν ἡμέρῃ μὴ περιελάσῃ αὐτός· τῆς δὲ χώρας ἐούσης μεγάλης, τριφασίας τὰς βασιληίας τοῖσι παισὶ τοῖσι ἐωυτοῦ καταστήσασθαι Κολάξαιν, καὶ τουτέων μίαν μεγίστην ποιῆσαι ἐν τῇ τὸν χρυσὸν φυλάσσεσθαι. Τὰ δὲ κατύπερθε πρὸς βορρὴν λέγουσι ἄνεμον τῶν ὑπεροίκων τῆς χώρας, οὐκ οἶά τε εἶναι ἔτι προσωτέρω οὔτε ὁρᾶν οὔτε διεξιέναι, ὑπὸ πτερῶν κεχυμένων πτερῶν γὰρ καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὸν ἥερα εἶναι πλέον<sup>22</sup>, καὶ ταῦτα εἶναι τὰ ἀποκλιόντα τὴν ὄψιν.

Σκύθαι μὲν ὧδε ὑπὲρ σφέων τε αὐτῶν, καὶ τῆς χώρας τῆς κατύπερθε λέγουσι· Ἑλλήνων δὲ οἱ τὸν Πόντον οἰκούντες<sup>23</sup> ὧδε· Ἡρακλέα θλαίνοντα τὰς Γηρυόνας βούς ἀπικέσθαι ἐς γῆν ταύτην ἐούσαν ἐρήμην, ἣν τινα νῦν Σκύθαι νέμονται· Γηρυόνα δὲ οἰκέειν ἔξω τοῦ Πόντου κατοικημένον<sup>24</sup> τὴν οἱ Ἑλληνες λέγουσι Ἐρυθρίαν

<sup>20</sup> Σκύθας δὲ Ἑλληνες οὖνόμασαν. If this statement be true, one would expect that the word Σκύθης would be significant in Greek, and accordingly it has been supposed to be of the same etymology with the old Norse *skytla*, Swedish *skjuta*, and English *shoot*. It does not seem a valid objection to this view that in the northern languages *k* is generally softened before *e*, *i*, and *y*, whereas in Greek the *κ* always remains hard. There can be no doubt that the English 'ship' and the Greek σκάφος are cognate,—the word 'skiff' filling the intermediate place between the two; and the cases seem exactly parallel.

<sup>21</sup> θυσίησι μεγάλῃσι ἱλασκόμενοι μετέρχονται. Herodotus uses the expression λιτῇσι μετέρχεσθαι below (vi. 69). The phrase ἱλασκόμενοι, as applied to the gold, will not surprise, if we consider that the objects were regarded as sacred fetishes. In the same way the Israelites burnt in-

cense before the brazen serpent, which Hezekiah on that account destroyed. (2 Kings xviii. 4.)

<sup>22</sup> πτερῶν γὰρ καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὸν ἥερα εἶναι πλέον. This is, as Herodotus conjectures below (§ 31), a misrepresentation of the falling flakes of snow, which in the old German mythology was represented as feathers tumbling from the bed of the goddess *Holda*, when she shook it in making it. *Holda* as a deity comes pretty near to the Latin *Diana*. See GRIMM, *Deutsche Mythologie*, p. 165.

<sup>23</sup> οἱ τὸν Πόντον οἰκούντες. This expression seems to prove, not indeed that Herodotus's information of the Scythians was derived directly from themselves, but that it was something different from the legends current in the Pontine towns.

<sup>24</sup> κατοικημένον. This is the reading of all the MSS except two, *δ* and *z*, which have *κατοικημένον*. Schweighäuser, con-



νῆσον, τὴν πρὸς Γηδείροις τοῖσι ἔξω Ἑρακλήων στηλέων ἐπὶ τῷ  
 Ὠκεανῷ (τὸν δὲ Ὠκεανὸν λόγῳ μὲν λέγουσι ἀπὸ ἡλίου ἀνατολέων  
 ἀρξάμενον γῆν περὶ πᾶσαν ῥέειν, ἔργῳ δὲ οὐκ ἀποδεικνύειν) ἐνθεύ-  
 τεον τὸν Ἑρακλέα ἀπικέσθαι ἐς τὴν νῦν Σκυθίην χώραν καλο-  
 μένην καταλαβεῖν γὰρ αὐτὸν χειμῶνά τε καὶ κρυμὸν ἐπειρυσά-  
 μενον δὲ τὴν λεοντήν, κατυπνώσαι· τὰς δὲ οἱ ἵππους τὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ  
 ἄρματος νεμομένας ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ, ἀφανισθῆναι θεῇ τύχῃ  
 Ὡς δ' ἐγερθῆναι τὸν Ἑρακλέα, δῖξθαι, πάντα δὲ τὰ τῆς χώρας θ  
 ἐπεξελθόντα, τέλος ἀπικέσθαι ἐς τὴν Ἑλλήν καλεομένην γῆν  
 ἐνθαῦτα δὲ αὐτὸν εὑρεῖν ἐν ἄντρῳ μίξοπαρθενόν τινα ἔχιδναν<sup>25</sup>  
 διφυέα· τῆς τὰ μὲν ἄνω ἀπὸ τῶν γλουτέων εἶναι γυναικὸς, τὰ δὲ  
 ἔνερθεν ὄφιος· ἰδόντα δὲ καὶ θαυμάσαντα, ἐπείρεσθαι μιν εἰ κον  
 ἴδοι ἵππους πλανωμένας; τὴν δὲ φάναι ἐωυτὴν ἔχειν, καὶ οὐκ  
 ἀποδώσειν ἐκείνῳ πρὶν ἢ οἱ μίχθῃναι· τὸν δὲ Ἑρακλέα μίχθῃναι  
 ἐπὶ τῷ μισθῷ τούτῳ· κέλην τε δὴ ὑπερβαλέσθαι τὴν ἀπόδοσιν  
 τῶν ἵππων βουλομένην ὥς πλείστον χρόνον συνεῖναι τῷ Ἑρακλεῖ,  
 καὶ τὸν κομισάμενον ἐθέλειν ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι<sup>26</sup>. τέλος δὲ ἀποδι-  
 δούσαν αὐτὴν εἰπεῖν “ἵππους μὲν δὴ ταύτας ἀπικομένας ἐνθάδε  
 ἔσωσά τοι ἐγώ· σώστρα δὲ σὺ παρέσχες, ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐκ σεῦ τρεῖς  
 παῖδας ἔχω· τούτους, ἐπεὰν γένωνται τρόφιες, ὃ τι χρὴ ποίεω  
 ἐξηγέο σύ· εἴτε αὐτοῦ κατοικίξω, χώρας γὰρ τῆσδε ἔχω τὸ κράτος  
 αὐτῇ, εἴτε ἀποπέμπω παρὰ σέ;” τὴν μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐπειρωτᾶν τὸν  
 δὲ λέγουσι πρὸς ταῦτα εἰπεῖν “ἐπεὰν ἀνδρωθέντας ἴδῃαι τοὺς  
 παῖδας, τάδε ποιεύσα οὐκ ἂν ἁμαρτάνοις· τὸν μὲν ἂν ὄρας αὐτῶν  
 τόδε τὸ τόξον ὧδε διατεινόμενον, καὶ τῷ ζωστήρι τῷδε κατὰ τάδε

sidering that there is a clumsiness in the  
 combination *οικεῖν κατοικημένον* would  
 read *κατοικημένον*, which is often used by  
 Herodotus as the equivalent of *κειμένην*.  
 (See i. 142. 193; iv. 196.) But although  
 the sentence would run better by adopting  
 this suggestion, this reason is a very in-  
 sufficient one for resorting to conjecture.

<sup>25</sup> *μίσκοπαρθενόν τινα ἔχιδναν*. The tra-  
 dition (given as Scythian) by Diodorus  
 (ii. 43) makes Zeus (not Heracles) the  
 progenitor of Scythes by Echidna. Pro-  
 bably the insignia of the Scythian Zeus  
 were such as to suggest Heracles to the  
 imagination of the Pontine Greeks. These  
 would be the bow, the belt, and the drink-  
 ing-cup (see below, § 10), i.e. the idol

would be attired in the garb of a native  
 warrior. Just so the deity worshipped on  
 the banks of the Libyan lake Tritonis  
 wore the costume of the women of the  
 country. See note 487, below.

<sup>26</sup> *καὶ τὸν κομισάμενον ἐθέλειν ἀπα-  
 λάσσεσθαι*. These words answer to the  
 clause *κέλην ὑπερβαλέσθαι*, κ.τ.λ., and  
 are to be taken after the word *λέγουσι*,  
 with which the whole narrative is intro-  
 duced. “They relate that while she kept  
 putting off the restoration of the steeds in  
 the wish to enjoy Heracles’s society as  
 long as possible, he wanted to get them  
 and be gone.” *Τὸν* is the equivalent of  
*ἐκείνον*, as continually in Herodotus.

10

She bears three sons; *Agathyrus, Gelonus, and Scythes*, of whom only the youngest was able to string his father's bow.

He is the ancestor of the Scythian chiefs.

11

Another story, to which the author inclines, brings the Scythians

ζωινύμενον, τούτον μὲν τῆσδε τῆς χώρας οἰκίτορα ποιεῦν δὲ δ' ἂν τούτων τῶν ἔργων τῶν ἐντέλλομαι λίπηται, ἔκπεμπε ἐκ τῆς χώρας καὶ ταῦτα ποιεύσα, αὐτὴ τε εὐφρανέαι καὶ τὰ ἐντεταλμένα ποιήσεις." Τὸν μὲν δὴ εἰρύσαντα τῶν τόξων τὸ ἕτερον, (δύο γὰρ δὴ φορέειν τέως Ἡρακλέα,) καὶ τὸν ζωστήρα προδέξαντα, παραδοῦναι τὸ τόξον τε καὶ τὸν ζωστήρα ἔχοντα ἐπ' ἄκρης τῆς συμβολῆς φιάλην χρυσήν, διδόντα δὲ ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι τὴν δ', ἐπεὶ οἱ γενομένους τοὺς παῖδας ἀνδρωθῆναι, τοῦτο μὲν σφι οὐνόματα θέσθαι, τῷ μὲν Ἀγάθυρσον αὐτῶν, τῷ δ' ἐπομένῳ Γελωνόν, Σκύθην δὲ τῷ νεωτάτῳ· τοῦτο δὲ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς<sup>27</sup> μεμνημένην αὐτὴν ποιῆσαι τὰ ἐντεταλμένα· καὶ δὴ δύο μὲν οἱ τῶν παιδῶν, τὸν τε Ἀγάθυρσον καὶ τὸν Γελωνόν, οὐκ οἶους τε γενομένους ἐξικέσθαι πρὸς τὸν προκείμενον ἀέθλον, οἴχεσθαι ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἐκβληθέντας ὑπὸ τῆς γεωαμένης, τὸν δὲ νεώτατον αὐτῶν Σκύθην, ἐπιτελέσαντα, καταμείναι ἐν τῇ χώρῃ· καὶ ἀπὸ μὲν Σκύθew τοῦ Ἡρακλέος γενέσθαι τοὺς αἰεὶ βασιλέας γινομένους Σκυθέων ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς φιάλης ἔτι καὶ ἐς τότε φιάλας ἐκ τῶν ζωστήρων φορέειν Σκύθας, τὸ δὴ μόνον μηχανήσασθαι τὴν μητέρα Σκύθη. ταῦτα δὲ Ἑλλήνων οἱ τὸν Πόντον οἰκέοντες λέγουσι.

"Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλος λόγος ἔχων ὧδε, τῷ μάλιστα λεγομένῳ αὐτὸς πρόσκειμαι· Σκύθας τοὺς νομάδας, οἰκέοντας ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ, πολέμῳ πιεσθέντας ὑπὸ Μασσαγετῶν οἴχεσθαι διαβάντας ποταμὸν Ἀράξea<sup>28</sup> ἐπὶ γῆν τὴν Κιμμερίην τὴν γὰρ νῦν νέμονται Σκύθαι, αὕτη λέγεται τὸ παλαιὸν εἶναι Κιμμερίων<sup>29</sup>. τοὺς δὲ Κιμμερίους,

<sup>27</sup> ἐπιστολῆς. This word is used in the sense of a 'suggestion' or 'instruction,' quite independently of any notion of a 'missive,' in this passage, and also in vi. 50, ἔλεγε δὲ ταῦτα ἐξ ἐπιστολῆς τῆς Δημαρίτου.

<sup>28</sup> ποταμὸν Ἀράξea. It seems quite unquestionable from this passage that whatever the river may be which is spoken of here, it certainly is not the Araxes of STRABO,—i.e. the river which, with the Cyrus (*Kura* or *Koura*), drains the n.w. portion of Armenia, and falls with a n.e. or e. direction into the Caspian Sea. For an attempt to analyse the notions entertained by Herodotus with regard to the river or rivers to which he gives the name of Araxes, see note 677 on i. 201.

<sup>29</sup> τὴν γὰρ νῦν νέμονται Σκύθαι, αὕτη λέγεται τὸ παλαιὸν εἶναι Κιμμερίων. The Cimmerians, in the apprehension of those persons from whom Herodotus obtained his information, appear to have been regarded as a distinct race formerly overspreading the plains to the north of the Black Sea as far as to the bank of the Danube on the west, and that of the Volga on the east (see note 677 on i. 201) who had been expelled by the Scythians, the then existing inhabitants of the region. But the only remaining memorials of the race seem to have been the names *Κιμμερία τείχεα*, *Πορθυμία Κιμμέρια*, &c. (below, § 12) in Europe, and *insulated traditions* current in different localities,—for instance, at *Sardis* (i. 15), and at *Sinope*

ἐπιόντων Σκυθέων, βουλεύεσθαι ὡς στρατοῦ ἐπιόντος μεγάλου over a river  
καὶ δὴ τὰς γνῶμας σφένων κεχωρισμένας, ἐντόνους μὲν ἀμφοτέρας, <sup>Araxes</sup>  
ἀμείνω δὲ τὴν τῶν βασιλέων τὴν μὲν γὰρ δὴ τοῦ δήμου φέρειν from Asia  
γνῶμην ὡς ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι πρῆγμα εἶη, μὴδὲ πρὸς πολλοὺς δεό- into the  
μενον κυδυνεύειν<sup>20</sup>. τὴν δὲ τῶν βασιλέων, διαμάχεσθαι περὶ τῆς land of the  
χώρης τοῖσι ἐπιούσι· οὐκ ἔβηλεν πείβεσθαι οὔτε τοῖσι βασι- Cimmerians,  
λεύσι τὸν δῆμον, οὔτε τῷ δήμῳ τοὺς βασιλέας· τοὺς μὲν δὲ ἀπαλ-  
λάσσεσθαι βουλεύεσθαι ἀμαχητὶ, τὴν χώραν παραδόντας τοῖσι  
ἐπιούσι· τοῖσι δὲ βασιλεύσι δόξαι ἐν τῇ ἐωυτῶν κέεσθαι ἀποθανόν-  
τας, μὴδὲ συμφεύγειν τῷ δήμῳ· λογιζαμένους ὅσα τε ἀγαθὰ  
πεπόνθασι καὶ ὅσα φεύγοντας ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος κακὰ ἐπίδοξα κατα-  
λαμβάνειν<sup>21</sup>. ὡς δὲ δόξαι σφι ταῦτα, διαστάντας, καὶ ἀριθμὸν ἴσου  
γενομένους, μάχεσθαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀποθανόντας

Tombs of  
the Cimmer-

(iv. 12),—relative to one or more invasions of Asia by them. STRABO shows the very indefinite character of these traditions, and the doubt attaching even to the name of the invaders: οἱ τε Κιμμέριοι, οὓς καὶ Τρήραντας ὀνομάζουσι, ἢ ἐκείνων τι ἔθνος, πολλὰκις ἐπέδραμον τὰ δεξιὰ μέρη τοῦ Πόντου καὶ τὰ συνεχῆ αὐτοῖς, ποτὲ μὲν ἐπὶ Παφλαγονίας, ποτὲ δὲ καὶ Φρύγας ἐμβαλόντες ἥρικα Μίδαν αἶμα ταύρου πίνοντα φασὶν ἀπελθεῖν εἰς τὸ χρεόν. Λόγδαμος δὲ τοὺς αὐτοῦ ἔγωγε μέχρι Λυδίας καὶ Ἰωνίας ἤλασε, καὶ Ἄρδεϊς εἶλον· ἐν Κιλικίᾳ δὲ διεφθάρη. Πολλὰκις δὲ καὶ οἱ Κιμμέριοι καὶ οἱ Τρήρες ἐποίησαντο τὰς τοιαύτας ἐφόδους· τοὺς δὲ Τρήρας καὶ Κῶρον ἐπὶ Μάδους τὸ τελευταῖον ἐξελασθῆναι φασὶ τοῦ τῶν Κιμμερίων βασιλέως (i. c. 3, p. 97. See note 59 on i. 15). In the story to which Strabo refers a *Madys* is king of the Cimmerians, but in Herodotus, i. 103, *Madyses* (which is essentially the same name) is king, not of them, but of their Scythian enemies. The later geographers, identifying the Κίμβριοι of Roman history with the Κιμμέριοι, endeavoured to bring the race from the German Ocean to the Tauric Chersonese. (POSEIDONIUS, *ap. Strabon.* vii. c. 2, p. 69.) This is a course precisely parallel to that adopted by ΕΡΜΟΔΟΥΣ with regard to the Pelasgians. (See note 179 on i. 56.) ADKELUNG is very earnest in protesting against the identification of the races denoted by the two names. He conceives the Cimmerians to be a Thracian tribe, and to be represented by the *Tauri*

in the time of Herodotus (iv. 99). That they were Thracian he considers to follow from the prevalence of the same names *Cotys*, *Seleucus*, *Rhescuporis*, and *Rhæmetaces* among both the Thracian and the Bosphorane sovereigns. Names terminating in *-sades* (such as *Berisades* and *Medosades*) are likewise found among both. The Cimbri, on the other hand, he considers to be genuine Germans. (*Mithridates*, ii. p. 353.) The Κιμμέριοι of the *Odyssey* (xi. 14) are a purely mythical people; and the Alexandrines, ARISTARCHUS and CRATÆS, read *Κερβερίων* in that passage.

<sup>20</sup> μὴδὲ πρὸς πολλοὺς δεόμενον κυδυνεύειν. This reading, which is adopted by Gaisford, rests upon A, B, S, V, and appears to me to be genuine. But it does not seem that *δεόμενον* is to be in any way connected with *πρῆγμα*. I should render the passage, "and that there was no need to fight against such numbers,"—an emphatic expression for the sentiment that it would be absurd to do so. There is no ellipse of any other word in the phrase *πρῆγμα εἶναι*, any more than in *ἔργον εἶναι*, which is often used in just the same way, meaning to be 'the proper thing to be done.'

<sup>21</sup> καταλαμβάνειν. This is a conjecture of Valcknaer's. The MSS have *καταλαμβάνει*, which Gaisford retains. But the infinitive seems requisite. See i. 89: τὰς τοι ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐπίδοξα γενέσθαι. vi. 12: πολλὰ ἐπίδοξα τωτὸ τοῦτο πείσεσθαι εἰσι.

rian chiefs  
on the banks  
of the Tyras,  
and other  
traces of the  
race.

πάντας ὑπ' ἑωυτῶν, θάψαι τὸν δῆμον τῶν Κιμμερίων παρὰ ποταμὸν Τύρην—καὶ σφειν ἔτι δῆλός ἐστι ὁ τάφος—θάψαντας δὲ, οὕτω τὴν ἔξοδον ἐκ τῆς χώρας ποικέσθαι· Σκύθας δὲ ἐπελθόντας

12 λαβεῖν ἐρήμην τὴν χώραν. Καὶ νῦν ἐστι μὲν ἐν τῇ Σκυθικῇ Κιμμέρια τείχεα· ἐστι δὲ Πορθμῆια Κιμμέρια· ἐστι δὲ καὶ χώρα

Settlement  
of the flying  
Cimmerians  
in the region  
about  
Sinope, and  
Scythian  
invasion of  
Media.

ὄνομα Κιμμερίη<sup>22</sup>. ἐστι δὲ Βόσπορος Κιμμέριος καλεόμενος. φαίνονται δὲ οἱ Κιμμέριοι φεύγοντες ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην τοὺς Σκύθας καὶ τὴν χερσόνησον κτίσαντες, ἐν τῇ νῦν Σινώπῃ πόλιν Ἑλλὰς οἰκισται<sup>23</sup>. φανεροὶ δὲ εἰσι καὶ οἱ Σκύθαι διώξαντες αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐσβαλόντες ἐς γῆν τὴν Μηδικὴν, ἀμαρτύντες τῆς οδοῦ· οἱ μὲν γὰρ Κιμμέριοι αἰεὶ τὴν παρὰ θάλασσαν ἔφευγον· οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι ἐν δεξιῇ τὸν Καύκασον ἔχοντες ἐδίωκον· ἐς δ' ἐσέβαλον ἐς τὴν Μηδικὴν γῆν, ἐς μεσόγαιαν τῆς οδοῦ τραφθέντες. οὗτος δὲ ἄλλος ξυνὸς Ἑλλήνων τε καὶ βαρβάρων λεγόμενος λόγος<sup>24</sup> εἴρηται.

13 Ἐφῇ δὲ Ἀριστέης ὁ Καῦστροβίου, ἀνὴρ Προκοννήσιος, ποιεῶν ἔπεα, ἀπικέσθαι ἐς Ἴσσηδόνας φοιβόλαμπτος γενόμενος· Ἴσσηδό-

Aristeas of  
Proconnesus

<sup>22</sup> χώρα ὄνομα Κιμμερίη. STRABO speaks of a κῆμη Κιμμερικὴ as the point from which vessels which entered the Sea of Azof laid their course for the emporium which formerly existed at the mouth of the Tanais (xi. c. 2, p. 402). The nomads both of Europe and Asia used to bring slaves and hides to this market, and exchange them for wine and articles of dress brought thither by the Bosphorane Greeks, of whom this emporium was a settlement. (Id. *ib.* p. 401.) The existence of the names appears to be a main foundation for the history of the Cimmerians. See for a parallel case STRABO cited in note 286 on ii. 102.

<sup>23</sup> ἐν τῇ νῦν Σινώπῃ πόλιν Ἑλλὰς οἰκισται. Sinope was a colony from Miletus, and the most important of the settlements on this part of the coast of the Euxine. It was situated on the neck of a promontory, and had a port on each side. The original cause of the settlement probably was the great abundance of the smaller tunny-fish (called by the name *πυλαμύδια*), in which it even exceeded Byzantium. The rock-bound shore in the neighbourhood rendered it very dangerous of access, while the soil was remarkably fertile. (STRABO, xii. c. 3, p. 23.)

<sup>24</sup> ξυνὸς Ἑλλήνων τε καὶ βαρβάρων

λεγόμενος λόγος. That this account should be common both to Greeks and barbarians, and yet not (in all probability) a true one, may be easily explained. See the note 364 on i. 104. It was a fact that the Cimmerians were pressed by nomad hordes, the same which afterwards inhabited the Scythia of Herodotus's time. It was also a fact that similar hordes called by the same name, i. e. *Sacæ* (by which the Persians denominated all Scythians, vii. 64), invaded Media. The problem with the *Λόγιοι* was to connect these two facts; and the story in the text served excellently (while the geography was obscure) for this purpose. But it will be observed that in this passage the site of Media is undoubtedly mistaken, and that *ἐς μεσόγαιαν τῆς οδοῦ τραφέντες* is an exact description of what would be likely to happen to a pastoral horde on turning the spur of Caucasus which runs down to the w. coast of the Caspian Sea. They would spread up the valley of the Cyrus, far away from Media. But still in after times this country might, for commercial purposes, be regarded as Median by Greek merchants,—as has been shown in the note 363 on i. 104,—and thus justify the phrase *ἐσέβαλον ἐς τὴν Μηδικήν*.

νων δὲ ὑπεροικέειν Ἀριμασποὺς, ἄνδρας μονοφθάλμους<sup>35</sup>, ὑπὲρ δὲ in his poem  
 τούτων τοὺς χρυσοφύλακας Γρύπας<sup>36</sup>, τούτων δέ, τοὺς Ὑπερβο- professed to  
 ρεύους, κατήκουτας ἐπὶ θάλασσαν. τούτους ὦν πάντας πλὴν Ὑπερ- have been  
 βορέων, ἀρξάντων Ἀριμασπῶν, αἰεὶ τοῖσι πλησιοχώροισι ἐπι- rapt among  
 τιθεσθαι· καὶ ὑπὸ μὲν Ἀριμασπῶν ἐξωθέεσθαι ἐκ τῆς χώρας the *Issedones*, the  
 Ἰσσηδόνας, ὑπὸ δὲ Ἰσσηδόνων Σκύθας, Κιμμερίου δὲ οἰκέοντας northern  
 ἐπὶ τῇ νοτίῃ θαλάσῃ<sup>37</sup> ὑπὸ Σκυθέων πιεζομένους ἐκλείπειν τὴν neighbours  
 χώραν. οὕτω οὐδὲ οὗτος συμφέρεται περὶ τῆς χώρας ταύτης Σκύ- of the  
 θησι. Καὶ ὅθεν μὲν ἦν Ἀριστέης ὁ ταῦτα ποιήσας<sup>38</sup>, εἴρηται<sup>39</sup>. 14 Scythians,  
 τὸν δὲ περὶ αὐτοῦ ἤκουον λόγον ἐν Προκοννήσῳ καὶ Κυζίκῳ<sup>40</sup>, beyond  
 λέξω· Ἀριστέην γὰρ λέγουσι, ὄντα τῶν ἀστῶν οὐδενὸς γένος ὑπο- whom are  
 δεέστερον, ἐσελθόντα ἐς κναφήιον ἐν Προκοννήσῳ ἀποθανεῖν· καὶ *Arimaspi*,  
 τὸν κναφέα κατακλητίσαντα τὸ ἐργαστήριον, οἶχεσθαι ἀγγελέοντα *Griſſias*, and  
 τοῖσι προσήκουσι τῷ νεκρῷ ἐσκεδασμένον δὲ ἤδη τοῦ λόγου ἀνὰ *Hyperbo-*  
 τὴν πόλιν ὡς τεθνεὼς εἶη ὁ Ἀριστέης, ἐς ἀμφισβασίας τοῖσι rears.  
 λέγουσι ἀπικέσθαι ἄνδρα Κυζικηνὸν ἦκοντα ἐξ Ἀρτάκης πόλιος, A story of  
 φάντα συντυχεῖν τέ οἱ ἰόντι ἐπὶ Κυζίκου καὶ ἐς λόγους ἀπικέσθαι· Arisias  
 καὶ τοῦτον μὲν ἐντεταμένως ἀμφισβητέειν<sup>41</sup>. τοὺς δὲ προσήκουτας himself  
 τῷ νεκρῷ ἐπὶ τὸ κναφήιον παρῆναι ἔχοντας τὰ πρόσφορα, ὡς current at  
 ἀναιρησομένους· ἀνοιχθέντος δὲ τοῦ οἰκήματος, οὔτε τεθνεῶτα οὔτε *Proconneus*  
 and *Cyzicus*,  
 where the  
 author  
 heard it.

<sup>35</sup> Ἀριμασποὺς, ἄνδρας μονοφθάλμους. The name *Arimaspi* is derived by Herodotus from two Scythian words. See below, § 27.

<sup>36</sup> τοὺς χρυσοφύλακας Γρύπας. See above, iii. 116.

<sup>37</sup> ἐπὶ τῇ νοτίῃ θαλάσῃ. This is a phrase more suitable for a person who believed in the existence of a northern ocean than for Herodotus, who discredited the report of such a thing. (See iii. 115.) Possibly he is not only here following Aristæas, but adopting his very words.

<sup>38</sup> ποιήσας. This is the reading of Gaisford, on the authority of the manuscripts K, P, F, &c. Others, including S, have *εἴπας*, a reading which ORIGEN appears to have found (*c. Cels.* iv. 3).

<sup>39</sup> εἴρηται. This is the reading adopted by Gaisford, though the MSS which he follows in the last line have *εἴρηκα*; and so has ORIGEN.

<sup>40</sup> ἐν Προκοννήσῳ καὶ Κυζίκῳ. There would be considerable traffic between these places on account of the marble

quarries in the former, which supplied material for the finest buildings in all the cities of this region, especially *Cyzicus*. (STRABO, xiii. c. 1, p. 92.) It is the modern *Marmora*, which gives its name to the sea in which it lies. It will be observed that each of these two places was held as a fief of Persia in the time of Darius, as dynasts from each of them were among the number left in charge of the bridge over the Ister (§ 138, below). There is no account of their being conquered, and probably all that took place was the transfer of their allegiance from a Lydian to a Persian suzerain. See note on vi. 37, *ἐν γνῶμῃ γεγονέναι*.

<sup>41</sup> ἀμφισβητέειν. This is the reading of all the MSS (except S, which has *ἀμφισβητέειν*), and it is retained by Gaisford. ORIGEN, however, has the form *ἀμφισβητέειν*, which, as Kenrick has remarked, is formed after the analogy of *παρὰβατέειν*, and appears to be the genuine form in other places. (See note on ix. 74.) In the next line he has *νέκυι* for *νεκρῷ*.

ζῶντα φαίνεσθαι Ἀριστέην μετὰ δὲ ἑβδόμῃ ἔτει φανέντα αὐτὸν ἐς Προκόννησον ποιῆσαι τὰ ἔπεα ταῦτα τὰ νῦν ὑπ' Ἑλλήνων Ἀριμάσπεια καλέεται<sup>42</sup>. ποιήσαντα δὲ ἀφανισθῆναι τὸ δεύτερον.

15 ταῦτα μὲν αἱ πόλεις αὗται λέγουσι. Τάδε δὲ οἶδα Μεταποντί-  
νοισι<sup>43</sup> τοῖσι ἐν Ἰταλίῃ συγκυρήσαντα μετὰ τὴν ἀφάνισιν τὴν  
δευτέρην Ἀριστέω ἔτεσι τεσσεράκοντα καὶ τριηκοσίοισι, ὥς ἐγὼ  
συμβαλλόμενος ἐν Προκοννήσῳ τε καὶ Μεταποντίῳ εὕρισκον  
Μεταποντινοὶ φασι αὐτὸν Ἀριστέην, φανέντα σφί ἐς τὴν χώραν  
κελεύσαι βωμὸν Ἀπόλλωνι ἰδρύσασθαι, καὶ Ἀριστέω τοῦ Προ-  
κοννησίου ἐπωνυμίην ἔχοντα ἀνδριάντα παρ' αὐτὸν ἰστάναι· φάναι  
γάρ, σφί τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα Ἰταλιωτέων μούνοισι δὴ ἀπικέσθαι ἐς  
τὴν χώραν, καὶ αὐτός οἱ ἔπεσθαι ὁ νῦν ἐὼν Ἀριστέης· τότε δὲ, ὅτε  
εἶπετο τῷ θεῷ, εἶναι κόραξ<sup>44</sup>. καὶ τὸν εἰπαντα ταῦτα ἀφανισθῆναι,  
σφέας δὲ (Μεταποντίνοι λέγουσι) ἐς Δελφοὺς πέμψαντας τὸν  
θεὸν ἐπειρωτᾶν ὅ τι τὸ φάσμα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου εἴη; τὴν δὲ Πυθίην  
σφέας κελεύειν πείθεσθαι τῷ φάσματι, πειθομένοισι δὲ ἄμεινον  
συνόισεσθαι· καὶ σφεας δεξαμένους ταῦτα ποιῆσαι ἐπιτελέα. καὶ  
νῦν ἔστηκε ἀνδριάς ἐπωνυμίην ἔχων Ἀριστέω παρ' αὐτῷ τῷ ἀγάλ-  
ματι τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος· πέριξ δὲ αὐτὸν δάφναι ἐστᾶσι<sup>45</sup>. τὸ δὲ  
ἄγαλμα ἐν τῇ ἀγορῇ ἵδρυται. Ἀριστέω μὲν νυν περὶ τοσαῦτα  
εἰρήσθω.

16 Τῆς δὲ γῆς, τῆς περὶ ὅδε ὁ λόγος ὥρμηται λέγεσθαι<sup>46</sup>, οὐδεὶς  
οἶδε ἀτρεκές<sup>47</sup> ὅ τι τὸ κατύπερθε ἐστὶ· οὐδενὸς γὰρ δὴ αὐτόπτεω

Metapontine  
story of  
Aristeas  
appearing  
there (an  
event which  
must have  
happened  
340 years  
after his  
second dis-  
appearance  
from Pro-  
connesus),

connected  
with a  
statue of  
Aristeas by  
the side of  
Apollo in  
the agora  
at Meta-  
pontum.

No one  
knows what

<sup>42</sup> τὰ νῦν . . . καλέεται. ORIGEN has  
ἀ δὴ νῦν . . . Ἀριμάσπεια καλέεται.

<sup>43</sup> τάδε δὲ οἶδα Μεταποντίνοισι. See  
note 271 on § 99, below.

<sup>44</sup> εἶναι κόραξ. The crow or raven was  
originally a symbol of the prophetic deity.  
Afterwards it became an attendant of him,  
the poetical mythologists furnishing a rea-  
son for the satisfaction of the imagination  
of the worshipping. Aristeas and the crow  
are to Apollo just what Callisto and the  
bear were to Artemis. See notes 164 and  
366 on i. 52 and 106.

<sup>45</sup> ἐστᾶσι. So Gaisford and the MSS.  
ORIGEN has εἰσι. The reading of the  
MSS is the more appropriate one, as the  
laurel trees were bronze representations  
of the natural shrub. (THEOPOMPUS, ap.  
Atheneum, xiii. p. 605.) It was very  
natural that this should be in the agora,  
where one would hardly look for real

laurels. A similar representation seems  
to have existed in the temple at Jerusalem  
in the time of king Josiah. (2 Kings  
xxiii. 6.) Compare too 1 Kings xv. 13.  
No doubt the pools and groves of nature  
were the original sites of the ritual in the  
elemental religions, but when cities were  
built and the form of ceremonial still  
retained, artificial representations became  
necessary in many cases.

<sup>46</sup> τῆς περὶ ὅδε ὁ λόγος ὥρμηται λέγε-  
σθαι. STRABO (i. c. 2, p. 21) distinctly  
asserts that the geographical knowledge  
of τὰ πέραν τοῦ Ἰστροῦ τὰ μέχρι Τύρου  
τοσαυτῶν was due to the Romans, while that  
of the parts beyond the Tyrras, μέχρι  
Μαιωτῶν καὶ τῆς εἰς Κάλχους τελευτήσης  
παράλις, dates only from the time of  
Mithridates.

<sup>47</sup> ἀτρεκές. So Gaisford following A,  
B, S, V. The manuscript M has ἀτρε-

εἶδέναι φαμένον δύναμαι πυθέσθαι· οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ Ἀριστῆς, τοῦ  
 περ ὀλίγη πρότερον τούτων μνήμην ἐποιεῦμην, οὐδὲ οὗτος " προσ-  
 ωτέρω Ἰσσηδόνων, ἐν αὐτοῖσι τοῖσι ἔπеси ποικῶν ἔφησε ἀπικέσθαι·  
 ἀλλὰ τὰ κατύπερθε ἔλεγε ἀκοῇ, φὰς Ἰσσηδόνας εἶναι τοὺς ταῦτα  
 λέγοντας. ἀλλ' ὅσον μὲν ἡμεῖς ἀτρεκέως ἐπὶ μακρότατον οἶοι τ'  
 ἐγενόμεθα ἀκοῇ ἐξικέσθαι", πᾶν εἰρήσεται. Ἀπὸ τοῦ Βορυσθε-  
 νεϊτέων ἐμπορίου, (τοῦτο γὰρ τῶν παραβαλασσίων μεσαίτατον ἐστὶ  
 πάσης τῆς Σκυθίας",) ἀπὸ τούτου πρῶτοι Καλλιπίδαι νέμονται,  
 ἐόντες Ἑλληνας Σκύθαι· ὑπὲρ δὲ τούτων ἄλλο ἔθνος, οἱ Ἀλάζωνες  
 καλέονται· οὗτοι δὲ καὶ οἱ Καλλιπίδαι τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κατὰ ταῦτα  
 Σκύθησι ἐπασκέουσι, σίτον δὲ καὶ σπείρουσι καὶ σιτέονται, καὶ  
 κρόμμυνα καὶ σκόροδα καὶ φακοὺς" καὶ κέγχρους· ὑπὲρ δὲ Ἀλα-  
 ζώνων οἰκέουσι Σκύθαι ἀροτῆρες, οἱ οὐκ ἐπὶ σιτῇ σπείρουσι τὸν  
 σίτον ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πρήσει. τούτων δὲ κατύπερθε οἰκέουσι Νευροί".  
 Νευρῶν δὲ τὸ πρὸς βορῇν ἀνεμον ἐρήμος" ἀνθρώπων, ὅσον ἡμεῖς  
 ἴδμεν. ταῦτα μὲν παρὰ τὸν Ὑπανν ποταμόν ἐστι ἔθνεα, πρὸς  
 ἐσπέρης τοῦ Βορυσθένεος. Ἀτὰρ διαβάντι τὸν Βορυσθένεα, ἀπὸ  
 θαλάσσης πρῶτον μὲν ἡ Ὑλαίη". ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης ἄνω" οἰκέουσι

lies beyond  
Scythia.

The author  
gives the  
best account  
he can from  
hearsay.

17

Starting  
from the  
factory of  
the Bory-  
sthenites,  
and going  
up the  
banks of  
the Hypanis,  
there come  
the Cal-  
lipidae :  
Alazones :  
Corn grow-  
ers : Neuri :  
all west of  
the Bory-  
sthenes.

18

East of the  
Borysthenes  
is the Bush,

κέως ὥς. Bekker reads ἀτρεκέως. See note 80 on § 25, below.

" οὐδὲ οὗτος. This accumulation of negatives is quite in accordance with the genius of the Greek language. PLATO has : τιθῶμεν γε αὐτοὺς λέγειν, μηδὲν μηδὲν μηδεμίαν δύναμιν ἔχειν κοινωνίας εἰς μηδέν. (Sophist. p. 251.)

" ὅσον μὲν ἡμεῖς . . . ἀκοῇ ἐξικέσθαι. The same expression is used above (i. 171), ὅσον καὶ ἐγὼ δυνατός εἰμι μακρότατον ἐξικέσθαι ἀκοῇ, where see the note 572 for other instances.

" Σκυθίας. S and V have Σκυθικῆς. " κρόμμυνα καὶ σκόροδα καὶ φακοὺς. These articles of food are united in *Numbers* xi. 5. They, with salt fish, furnished the only seasoning to the bread which was the staple food of the common people almost universally in the time of Herodotus. See ii. 125, and note 371 thereon.

" Νευροί. COOLEY, who places these people in the north of Poland, says, in confirmation of his view, that the river upon which Wilna stands is still called *Neris* in the Lithuanian language. But see note 282 on § 105, below.

" ἐρήμος. The manuscripts S and V accentuate this word on the first syllable.

The grammarians assert that it was the practice of the old Ionian and Attic dialect to sound it as with the circumflex on the penult, as also in the case of *ὁμοῖος* and *ἐτοῖμος*.

" ἡ Ὑλαίη. Herodotus mentions this region by name in several other places (§§ 19, 54, 55, 76), and in the *last* of these defines its position more carefully than in any other, and in terms which are appropriate to a maritime trader familiar with the landmark constituted by the Ἀχελαιοῦ δρόμος. In the other passages the site is laid down as it might be by a land traveller or geographer in a general description of Scythia. The timber obtained from it no doubt rendered it an object of interest to the Hellenic traders, but they would know it rather as the place *from which* the timber floats came than by having personally visited it. It is said now to be quite bare of wood.

" ἄνω. This is an ingenious emendation of Valcknaer's from *ἄνθρωποι*, the reading of all the MSS, which would be written in its abbreviated form *ἄνοι*. It is confirmed by a passage of EPHORUS (*ap. Scymnum Chium*, t. ii. p. 49, ed. Hudson), which is no doubt taken from

and above  
it the  
Corn-grow-  
ing Borys-  
thenites,  
who call  
themselves  
Olbiopo-  
litans.

After eleven  
days to the  
north is a  
desert, and  
beyond it

19

the Canni-  
bals, a pecu-  
liar race.

East of  
the corn  
growers is  
the Panti-  
capes, and  
east of this  
the Nomads  
Scythians.

20

for four-  
teen days'  
journey

Σκύθαι γεωργοί, τοὺς Ἕλληνας οἱ οἰκέοντες ἐπὶ τῷ Ὑπάνι ποταμῷ<sup>54</sup> καλέουσι Βορυσθενίτας, σφέας δὲ αὐτοὺς Ὀλβιοπολίτας· οὗτοι ὧν οἱ γεωργοὶ Σκύθαι νέμονται, τὸ μὲν πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ὁδοῦ, κατήκοντες ἐπὶ ποταμὸν τῷ οὐνομα κεῖται Παντικάπης, τὸ δὲ πρὸς βορρὴν ἄνεμον, πλῆον ἀνὰ τὸν Βορυσθένα ἡμερέων ἔνδεκα<sup>55</sup>. ἡ δὲ<sup>56</sup> κατύπερθε τούτων ἐρήμὸς ἐστὶ ἐπὶ πολλὸν μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐρήμον Ἀνδροφάγοι<sup>57</sup> οἰκέουσι, ἔθνος ἐὼν ἴδιον καὶ οὐδαμῶς Σκυθικόν· τὸ δὲ τούτων κατύπερθε ἐρήμος ἤδη ἀληθέως, καὶ ἔθνος ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲν, ὅσον ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν. Τὸ δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ γεωργῶν τούτων Σκυθῶν, διαβάντι τὸν Παντικάπην ποταμὸν, Νομάδες ἤδη Σκύθαι νέμονται<sup>58</sup>, οὔτε τι σπεύοντες οὐδὲν, οὔτε ἀρούντες· (ψιλὴ δὲ δενδρέων πᾶσα αὕτη γῆ, πλὴν τῆς Ὑλαιῆς.) οἱ δὲ Νομάδες οὗτοι τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ, ἡμερέων τεσσέρων καὶ δέκα ὁδὸν<sup>59</sup>, νέμονται χώρην κατατείνουσιν ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Γέρρον. Πέρην δὲ τοῦ Γέρρου ταῦτα δὴ τὰ καλούμενα Βασιλήϊα<sup>60</sup>

Herodotus's description: πρὸς ἀνατολὰς δ' ἐκβάντι τὸν Βορυσθένην τοὺς τὴν λεγομένην Ὑβλαν (legendum Ὑλαιαν) οἰκοῦντας Σκύθας· εἶναι δὲ γεωργοὺς ἐχομένους τούτων ἔκκω. Gaisford adopts it.

<sup>54</sup> ἐπὶ τῷ Ὑπάνι ποταμῷ. The city Olbia stood upon the right bank of the Hypanis, about six miles above the junction with the Borysthenes. The site bears the name of *Stomogil* (Hundred mounds), from the number of tumuli in the neighbourhood. In an inscription found there mention is made of certain *μυέλληνες*, which no doubt are the hybrid population called by Herodotus *Callipidae* and *Alazones* (above, § 17).

<sup>55</sup> πλῆον ἀνὰ τὸν Βορυσθένα ἡμερέων ἔνδεκα. STRABO makes the Borysthenes navigable for only 600 *stadæ*, and places the town *Borysthenes* (which he identifies with *Olbia*) 200 *stadæ* from the mouth. Herodotus appears (from § 53) to conceive of the river as being navigable for forty days' sail. But at the distance of about 220 miles from the mouth there occur 13 cataracts, which entirely stop the navigation.

<sup>56</sup> ἡ δὲ. So Gaisford prints on the authority of S, V, and c. The other MSS have ἡδὲ δὲ, a variation certainly not inferior to the text.

<sup>57</sup> Ἀνδροφάγοι. He mentions these cannibals again below (§ 106).

<sup>58</sup> τὸ δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ, κ.τ.λ. It is

extremely difficult to reconcile the topography of this section with that of §§ 99—101. Perhaps we may suppose that Herodotus is here following Olbiopolitan accounts, which took no account of any thing but the hordes along the line of a caravan route, by which the traffic from the neighbourhood of the mouth of the Tanais arrived. In the last two sections the description likewise suggests that Olbia is the source of the account, being probably the mart to which the commodities from the several localities mentioned in § 17 were floated down.

<sup>59</sup> ἡμερέων τεσσέρων καὶ δέκα ὁδόν. This would give seventeen days (perhaps caravan marches) from the Borysthenes to the river Gerrhus. In § 101 the distance from the Borysthenes to the Maeotis is estimated at only ten.

<sup>60</sup> τὰ καλούμενα Βασιλήϊα. It is not clear whether these words imply merely a region, so called from being tenanted by the Royal Scythians, or whether they refer to any definite landmark,—such for instance as a remarkable assemblage of barrows,—called by some name of which τὰ βασιλήϊα may be the Greek translation. It is quite certain that on the banks of the river Tyras there were barrows which went by the name of 'the Kings' Grave' (see above, § 11), and it is only to be expected that similar names should be given to similar appearances elsewhere.



ἐστι, καὶ Σκύθαι οἱ ἄριστοί τε καὶ πλείστοι, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους eastward to the river Gertus. East of this are the Royal Scythians, who extend as far as Cremni, and even to the Tanais. North of these are the Melanchlani, νομίζοντες Σκύθας δούλους σφετέρους εἶναι· κατήκουσι δὲ οὗτοι, τὸ μὲν πρὸς μεσαμβρίην ἐς τὴν Ταυρικὴν, τὸ δὲ πρὸς ἡῷ ἐπὶ τὴν τάφρον, τὴν δὴ οἱ ἐκ τῶν τυφλῶν γενόμενοι ὠρυξαν, καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς λίμνης τῆς Μαιήτιδος<sup>63</sup> τὸ ἐμπύριον τὸ καλεῖται Κρημνοί<sup>64</sup>· τὰ δὲ αὐτῶν κατήκουσι ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Τάναϊν. τὰ δὲ κατύπερθε πρὸς βορρὴν ἄνεμον τῶν βασιλῆων Σκυθῶν οἰκέουσι Μελαγχλαῖνοι, ἄλλο ἔθνος καὶ οὐ Σκυθικόν· Μελαγχλαίων δὲ τὸ κατύπερθε, λίμναι καὶ ἐρήμος ἐστὶ ἀνθρώπων, κατόσον ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν.

Τάναϊν δὲ ποταμὸν διαβάντι οὐκέτι Σκυθικὴ, ἀλλ' ἡ πέν πρώτη τῶν λαξίων Σαυροματέων<sup>65</sup> ἐστὶ· οἱ ἐκ τοῦ μυχοῦ<sup>66</sup> ἄρξάμενοι τῆς Μαιήτιδος λίμνης, νέμονται τὸ πρὸς βορρὴν ἄνεμον ἡμερέων πεντεκαίδεκα ὁδόν, πᾶσαν ἐούσαν ψιλὴν καὶ ἀγρίων καὶ ἡμέρων δένδρεων ὑπεροικέουσι δὲ τούτων δευτέρην λάξιν<sup>67</sup> ἔχοντες Βουδίνων<sup>68</sup>, γῆν νεμόμενοι πᾶσαν δασέην ὕλη παντοίῃ· Βουδίνων δὲ κατύπερθε πρὸς βορρὴν, ἐστὶ πρώτη μὲν ἐρήμος ἐπ' ἡμερέων ἑπτὰ ὁδόν, μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐρήμον, ἀποκλίνοντι μᾶλλον πρὸς ἀπηλιόττην ἄνεμον<sup>69</sup>, νέμονται Θυσσαγέται, ἔθνος πολλὸν καὶ ἴδιον ζῶουσι δὲ ἀπὸ θήρης. συνεχέες δὲ τούτοις ἐν τοῖσι αὐτοῖσι τόποισι κατοικη-

21

marshes, and a desert. On the east bank of the Tanais are the Sauromalai. North of

22

these the Budini;

It seems however very unlikely that actual regal palaces should have existed, as some commentators have imagined.

<sup>63</sup> Μαιήτιδος. This is the reading of Gaisford. Several MSS have the form Μαιώτιδος, which is universal in § 3, above. In viii. 23 two MSS alone have the form Ἰστυαίητιδος, the others Ἰστυαίωτιδος.

<sup>64</sup> Κρημνοί. This would probably be at or near the modern Taganrock.

<sup>65</sup> Σαυροματέων. See note 296 on § 116, below.

<sup>66</sup> ἐκ τοῦ μυχοῦ. In this bay there was an emporium called by the same name as the river (Tanais), where the Cimmerian Bosphoranes of Corocandame and Phanagoria used to exchange wine and articles of dress for skins and slaves which were brought thither by the nomads on each side of the Tanais. By the way in which STRABO speaks of these places, there can be little doubt that they existed in the time of Herodotus, yet they are obviously unknown to him. Yet independently of this important traffic, the sea of Asof was the head quarters of the

fisheries in these parts (xi. c. 2, p. 401). It would seem therefore as if from some cause or other this line of traffic was closed at the time Herodotus wrote, and that the commerce of the north and east was obliged to find its way overland to the Borysthenes or Hypanis (§ 17, above). Strabo expressly mentions (xi. c. 6, p. 423) that the carriage of the merchandise from Babylon and from India was once in the hands of the *Aorsi* and *Sirakes* (whom he places in the plains of the Don and Kouban), and that they received it from the Armenians and the Medes; and though the time to which he refers is later than Alexander, yet the route can hardly then have been first struck out.

<sup>67</sup> Λάξιν. The manuscripts S and V have *τάξιν*. The word *λάξις* is derived from a root *λαχ*, still traceable in the form *ελαχον*, which is the regular aorist of *λαγχάνω*. *Lachesia*, the name of one of the Moerae, has the same origin.

<sup>68</sup> Βουδίνου. For the description of these see below, § 108.

<sup>69</sup> ἀπηλιόττην ἄνεμον. This is the s.e. wind, or perhaps the s. by s.

then a desert seven days in extent; then more eastward come the *Thysagetae* and *Iyrcae*; and beyond them other Scythians, a swarm from the Royal Scythians.

23

In the flanks of the mountains which bound the plain of Scythia live the *Argipreans*, a sacred race of bald men, who live under trees, possess no weapons, are appealed to as judges, and possess the privilege of sanctuary.

μένοι εἰς τοῖσι οὖνομα κείται Ἰύρκαι", καὶ οὗτοι ἀπὸ θήρης ζῶντες τρόφῳ τοιῷδε λοχῶ" ἐπὶ δένδρεον ἀναβάς· (τὰ δέ ἐστι πυκνὰ ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν) ἵππος δὲ ἐκάστω, δεδιδαιγμένος ἐπὶ γαστέρα κείσθαι ταπεινότητος εἵνεκα, ἐτοῖμός ἐστι, καὶ κύων ἐπεὰν δὲ ἀπίδῃ τὸ θηρίον ἀπὸ τοῦ δενδρέου, τοξεύσας καὶ ἐπιβάς ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον διώκει, καὶ ὁ κύων ἔχεται. ὑπὲρ δὲ τούτων, τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ ἀποκλίνοντι οἰκέουσι Σκύθαι ἄλλοι, ἀπὸ τῶν βασιλῆων Σκυθῶν ἀποστάντες καὶ οὕτω ἀπικόμενοι ἐς τούτον τὸν χώρον.

Μέχρι μὲν δὴ τῆς τούτων τῶν Σκυθῶν χώρας, ἔστι ἡ καταλεχθεῖσα πᾶσα πεδιάς τε γῆ καὶ βαθύγους· τὸ δ' ἀπὸ τούτου, λιθώδης τ' ἐστὶ καὶ τρηχέη. διεξελθόντι δὲ καὶ τῆς τρηχέως χώρον πολλὸν, οἰκέουσι ὑπώρεαν οὐρέων ὑψηλῶν ἄνθρωποι λεγόμενοι εἶναι πάντες φαλακροὶ ἐκ γενεῆς γινόμενοι", καὶ ἔρσενες καὶ θήλειαι ὁμοίως, καὶ σιμοὶ καὶ γένεια ἔχοντες μεγάλα, φωνὴν δὲ ἰδίην ἰέντες ἐσθῆτι δὲ χρεώμενοι Σκυθικῇ, ζῶντες δὲ ἀπὸ δενδρέων· ποντικὸν μὲν οὖνομα τῷ δενδρέῳ ἀπὸ τοῦ ζῶσι", μέγαθος δὲ κατὰ συκὴν μάλιστα κη· καρπὸν δὲ φορεῖ κυάμφ' ἴσον, πυρήνα δὲ ἔχει· τοῦτο ἐπεὰν γένηται πέπον, σακκέουσι ἱματίοισι· ἀπορρέει δ' ἀπ' αὐτοῦ παχὺ καὶ μέλαν οὖνομα δὲ τῷ ἀπορρέοντι ἐστὶ ἄσχν· τοῦτο καὶ λείχουσι καὶ γάλακτι συμμίσγοντες πίνουσι, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς παχύτητος αὐτοῦ τῆς τρυγὸς παλάθας συντιθέασι, καὶ ταύτας σιτέονται· πρόβατα γάρ σφι οὐ πολλὰ ἐστὶ, οὐ γάρ τι σπουδαῖαι νομαὶ αὐτόθι εἰσὶ· ὑπὸ δενδρέῳ δὲ ἕκαστος κατοικῆται· τὸν μὲν χειμῶνα, ἐπεὰν τὸ δένδρεον περικαλύψῃ πῖλῳ στεγνῷ λευκῷ"· τὸ

" Ἰύρκαι. VON HAMMER says that the phrase *Ywut* (wanderers) is one still existing among the Turkish hordes. If so, it is possible that it is only by mistake attributed to a distinct tribe.

" λοχῶ, i.e. ὁ θηρῶν, to be gathered by inference from what has preceded, just as ὁ θῶν is in ii. 47: ἐπεὰν θῶν, and in i. 132: τῶν δὲ ὡς ἐκάστω θύειν θέλει, if the text be not corrupt in this last case.

" φαλακροὶ ἐκ γενεῆς γινόμενοι. MALTEBRUN (cited by Bähr) says that it is the practice among the Calmucks to shave, from the very earliest years, the heads of those whom they destine for the priesthood. Possibly such a priestly caste is the foundation for the statement in the text.

" ποντικὸν μὲν οὖνομα τῷ δενδρέῳ ἀπὸ

τοῦ ζῶσι. This tree is the *bird-cherry* (*Prunus Padus*). ERMAN, *Reise um die Erde*, i. p. 427—9, quoted by Cooley, says that the present inhabitants of the southern parts of the Ural are called *Baskirts*, which he strangely maintains to be etymologically equivalent to φαλακροί. They are not Monguls, but Turks; although they have the Mongul physiognomy, and consequently accord with Herodotus's description. Their mode of preparing the fruit of the bird-cherry is exactly what Herodotus describes; and the acid strained off is called by the Russians of the present day by the name *Aischui*. But these points of similarity may well exist without establishing the identity of the race.

" πῖλῳ στεγνῷ λευκῷ. This is the

δὲ θέρος, ἄνευ πύλου. τούτους οὐδεὶς ἀδικεῖ ἀνθρώπων ἱροὶ γὰρ λέγονται εἶναι· οὐδέ τι ἀρήγιον ὄπλον ἐκτέεται· καὶ τοῦτο μὲν τοῖσι περιοικέουσι οὗτοι εἰσι οἱ τὰς διαφορὰς διαιρέοντες· τοῦτο δὲ ὅς ἂν φεύγων καταφύγῃ ἐς τούτους, ὑπ' οὐδενὸς ἀδικεῖται· οὐνομα δὲ σφί ἐστι Ἀργιππαῖοι<sup>74</sup>.

Μέχρι μὲν νυν τῶν φαλακρῶν τούτων, πολλὰ περιφάνεια τῆς 24  
 χώρας ἐστὶ, καὶ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν ἐθνέων<sup>75</sup>. καὶ γὰρ Σκυθῶν τινὲς Information  
 ἀπικνέονται ἐς αὐτοὺς, τῶν οὐ χαλεπὸν ἐστὶ πυθέσθαι, καὶ Ἑλ- of the above  
 λήνων τῶν ἐκ Βορυσθενέος τε ἐμπορίου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ποντικῶν tribes is to  
 ἐμπορίων Σκυθῶν δὲ οἱ ἂν ἔλθωσι ἐς αὐτοὺς, δι' ἑπτὰ ἐρμηνέων be gained  
 καὶ δι' ἑπτὰ γλωσσέων<sup>76</sup> διαπρήσσονται. Μέχρι μὲν δὴ τούτων from Scy-  
 25 θίων καὶ Ἑλληνικῶν merchants  
 γινώσκεται· τὸ δὲ τῶν φαλακρῶν κατύπερθε οὐδεὶς ἀτρεκέως<sup>77</sup> οἶδε in the ports  
 φράσαι· οὐρεὰ τε γὰρ ὑψηλὰ ἀποτάμνει ἄβατα, καὶ οὐδεὶς σφρα of the Eux-  
 ἵπερβαίνει· οἱ δὲ φαλακροὶ οὗτοι λέγουσι (ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιστὰ ine. Beyond the  
 λέγοντες) οἰκέειν τὰ οὐρεα αἰγίποδας ἄνδρας· ὑπερβάντι δὲ τού- are impass-  
 τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους, οἱ τὴν ἐξάμνηνον καθεύδουσι<sup>78</sup>. τοῦτο δὲ able moun-  
 οὐκ ἐνδέκομαι [τὴν<sup>79</sup>] ἀρχὴν ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν πρὸς ἡῶ τῶν φαλακρῶν tains, said  
 γινώσκεται [ἀτρεκέως<sup>80</sup>], ὑπὸ Ἰσσηδόνων οἰκούμενον<sup>81</sup>. τὸ μέντοι to be inha-  
 30 bitated by  
 satyrs, who  
 hybernate  
 for six

felt out of which the Tartar tents are commonly made. The epithet στεγνός (close) differentiates it from textile fabrics.

<sup>74</sup> Ἀργιππαῖοι. The manuscripts S and V have Ὀργιμπαῖοι. ADELUNG (*Mithridates*, i. p. 499) considers that these Argippæi are Monguls. He places them in the Altai mountains.

<sup>75</sup> τῶν ἔμπροσθεν ἐθνέων, "of the tribes before you (as you travel on)." Larcher contends that πολλὰ περιφάνεια means "a thorough knowledge," and quotes two or three passages from Demosthenes to defend his view. But although it may be conceded that something like this is the upshot of the meaning, such a translation would entirely mask the association of ideas suggested by the expression. τὸ περιφανές is the opposite of τὸ ἐν γυνί πεπραγμένον, and in the passages of Demosthenes which Larcher cites this is most plain. A better version of πολλὰ περιφάνεια would be "a perfectly easy means of seeing."

<sup>76</sup> δι' ἑπτὰ ἐρμηνέων καὶ δι' ἑπτὰ γλωσσέων. This seems to show that there were seven distinct tribes through which the caravan traffic passed between its departure from the oriental mart and its

arrival on the Borysthenes or Hypanis. This would induce the belief that the extent of the journey must be very great, perhaps even as far as China.

<sup>77</sup> ἀτρεκέως. So Gaisford, following the majority of MSS. But S has ἀτρεκές. See above, note 47 on § 16.

<sup>78</sup> οἱ τὴν ἐξάμνηνον καθεύδουσι. The notion contained in these words doubtless arose from the circumstance of the long nights in the arctic regions being known by report. We need not however conclude that any Hellenic travellers had ever arrived within the arctic circle. See note 128 on § 42, below.

<sup>79</sup> [τὴν]. This word is omitted in S and V.

<sup>80</sup> [ἀτρεκέως]. This word is omitted in the manuscripts M, K, P, F.

<sup>81</sup> ὑπὸ Ἰσσηδόνων οἰκούμενον. The knowledge of this race seems to be derived from the travellers by the caravans which brought the eastern commodities to the Βορυσθενέων ἐμπόριον on the Dnieper. Possibly they occupied the western side of the Ural river, having the Massagetsæ originally on the opposite bank. See i. 201, and note 677 thereon.

months in  
the year.

26

Habits of  
the *Issedones*, who  
are to the  
east of the  
*Argippeans*.

κατύπερθε πρὸς βορῇν ἄνεμον οὐ γινώσκεται, οὔτε τῶν φαλακρῶν οὔτε τῶν Ἴσσηδόνων, εἰ μὴ ὅσα αὐτῶν τούτων λεγόντων. Νόμοισι δὲ ἰσσηδόνες τοιοῖσιδε λέγονται χρᾶσθαι ἔπειαν ἀνδρὶ ἀποθάνη πατῆρ, οἱ προσήκοντες πάντες προσάγουσι πρόβατα· καὶ ἔπειτα ταῦτα θύσαντες, καὶ καταταμόντες τὰ κρέα, κατατάμνουσι καὶ τὸν τοῦ δεκομένου τεθνεῶτα γονέα· ἀναμίξαντες δὲ πάντα τὰ κρέα<sup>23</sup>, δαῖτα προτιθέαται· τὴν δὲ κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ ψιλώσαντες καὶ ἐκκαθήραντες, καταχρυσούσι καὶ ἔπειτα ἅτε ἀγάλματι χρέωνται, θυσίας μεγάλας ἐπετέους ἐπιτελέοντες· παῖς δὲ πατρὶ τοῦτο ποιεῖ, κατὰ περ οἱ Ἕλληνες τὰ γενέσια· ἄλλως δὲ δίκαιοι καὶ οὔτοι λέγονται εἶναι ἰσοκρατέες δὲ ὁμοίως αἱ γυναῖκες τοῖσι ἀνδράσι. γινώσκονται μὲν δὴ καὶ οὔτοι<sup>24</sup>.

27

The *Arimaspi* and

Τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτων τὸ κατύπερθε, Ἴσσηδόνες εἰσὶ οἱ λέγοντες τοὺς μουνοφθάλμους ἀνθρώπους καὶ τοὺς χρυσοφύλακας Γρύπας<sup>25</sup>

<sup>23</sup> δέ. The manuscript S omits this word, as if the paragraph next following were of the nature of a note.

<sup>24</sup> ἀναμίξαντες δὲ πάντα τὰ κρέα. It is observable that this custom, which Herodotus ascribes to the Issedones here and to the Massagetæ (i. 216), the printing in colours which he attributes to the inhabitants of Caucasus (i. 203), the diet which he gives to the natives of the islands in the Araxes (i. 202), and the promiscuous intercourse which he imputes to the Massagetæ (i. 216), are by STRABO all given to one people, viz. the nomadic inhabitants of the basins of the Jaxartes and Oxus, whom *he* calls the Massagetæ (xi. c. 8, pp. 432, 433). The variation is in my opinion solely due to the circumstance, that STRABO is writing after the growth of geography as a science, and under the guidance of Eratosthenes and the other learned Greeks, who had reduced the accounts of travellers into a systematic form, whereas Herodotus has no geographical system of his own, and merely combines in a rough way information derived from different channels. See the note 677 on i. 201; 681 on i. 202; and 685 on i. 203.

<sup>25</sup> γινώσκονται μὲν δὴ καὶ οὔτοι. This expression refers back to what had been said in § 25, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν πρὸς ἡμῶν . . . γινώσκεται ὑπὸ Ἴσσηδόνων οἰκόμενον. See note 92 on iii. 33.

<sup>26</sup> Ἴσσηδόνες εἰσὶ οἱ λέγοντες . . χρυσοφύλακας Γρύπας. This apparently refers

to the stories of the war continually going on for gold between the Arimaspi and the Griffins,—which appears to have formed a portion of the *Ἀριμασπεῖα* *ἔρεα* attributed to Aristæas in the time of Herodotus, but considered as spurious by later writers. Compare §§ 13, 16, above, with iii. 116. These passages agree well enough with the present on the supposition, that in the Arimaspea the poet feigned himself to be rapt by the inspiration of Apollo into the country of the Issedones, and then made them the vehicle for the main subject of his composition, of which he laid the scene in the lands beyond; while all the time the materials for these fictions were derived from the Scythians, with whom the Hellenic traders on the Euxine had dealings. That witchcraft should enter largely into legends proceeding from such a source is very natural; and Aristæas very probably made himself the hero of some of the scenes. Hence perhaps sprang the current notion of his being a conjurer (*ἀνὴρ γόης, εἰ τις ἄλλος*. STRABO, xiii. c. 1, p. 92). The work was very little known in the Roman times. GELLIIUS (*Noct. Att.* ix. 4) bought it together with a bundle of other old books (including Ctesias and Onesicritus) at Brundisium, for a sum so small as to astonish him. All the volumes “ex diuturno situ squalebant, et habitu aspectuque tetro erant.”

εἶναι παρὰ δὲ τούτων Σκύθαι παραλαβόντες λέγουσι παρὰ δὲ *Griffins rest on the authority of the Issodones.*  
 Σκυθῆων ἡμεῖς οἱ ἄλλοι νενομίκαμεν, καὶ οὐνομάζομεν αὐτοὺς  
 Σκυθιστὶ Ἀριμασπούς· ἈΡΙΜΑ γὰρ ἐν καλέουσι Σκύθαι<sup>88</sup>,  
 ΣΠΟΥ δὲ τὸν ὀφθαλμόν. Δυσχεῖμερος δὲ αὕτη ἡ καταλεχθεῖσα 28  
 πᾶσα χώρα οὕτω δὴ τί ἐστι, ἔνθα τοὺς μὲν ὀκτὼ τῶν μηνῶν  
 ἀφόρητος οἶος γίνεταί κρυμὸς<sup>89</sup>, ἐν τοῖσι ὕδωρ ἐκχέας πηλὸν οὐ  
 ποιήσεις, πῦρ δὲ ἀνακαίων ποιήσεις πηλὸν ἢ δὲ θάλασσα πῆγνυ-  
 ται, καὶ ὁ Βόσπορος πᾶς ὁ Κιμμέριος· καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ κρυστάλλου<sup>90</sup>  
 οἱ ἐντὸς τάφρης<sup>91</sup> Σκύθαι κατοικημένοι στρατεύονται, καὶ τὰς  
 ἀμάξας ἐπελαύνουσι πέρην ἐς τοὺς Σινδοὺς<sup>92</sup>. οὕτω μὲν δὴ τοὺς

The climate of all these countries is excessively severe for eight months in the year: the Bosphorus is frozen, and there is a

<sup>88</sup> ἈΡΙΜΑ γὰρ ἐν καλέουσι Σκύθαι. EUSTATHIUS, in citing this passage, makes *ἀρι*, not *ἄριμα*, the Scythian for "unity," and *μασπός* to mean "an eye."

<sup>89</sup> τοὺς μὲν ὀκτὼ τῶν μηνῶν ἀφόρητος οἶος γίνεταί κρυμὸς. That this is a great exaggeration of the length of the winter is allowed; but the ancients universally described the cold season as of very long duration. HIPPOCRATES says of Scythia: *ὅστε τὸν μὲν χειμῶνα αἰεὶ εἶναι, τὸ δὲ θέρος ὀλίγας ἡμέρας καὶ ταύτας μὴ λίην*. Heeren and others have endeavoured to explain the exaggeration by supposing a considerable change to have taken place in the climate. But, as compared with either Italy or Greece, the climate was no doubt always sufficiently severe to make a Scythian winter proverbial, and favour the reception of exaggerated accounts. The extension of the winter to *eight* months is, I believe, due entirely to the circumstance that the commercial season lasted only *four*. From November to March the Mæotis is frozen, and navigation is seldom safe earlier than April. From April to midsummer a s.w. wind prevails, which brings up the shipping from the Propontis, and greatly increases the depth of water in the sea of Azof. At midsummer the water is at its greatest height. But soon after the wind sets from the east and diminishes the depth rapidly. The merchandise which comes down the Tanais is brought in barks which will not bear the sea, and they are broken up at Rastoff. The cargoes, being placed in lighters, are carried to Taganrock and to the ships which lie in the roads there. As the water gets shallower with the east wind, the ships anchor farther and farther out to sea, and are

sometimes obliged to sail without completing their cargo. This singular kind of monsoon takes place almost every year after midsummer. (HÆBER: *MS Journal* quoted by Clarke, i. p. 424.) Clarke, who was at Taganrock early in July after a prevalence of east wind, found ships drawing no more than eight or ten feet of water obliged to lie ten miles off the shore, and in the autumn the greatest depth in the whole sea of Azof is often no more than fourteen feet.

<sup>90</sup> ἐπὶ τοῦ κρυστάλλου. The manuscript S has *ἐπὶ τούτου τοῦ κρυστάλλου*. The freezing of the strait is not at all uncommon now in severe winters, and to such an extent that loaded wagons cross from shore to shore. This however arises mainly from the pack ice brought down the Tanais into the Mæotis, which is carried by the current towards the Bosphorus and caught in the narrow channel,—which, according to STRABO (vii. c. 4, p. 96), is, between *Parthenium* on the European shore and *Achilleum* on the Asiatic, no more than twenty *stadæ*. Prince Gleb, son of Vladimir, measured the distance from *Tmutaracum* to *Keritsky* (which, according to Clarke, corresponds with that from *Phanagoria* to *Panticæpæum*) on the ice in the year 1066, and found it 30,064 fathoms. (CLARKE, *Travels*, ii. p. 85.) It was said that Neoptolemus, the general of Mithridates, gained a cavalry skirmish on the ice in the winter in exactly the same locality in which he had won a naval action the summer before. (STRABO, vii. c. 3, p. 91.)

<sup>91</sup> τάφρης. See note on § 201.

<sup>92</sup> Σινδοὺς. This is Gaisford's reading from a conjectural emendation, the manuscripts having *Ἰνδοὺς*. STEPHANUS BY-

passage  
across to  
Sind.  
Atmo-  
spherical  
peculiarities.

Asses and  
mules die  
of the cold.

29

Cattle are  
hornless  
from the  
same cause.

ὁκτὼ μῆνας διατελέει χειμὼν ἑὼν τοὺς δ' ἐπιλοίπους τέσσερας ψύχρα αὐτόθι ἐστὶ κεχώρισται δὲ οὗτος<sup>21</sup> ὁ χειμὼν τοὺς τρόπους πᾶσι τοῖσι ἐν ἄλλοισι χωρίοις γινομένοις χειμῶσι ἐν τῇ τὴν μὲν ὥρα ἰνὴν οὐκ ἔχει λόγου ἄξιον οὐδὲν, τὸ δὲ θέρος ἦν οὐκ ἀνέει<sup>22</sup> βρονταί τε ἡμος τῇ ἄλλῃ γίνονται, τηλικαῦτα μὲν οὐ γίνονται θέρεος<sup>23</sup> δὲ ἀμφιλαφές· ἦν δὲ χειμῶνος βροντὴ γένηται, ὡς τέρας νενόμισται θωμάζεσθαι· ὥς δὲ καὶ ἦν σεισμὸς γένηται, ἦν τε θέρεος ἦν τε χειμῶνος, ἐν τῇ Σκυθικῇ τέρας νενόμισται· ἵπποι δὲ ἀνεχόμενοι φέρουσι τὸν χειμῶνα τοῦτον, ἥμινοι δὲ καὶ ὄνοι οὐκ ἀνέχονται ἀρχὴν<sup>24</sup>. τῇ δὲ ἄλλῃ ἵπποι μὲν ἐν κρυμῷ ἐστέατες ἀποσφακελίζουσι, ὄνοι δὲ καὶ ἥμινοι ἀνέχονται. Δοκέει δέ μοι καὶ τὸ γένος τῶν βοῶν τὸ κόλον διὰ ταῦτα οὐ φύειν κέρα αὐτόθι· μαρτυρεῖ δέ μου τῇ γνώμῃ καὶ Ὀμήρου ἔπος ἐν Ὀδυσσειῇ, ἔχον ὧδε·

Καὶ Λιβύην, ἔθι τ' ἔρρες ἔφαρ κερὰ τελέθουσι·

30

There are  
no mules  
bred in  
Eliis, and  
the author  
wonders  
why.

ὀρθῶς εἰρημένον, ἐν τοῖσι θερμοῖσι ταχὺ παραγίνεσθαι τὰ κέρα· ἐν δὲ τοῖσι ἰσχυροῖσι ψύχεσι ἢ οὐ φύει κέρα τὰ κτήνεα ἀρχὴν<sup>25</sup>, ἢ φύοντα φύει μόγις. ἐνθαῦτα μὲν νυν διὰ τὰ ψύχρα γίνεται ταῦτα. Θωνμάζω δὲ, (προσθήκας γὰρ δὴ μοι ὁ λόγος ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐδίχθη,) ὅτι ἐν τῇ Ἑλλείῃ πάσῃ χώρῃ οὐ δυνάταί γίνεσθαι ἥμινοι, οὔτε ψυχροῦ τοῦ χώρου ἑόντος οὔτε ἄλλου φανεροῦ αἰτίου οὐδενός· φασὶ δὲ αὐτοὶ Ἑλλεῖοι ἐκ κατάρης τευ οὐ γίνεσθαι σφι ἡμιόνους· ἀλλ' ἐπεὰν προσίῃ ἡ ὥρη κυτσκεσθαι τὰς ἵππους, ἐξελαύνουσι ἐς τοὺς πλησιοχώρους<sup>26</sup> αὐτάς· καὶ ἔπειτ' αὖ σφι ἐν τῇ τῶν πέλας ἐπιέσει τοὺς ὄνους, ἐς οὐ ἂν σχῶσι αἱ ἵπποι ἐν γαστρὶ<sup>27</sup>· ἔπειτα δὲ ὀπίσω ἀπελαύνουσι. Περὶ δὲ τῶν πτερῶν, τῶν Σκύθαι

ΞΑΝΤΙΝΟΣ (sub v. Σινδοί) says Σινδοί· ἀπὸ μεσημβρίας τῆς Μαυρίτιδος λίμνης· ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ τὸ Σινδικὸν γένος φασὶν εἶναι τῶν Μαιωτῶν ἀπόστασμα. For a probable reason of the variation observable in the MSS see note 25 on i. 5. In ix. 15 the MSS vary between ἐς Σκῶλον and ἐς Κῶλον.

<sup>21</sup> οὗτος. This word is omitted in S and V.

<sup>22</sup> ἀνέει. See note 604 on i. 180.

<sup>23</sup> θέρεος. S and V have θέρος, which is the reading of the MSS without exception two lines back.

<sup>24</sup> ἥμινοι δὲ καὶ ὄνοι οὐκ ἀνέχονται ἀρχὴν. See the note on § 129, below.

<sup>25</sup> οὐ φύει κέρα τὰ κτήνεα ἀρχὴν. This expression seems to show that the information which reached Herodotus came from travellers to whom the regions inhabited by the elk and the rein-deer were entirely unknown even by hearsay. Hence if the animals spoken of below (§ 109) are seals, which seems not improbable, they will have been caught in the Caspian and the mouths of the Volga, not in the Northern Sea.

<sup>26</sup> ἐς τοὺς πλησιοχώρους. These would be the Arcadians, whose breed of asses was celebrated. "Arcadis pecuaria" (PERSIUS, Sat. iii. 9).

λέγουσι" ἀνάπλεων εἶναι τὸν ἥερα, καὶ τούτων εἵνεκα οὐκ οἶά τε <sup>Explanation of the story of the feathers said to fill the air.</sup>  
 εἶναι οὔτε ἰδεῖν τὸ πρόσω τῆς ἡπείρου οὔτε διεξιέναι, τήνδε ἔχω  
 περὶ αὐτῶν τὴν γνώμην τὰ κατύπερθε ταύτης τῆς χώρης αἰεὶ  
 νίφεται, ἐλάσσουσι δὲ τοῦ θέρεος ἢ τοῦ χειμῶνος, ὥσπερ καὶ οἰκός  
 ἡδὴ ὦν ὅστις ἀγγχόθεν χιόνα ἀδρὴν πίπτουσιν εἶδε, οἶδε τὸ λέγω  
 ἔοικε γὰρ ἢ χιών πτεροῖσι· καὶ διὰ τὸν χειμῶνα τοῦτον ἐόντα  
 τοιοῦτον, ἀόκητα τὰ πρὸς βορρῇ ἐστὶ τῆς ἡπείρου ταύτης· τὰ ὦν  
 πτερὰ" εἰκάζοντας τὴν χιόνα τοὺς Σκύθας τε καὶ τοὺς περιόλους  
 δοκέω λέγειν. ταῦτα μὲν νυν τὰ λέγεται μακρότατα εἴρηται.

Ἵπερβορέων δὲ πέρι ἀνθρώπων οὔτε τι Σκύθαι λέγουσι, οὔτε 32  
 τινὲς ἄλλοι τῶν ταύτῃ οἰκημένων, εἰ μὴ ἄρα Ἴσσηδόνες· ὥς δ' ἐγὼ <sup>Of Hyperbo-</sup>  
 δοκέω, οὐδ' οὗτοι λέγουσι οὐδέν· ἔλεγον γὰρ ἂν καὶ Σκύθαι, ὥς <sup>reas there</sup>  
 περὶ τῶν μουννοφθάλμων λέγουσι· ἀλλ' Ἡσιόδῳ μὲν ἐστὶ περὶ <sup>is no</sup>  
 Ἵπερβορέων εἰρημένα, ἔστι δὲ καὶ Ὀμήρῳ ἐν Ἐπιγόνουσι, εἰ δὴ <sup>Scythian</sup>  
 τῷ ἐόντι γε Ὀμηρος ταῦτα τὰ ἔπεα ἐποίησε". Πολλῶ δέ τι 33 <sup>account,</sup>  
 πλείστα περὶ αὐτῶν Δῆλιοι λέγουσι, φάμενοι ἱρὰ ἐνδεδεμένα ἐν <sup>though such</sup>  
 καλάμῃ πυρῶν, ἐξ Ἵπερβορέων φερόμενα ἀπικνέσθαι ἐς Σκύθας. <sup>are men-</sup>  
 ἀπὸ δὲ Σκυθῶν ἡδὴ δεκομένους αἰεὶ τοὺς πλησιохώρους ἐκάστους, <sup>tioned by</sup>  
 κομίζειν αὐτὰ τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρης ἐκαστάτῳ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀδρίην<sup>100</sup>. <sup>Hesiod and</sup>  
 ἐνθευτεν δὲ πρὸς μεσαμβρίην προπεμπόμενα πρώτους Δωδωναίους <sup>Homer.</sup>  
 Ἑλλήνων δέκεσθαι· ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων καταβαίνειν ἐπὶ τὸν Μηλιέα <sup>Delian</sup>  
 κόλπον, καὶ διαπορεύεσθαι ἐς Εὐβοίαν· πόλιν τε ἐς πόλιν πέμπειν, <sup>legend of</sup>  
 μέχρι Καρύστου· τὸ δ' ἀπὸ ταύτης, ἐκλιπεῖν Ἀνδρὸν Καρυστίους <sup>certain</sup>  
 γὰρ εἶναι τοὺς κομίζοντας ἐς Τήνον, Τηνίους δὲ ἐς Δῆλον. ἀπικνέ- <sup>fetishes</sup>  
 εσθαι μὲν νυν ταῦτα τὰ ἱρὰ οὕτω<sup>101</sup> λέγουσι ἐς Δῆλον· πρώτων δὲ <sup>wrapt in</sup>  
<sup>brought</sup>  
<sup>from them</sup>  
<sup>by way of</sup>  
<sup>the Adri-</sup>  
<sup>atic and</sup>  
<sup>Dodona,</sup>  
<sup>the Melian</sup>  
<sup>bay, and</sup>  
<sup>Carystus</sup>  
<sup>in Euboea,</sup>

<sup>97</sup> τῶν Σκύθαι λέγουσι. See § 7, above.

<sup>98</sup> τὰ ἂν πτερὰ. The force of the article is to be observed. "The feathers then (i.e. of which we were speaking) is a name which the Scythians, in my opinion, give to the snow, indicating the similarity."

<sup>99</sup> Ἄλλ' Ἡσιόδῳ . . . τὰ ἔπεα ἐποίησε. The manuscript S has the genitives Ἡσιόδου, Ὀμήρου. F. A. Wolf suspected this sentence to proceed not from Herodotus, but from a grammarian. His opinion is treated unfavourably by Schweighäuser, on the ground that similar paragraphs occur in many other parts of the work. This objection is not to me a valid one, except as showing that Wolf's

remark has a wide application. See note 432 on ii. 145. In another passage (v. 67) the Ὀμήρεια ἔπη which Herodotus speaks of are probably the *Theais*, which began with the words Ἄργος ἔειδε, θεά, πολυδύτιον, and the *Epigoni* was so closely connected with this poem, that it would hardly be questioned by any one who believed in the authenticity of the former. See CLINTON, *F. H. i.* p. 352. The mention of the Hyperboreans by *Hesiod* must have been made in some work now lost.

<sup>100</sup> ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀδρίην, "to the Adriatic bay," the word κόλπον being understood. See note 536 on i. 163.

<sup>101</sup> ἀπικνέσθαι . . . οὕτω. In the time of PAUSANIAS the route of these offerings

to Tenos,  
and thence  
to them.

Analogous  
use of bar-  
ley-straw  
by the  
Thracians  
and Pæon-  
ian women

in the Ar-  
temis wor-  
ship.

τοὺς Ὑπερβορέους πέμψαι φερούσας τὰ ἱρά δύο κόρας, τὰς οὐνο-  
μάζουσι Δῆλιοι εἶναι Ὑπερόχην τε καὶ Λαοδίκην ἅμα δὲ αὐτῇσι  
ἀσφαλῆς εἵνεκεν πέμψαι τοὺς Ὑπερβορέους τῶν ἀστῶν ἄνδρας  
πέντε πομποὺς, τούτους οἱ νῦν Περφερέες<sup>102</sup> καλέονται τιμὰς  
μεγάλας ἐν Δήλῳ ἔχοντες· ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῖσι Ὑπερβορείοισι τοὺς ἀπο-  
πεμφθέντας ὀπίσω οὐκ ἀπονοστέειν, δεινὰ ποιευμένους εἰ σφέας  
αἰεὶ καταλάμψεται ἀποστέλλοντας μὴ ἀποδέκεσθαι, οὕτω δὴ  
φέροντας ἐς τοὺς οὐρούς τὰ ἱρά ἐνδεδεμένα ἐν πυρῶν καλάμῃ τοῖς  
πλησιωχόροις<sup>103</sup> ἐπισκίπτειν κελεύοντας προπέμπειν σφέα ἀπὸ  
ἐωνυῶν ἐς ἄλλο ἔθνος· καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὕτω προπεμπόμενα ἀπικνέ-  
εσθαι λέγουσι ἐς Δήλῳ οἶδα δὲ αὐτὸς τούτοις τοῖσι ἱροῖσι τόδε  
ποιούμενον προσφέρει· τὰς Θρηκίας καὶ τὰς Παιονίδας γυναι-  
κας<sup>104</sup>, ἐπεὰν θύωσι τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι τῇ Βασιλῇ<sup>105</sup>, οὐκ ἄνευ πυρῶν  
καλάμης θνύσας τὰ ἱρά<sup>106</sup>. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οἶδα ταύτας ποιεύ-  
σας. Τῇσι δὲ παρθένοισι ταύτῃσι τῇσι ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων τελευ-  
τησάσῃσι ἐν Δήλῳ, κέλονται καὶ αἱ κόραι καὶ οἱ παῖδες οἱ Δη-

was changed, at least in the local tradi-  
tions of Attica. They were said to come  
by the hand of Scythians to *Sinope*, and  
from thence to be forwarded to *Prasia* in  
Attica,—the *Athenians* being the parties  
by whose hand they ultimately arrived at  
Delos (i. 31. 2). Probably the route  
varied with the varying course of commer-  
cial enterprise, which had considerably  
changed between the time of Herodotus  
and Pausanias.

<sup>102</sup> *Περφερέες*. So Gaisford prints on  
the authority of several MSS. But  
some have *περιφερέες*, and one (S) *περ-  
φέρες*.

<sup>103</sup> *τοῖς πλησιωχοῖς*. So Gaisford  
prints, although the MSS without excep-  
tion have *τοὺς πλησιωχόρους*. The change  
does not appear to be necessary, although  
the construction becomes a more usual  
one when it is made.

<sup>104</sup> *τὰς Θρηκίας καὶ τὰς Παιονίδας γυ-  
ναῖκας*. The Pæonians represented them-  
selves as a colony from the *Teucrians* of  
Troy, and they were of the same race with  
the *Thracians* of the European continent.  
See note on v. 13. It is not necessary to  
suppose that the writer is here speaking  
of the Pæonians of the Strymon; he may  
very well mean some of the tribes of the  
same race who skirted the northern shore  
of the Propontia. No doubt some of these

are the Pæonians, who struck so heavy a  
blow to Perinthus (v. 1).

<sup>105</sup> *Βασιλῇ*. All the MSS agree in  
this form, but in i. 206 all have *Βασιλεία*.  
The Thracian name of the goddess was  
*Βένδις* (HESYCHIUS, *sub v.*), and a festi-  
val in honour of her (called *τὰ Βενδιεῖα*)  
was introduced at the Piræus in the time  
of Socrates, a prominent part in it being  
a procession of *Thracians*. (PLATO, *Politi-  
i* p. 327.) It seems not impossible that  
the *λαμπαδηφορία*, which was introduced  
into the Athenian festival, symbolized the  
transmission from tribe to tribe of the  
sacred rites of the deity no less than did  
the barley-straw and its contents sent from  
the Hyperboreans. This would be the  
more likely if the ritual was introduced  
into Athens not direct from Thrace, but  
from Lemnos, which is likely from other  
circumstances. See SMITH'S *Dictionary  
of Greek and Roman Mythology*, v. *Ben-  
dis*. There was a *Thracian* tribe in Lemnos  
called *Sinti* (STRABO, vii. fr. 21), the same  
which received Hephestus when ejected  
from Olympus. (*Iliad* i. 594.)

<sup>106</sup> *θνύσας τὰ ἱρά*. So Gaisford prints  
from S and V. The great majority of  
MSS have *ἐχούσας*, which might stand in  
the sense of "holding." The word has  
been considered a corruption from *ἐρθεύ-  
σας*.



λίων αἱ μὲν, πρὸ γάμου πλόκαμον ἀποταμιόμεναι<sup>107</sup> καὶ περὶ *Delian rites*  
 ἄτρακτον εἰλῆσσαι, ἐπὶ τὸ σῆμα τιθεῖσιν (τὸ δὲ σῆμά ἐστι ἔσση ἐς  
 τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον ἐσιόντι ἀριστερῆς χειρὸς ἐπιπέφυκε δέ οἱ ἐλαίῃ)  
 οἱ δὲ παῖδες τῶν *Δηλίων*, περὶ χλόην τινα εἰλῆσπτες τῶν *τριχῶν*,  
 προτιθεῖσι καὶ οὗτοι ἐπὶ τὸ σῆμα· αὗται μὲν δὴ ταύτην τὴν τιμὴν  
 ἔχουσι πρὸς τῶν *Δήλου* οἰκητόρων. Φασὶ δὲ οἱ αὐτοὶ καὶ τὴν 35  
 Ἄργην τε καὶ τὴν Ὠπίω, εὐούσας παρθένους, ἐξ Ἑπερβορέων κατὰ *Delian*  
 τοὺς αὐτοὺς τούτους ἀνθρώπους πορευομένους ἀπικέσθαι ἐς *Δῆλον*  
 ἔτι πρότερον Ἑπερόχης τε καὶ *Δαοδίκης* ταύτας μὲν νυν τῇ *Εἰ-*  
*λειθυλῇ* ἀποφερούσας ἀντὶ τοῦ ὠκυτόκου τὸν ἐτάξαντο φόρον ἀπ-  
 ικέσθαι· τὴν δὲ Ἄργην τε καὶ τὴν Ὠπίω ἅμα αὐτοῖσι τοῖσι θεοῖσι  
 ἀπικέσθαι λέγουσι, καὶ σφί τιμὰς ἄλλας δεδοσθαι πρὸς σφέων  
 καὶ γὰρ ἀγέφρειν σφί τὰς γυναῖκας, ἐπονομαζούσας τὰ οὐνόματα ἐν  
 τῷ ὕμνῳ τὸν σφί Ὠλλὴν ἀνὴρ *Λύκιος* ἐποίησε· παρὰ δὲ σφέων who are  
 μαθόντας νησιώτας τε καὶ Ἴωνας ὑμνέειν Ὠπίω τε καὶ Ἄργην, celebrated  
 ὀνομαζούσας τε καὶ ἀγείροντας· (οὗτος δὲ ὁ Ὠλλὴν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους in the hymn  
of Olen a  
Lycian.  
 τοὺς παλαιοὺς ὕμνους ἐποίησε ἐκ *Λυκίης* ἐλθὼν<sup>108</sup>, τοὺς ἀείδομέ-  
 νους ἐν *Δήλῳ*) καὶ τῶν *μηρίων* καταγιζομένων ἐπὶ τῷ βωμῷ τὴν  
 σποδὸν, ταύτην ἐπὶ τὴν θήκην τῆς Ὠπίως τε καὶ Ἀργῆς ἀναισι-  
 μοῦσθαι ἐπιβαλλομένην ἥ δὲ θήκη αὐτέων ἐστὶ ὀπισθε τοῦ Ἀρτε-  
 μισίου, πρὸς ᾗ τετραμμένη, ἀγχοτάτῳ τοῦ *Κηίων* ἱστυητορίου<sup>109</sup>.  
 Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν Ἑπερβορέων περὶ εἰρήσθω· τὸν γὰρ περὶ Ἀβάριος 36  
 λόγον<sup>110</sup> τοῦ λεγομένου εἶναι Ἑπερβορέω οὐ λέγω, λέγων ὡς τὸν Herodotus  
disbelieves

<sup>107</sup> πρὸ γάμου πλόκαμον ἀποταμιόμεναι. PAUSANIAS mentions that at *Megara* the marriageable virgins used to offer a similar sacrifice on the tomb of *Iphiklos* (l. 4. 3). This is obviously a ritual belonging to exactly the same religious system, and differing only in the name of the deity. See the notes 164 and 366 on l. 53 and 105.

<sup>108</sup> ἐκ *Λυκίης* ἐλθὼν. Probably *Olen* was connected with a colony of Apollo-worshippers from *Patara* in *Lycia*. See note 612 on l. 182.

<sup>109</sup> ἀγχοτάτῳ τοῦ *Κηίων* ἱστυητορίου. Larcher gathers from this passage that each island of the *Cyclades* had an edifice in which to lodge its *deputies* sent to the grand festivals at *Delos*. I should rather conceive the building to be one for the use of the *traders* from *Ceos*. BENJAMIN OF

TUBELA (in the year 1168) speaks of the *fontecchi* or hostleries for the several nations which traded to *Alexandria* at that time.

<sup>110</sup> τὸν περὶ Ἀβάριος λόγον. The first form of the story of *Abaris* seems to have been that he was a priest of *Apollo*, who made a begging pilgrimage, carrying what professed to be an arrow belonging to his god as a sacred symbol. This is the way in which he was described by the orator LYCURGUS. (See LOBECK, *Aglaophamus*, p. 314, note p.) In subsequent times the legend took a different form, and the arrow was represented as a magical vehicle (like the broomstick of the witches) upon which he travelled. In this shape CELSUS quoted it in his book against which ORIGEN wrote (c. *Cels.* iii. p. 129). But it can scarcely be doubted that the arrow

the legend of *Abaris's* pilgrimage, and the existence of *Hyperboreans*, and derides the circularity of the earth and its envelopment by an ocean.

37

His own geographical system. *Asia*.

οἷστον περιέφερε κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν οὐδὲν σιτέομενος. εἰ δέ εἰσὶ τινες Ἵπερβύριοι ἄνθρωποι, εἰσὶ καὶ ὑπερνότιοι ἄλλοι<sup>111</sup>. γελῶ δὲ ὀρέων γῆς περιόδους γράφοντας πολλοὺς ἤδη, καὶ οὐδένα νόον ἔχοντας ἐξηγησάμενον<sup>112</sup>. οἱ Ὀκεανὸν τε ῥέοντα γράφουσι πέριξ τὴν γῆν ἐοῦσαν κυκλοτερέα ὡς ἀπὸ τόρνου<sup>113</sup>, καὶ τὴν Ἀσίην τῇ Εὐρώπῃ ποιούντων Ἰσην ἐν ὀλίγοις γὰρ ἐγὼ δηλώσω μέγαθός τε ἐκάστης αὐτέων, καὶ οἷη τις ἐστί ἐς γραφὴν ἐκάστη.

Πέρσαι οἰκεῖν<sup>114</sup> κατήκοντες ἐπὶ τὴν νοτίην θάλασσαν, τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν καλεομένην τούτων δ' ὑπεροικέουσι<sup>115</sup> πρὸς βορρῶ ἀνέμου Μῆδοι, Μήδων δὲ Σάσπειρες, Σασπείρων δὲ Κόλχοι, κατήκοντες ἐπὶ τὴν βορηὴν θάλασσαν ἐς τὴν Φάσις ποταμὸς ἐκδιδοῖ

was originally the *symbol of the Deity* for whom the mendicant expedition was undertaken. The most sturdy beggars among the Pagan priests were those who advocated the claims of the Mother, so that the term *μητράργητης* was from them applied to all. But they were not the only mendicants. SOPHOCLES, in a satyric drama (*Inachus*), introduced Here herself as a priestess begging, with the words Νύμφαις δρεσγύνοις θεαῖσιν ἀγέλω, Ἰδῶχου Ἀργεῖον ποταμοῦ παῖδι βιοδόχοις. (PLATO, *Resp.* ii. p. 431. *Schol. Aristoph. Ran.* 1385.) Sometimes the sacred symbol was an animal, as a crow, or a goose. The early Christians were very bitter against these collections in favour of what they called the 'Dii tributarii.' "Non sufficimus," says TERTULLIAN, "et hominibus et Diis vestris opem ferre."

<sup>111</sup> εἰ δέ εἰσὶ τινες Ἵπερβύριοι . . ἄλλοι. This passage is cited as by *Herodotus* in the SCHOLIAST on *Apollon. Rhod.* ii. 675. The two names are very often confounded. *HECATÆUS* wrote two books on the subject of the Hyperboreans, and positively asserted that they existed in his time. (*Schol. Apoll.* i. c.)

<sup>112</sup> γελῶ δὲ ὀρέων . . . ἐξηγησάμενον. This passage appears to be corrupt in the latter part. Dobree proposes to read *ἐχόντας* for *ἔχοντας*; a conjecture which is adopted by Bekker. I should be more disposed to read *ἔχοντα*, and write οὐδ' ἓνα instead of οὐδένα. The final letter of the word *ἔχοντας* might have arisen in an uncial manuscript through the error of the transcriber writing C (σ) instead of ε, and the subsequent corrector, on observing that *ἐξηγησάμενον* was deficient in its initial letter, at once inserting

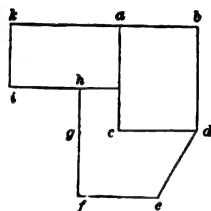
it. If *ἔχοντα* be adopted, it is to be taken as the accusative plural after *ἐξηγησάμενον*. Translate: "But I smile to see multitudes of persons up to the present time drawing up charts of the earth, and not a soul giving explanations that have sense."

<sup>113</sup> ἐοῦσαν κυκλοτερέα ὡς ἀπὸ τόρνου. See note 71 on ii. 21.

<sup>114</sup> Πέρσαι οἰκεῖν. Schweighäuser conceives that the word *Ἀσίην* must have originally preceded these words. It is not found however in any existing MS. It will be remarked that the *νοτίη θαλάσση* here and in § 42 is a very different sea from that mentioned above. (See note 17.)

<sup>115</sup> τούτων δ' ὑπεροικέουσι, κ.τ.λ. NIEBUHR (*Kleine Schriften*, p. 153) endeavours to explain the geographical system which follows by the annexed diagram.

The space *a, b, c, d* is the part of Asia occupied by the four nations, Persians, Medes, Saspers, and Colchi, *d* being supposed to be the head of the Persian Gulf. *a, k, i, A* is the northern *ἄκτῃ*, Phasis being at *a*, and Sigeum at *k*. From *d* to *k* is the *χωρὸς πλατὺς καὶ πολλὰς*, *h, g* being the Phœnician line of coast. *g, d, e, f* is the other *ἄκτῃ*, in which, reckoning from *d, g* as a base, there occur the "three nations," which Niebuhr makes to be Persians, Assyrians, and Arabians. But see below, note 121.



ταῦτα τέσσερα ἔθνεα οἰκείε ἐκ θαλάσσης ἐς θάλασσαν<sup>116</sup>. Ἐνθεῦ- 38  
 τευ δὲ, τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρης, ἀκαὶ διφάσαι ἀπ' αὐτῆς κατατείνουσι ἐς  
 θάλασσαν, τὰς ἐγὼ ἀπηγγέσομαι· ἔνθεν μὲν ἡ ἄκτῃ ἡ ἐτέρῃ τὰ  
 πρὸς βορῆν, ἀπὸ Φάσιος ἀρξαμένη, παρατέταται ἐς θάλασσαν  
 παρά τε τὸν Πόντον καὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον μέχρι Σιγείου τοῦ  
 Τρωϊκοῦ<sup>117</sup>. τὰ δὲ πρὸς νότον<sup>118</sup>, ἡ αὐτὴ αὐτῇ ἄκτῃ ἀπὸ τοῦ Μυριαν-  
 δρικοῦ κόλπου<sup>119</sup>, τοῦ πρὸς Φοινίκη κειμένου, τείνει τὰ ἐς θάλασσαν  
 μέχρι Τριοπίου ἄκρης· οἰκείε δ' ἐν τῇ ἄκτῃ ταύτῃ ἔθνεα ἀνθρώπων  
 τριήκοντα<sup>120</sup>.

Αὕτη μὲν νυν ἡ ἐτέρῃ τῶν ἀκτέων· ἡ δὲ δὴ ἐτέρῃ, ἀπὸ Περσέων 39  
 ἀρξαμένη, παρατέταται ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν, ἥ τε Περσικὴ  
 καὶ ἡ ἀπὸ ταύτης ἐκδεκομένη Ἀσσυρίῃ καὶ ἀπὸ Ἀσσυρίῃς ἡ Ἀρα-

<sup>116</sup> ταῦτα τέσσερα ἔθνεα οἰκείε ἐκ θαλάσσης ἐς θάλασσαν. These are apparently the nations through which much merchandise from the east would come into Greece, viâ Colchis. The goods would go by land carriage to the Caspian sea, and from thence pass up the river Cyrus. See note 363 on i. 104, and note 124, below.

<sup>117</sup> Σιγείου τοῦ Τρωϊκοῦ. The promontory Sigeum (upon which the town of the same name was built) is an outlying spur from Mount Ida, standing up so boldly in the sea that at a distance it presents the appearance of an insulated rock. On the top of it there are at the present time a number of windmills, which form a landmark to the mariner. The same use was doubtless made of the buildings in the time of Herodotus; and hence perhaps the reference to it in the text. Three or four miles to the north of Sigeum another spur from Ida runs into the sea, forming the promontory Rhæteum, near which was the city of the same name (vii. 43); and between these two was the marshy mouth of the Scamander and Simois united in one stream. The alluvium brought down by these waters continually changes the appearance of the plain between, and the position of the mouth is said to be much nearer Sigeum than was formerly the case. (HOFFMANN, *Griechenland u. die Griechen*, pp. 1657—60.)

Immediately opposite to Sigeum on the Chersonese coast was the temple of Proteus and the town Eleusa (STRABO, xiii. c. 1, p. 103), of which Herodotus speaks (vii. 33; ix. 120).

<sup>118</sup> τὰ δὲ πρὸς νότον. Some of the

MSS have τὰ δὲ πρὸς νότον. Above, all without any exception have πρὸς βορῆν (or βορέην). It is more likely in this passage that the genitive should have been altered into the accusative for the sake of producing symmetry than the reverse.

<sup>119</sup> Μυριανδρικοῦ κόλπου. This is the reading of Gaisford, following a conjecture of Wesseling; but it rests on a very doubtful foundation. XENOPHON (*Anab.* i. 4. 6) mentions a town called *Myriandrus*, which was a Phœnician settlement on the coast, five parasangs south of the pass between Syria and Cilicia. STEPHANUS BYZANTINUS (sub v.), quoting that passage, adds τὸ κτητικὸν Μυριανδρικοῦ κόλπου, but without any reference to Herodotus (although he had quoted him very little before, sub v. Μυράλη). No MSS support the reading, they varying between *Μαριανδρικοῦ*, *Μαριανδρῶν*, *Μαριανδρῶν*, and *Μαριανδρῶν*, every one of which variations point to the north of Asia Minor instead of the south. But whatever the reading be, it seems plain that the gulf alluded to is the gulf of Issus, and also that it is not accurately known to the narrator. Perhaps the traffic with the east by way of the Orontes was in the hands of the Phœnicians, and no Hellenic vessel allowed to go near the coast, north of Poscideum. (See note 13 on iii. 5; iii. 91; and note 624 on i. 185.) Xenophon found a great number of merchant vessels in the roads at Myriandrus, but does not say to what nation they belonged.

<sup>120</sup> ἔθνεα ἀνθρώπων τριήκοντα. Some of these are named in i. 28, but it seems very unlikely that the two accounts rest on the same authority.

βίη<sup>121</sup>. λήγει δὲ αὕτη (οὐ λήγουσα εἰ μὴ νόμφ) ἐς τὸν κόλπον τὸν Ἀράβιον, ἐς τὸν Δαρείος ἐκ τοῦ Νεῖλου διώρυχα ἐσήγαγε<sup>122</sup>. (μέχρι μὲν νυν Φωινίκης ἀπὸ Περσέων, χώρος πλατὺς καὶ πολλὸς ἐστὶ τὸ δ' ἀπὸ Φωινίκης παρήκει διὰ τήσδε τῆς θαλάσσης ἡ ἁκτὴ αὕτη παρά τε Συρίην τὴν Παλαιστίνην καὶ Αἴγυπτον, ἐς τὴν τελευταίαν) ἐν τῇ ἔθνεά ἐστι τρία μῖνα<sup>123</sup>. ταῦτα μὲν ἀπὸ Περσέων  
 40 τὰ πρὸς ἐσπέρας τῆς Ἀσίας ἔχοντά ἐστι. Τὰ δὲ κατύπερθε Περσέων, καὶ Μήδων, καὶ Σασπειρών, καὶ Κόλχων<sup>124</sup>, τὰ πρὸς ἧώ τε καὶ ἥλιον ἀνατέλλοντα, ἔνθεν μὲν ἡ Ἐρυθρὰ παρήκει θάλασσα πρὸς βορέω δὲ ἡ Κασπίη τε θάλασσα, καὶ ὁ Ἀράξης ποταμὸς, ῥέων πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα<sup>125</sup>. μέχρι δὲ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς οἰκέεται Ἀσίῃ τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ ταύτης ἐρήμος ἤδη τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἧώ, οὐδ' ἔχει οὐδεὶς φράσαι οἶον δὴ τί ἐστὶ τοιαύτη μὲν καὶ τοσαύτη ἡ Ἀσίη

<sup>121</sup> ἢ τε Περσικὴ . . . ἢ Ἀραβίη. I can give no satisfactory explanation of these words, and do not believe them to be genuine. Persia is apparently not reckoned by Herodotus in either ἁκτὴ, but is a portion of the base from which the two ἁκτὴ spring. The "three nations" spoken of as lying in the ἁκτὴ are, I conceive, the Phœnicians, Assyrians, and Arabians.

<sup>122</sup> ἐς τὸν Δαρείος ἐκ τοῦ Νεῖλου διώρυχα ἐσήγαγε. See note 485 on ii. 158. It seems strange that Herodotus should here think it necessary to describe the Arabian gulf by this notice, after the very full account of it in ii. 11. But that passage may be a subsequent addition.

<sup>123</sup> ἐν τῇ ἔθνεά ἐστι τρία μῖνα. See above, notes 115, 121.

<sup>124</sup> τὰ δὲ κατύπερθε Περσέων, καὶ Μήδων, &c. This phrase is a strange one, except we suppose the writer to speak as a merchant might, taking the countries through which his own line of traffic passed as the base of his geographical system, and referring every thing else to this. See note 363 on i. 104. The regions *Syepiritis* and also *Hysepirtis* are mentioned by STRABO in his description of Armenia (xi. c. 14), but it is not easy to assign their exact position; and it is questionable whether the writer himself had any definite notion of it. But one can scarcely doubt that the two forms are merely dialectal varieties, and that the *Saspires* of Herodotus (at any rate in this passage and in i. 104) are the people from whom the region takes its name. Now *Hysepirtis* is described by STRABO (p. 461) as a dis-

trict abounding in gold, a proof of the productiveness of which he gives in the enormous gratuity which Tigranes was enabled to bestow upon Pompey's army. This peculiarity of the region may perhaps explain Herodotus's use of the word *Saspires* in i. 104 and this passage, where he seems to take in the whole (or greater part) of that which STRABO calls Iberia and Albania. If he is in these passages following a commercial authority, the commercial importance of the commodity gold might, in such a case, cause the name of the particular region where it was found to be extended to the whole of the country of which this region constituted a part. It is to me very doubtful whether the *Saspires* of iii. 94 and vii. 79 are co-extensive with the *Saspires* of this passage.

<sup>125</sup> ὁ Ἀράξης ποταμὸς, ῥέων πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα. The Araxes here is perhaps the same river which is spoken of in i. 201, but certainly not the same as that mentioned in iv. 11. See the note on the former passage. Down the Oxus the eastern traffic came from Bactria, and found its way by the Caspian, and up the river Cyrus to the Colchians, by whom it was transmitted down the Phasis to the Greek ports on the Black Sea. For a reason of the erroneous direction given to the stream by Herodotus, see note 681 on i. 202. It is however far from impossible that he here gives the name of Araxes to a third river, viz. that one which terminates in Lake Lob in Thibet.

ἐστὶ. Ἡ δὲ Λιβύη ἐν τῇ ἀκτῇ τῇ ἐτέρῃ ἐστὶ ἀπὸ γὰρ Αἰγύπτου 41  
 Λιβύη ἤδη ἐκδέκεται. κατὰ μὲν νυν Αἰγυπτὸν ἡ ἀκτὴ αὕτη στενὴ <sup>Libya.</sup>  
 ἐστὶ ἀπὸ γὰρ τῆσδε τῆς θαλάσσης ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν <sup>126</sup>  
 δέκα μυριάδες εἰσὶ ὁργυιῶν αὗται δ' ἂν εἴεν χίλιοι στάδιοι· τὸ δὲ  
 ἀπὸ τοῦ στενωτοῦ τούτου κάρτα πλατέα τυγχάνει εἶδουσα ἡ ἀκτὴ ἥτις  
 Λιβύη κέκληται.

Θωυμάζω ὦν τῶν διουρισάντων καὶ διελόντων Λιβύην τε καὶ 42  
 Ἀσίην καὶ Εὐρώπην οὐ γὰρ σμικρὰ τὰ διαφέροντα αὐτέων ἐστὶ. Criticism  
 μήκει μὲν γὰρ παρ' ἀμφοτέρας παρήκει ἡ Εὐρώπη, εὐρεος δὲ πέρι, of writers  
 οὐδὲ συμβαλέειν ἀξίη φαίνεται μοι εἶναι. Λιβύη μὲν γὰρ δηλοῖ into Libya,  
 ἑωυτὴν εἶδουσα περίρρυτος, πλὴν ὅσον αὐτῆς πρὸς τὴν Ἀσίην Asia, and  
 οὐρίζει, Νεκὼ τοῦ Αἰγυπτίων βασιλέως πρώτου τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν Europe.  
 καταδέξαντος ὃς ἐπεὶ τε τὴν διώρυχα ἐπαύσατο ὀρύσσων τὴν ἐκ  
 τοῦ Νείλου διέχουσαν ἐς τὸν Ἀράβιον κόλπον, ἀπέπεμψε Φοίνικας  
 ἄνδρας πλοίοισι, ἐντειλάμενος ἐς τὸ ὀπίσω δι' Ἡρακληῶν σπη- Circumna-  
 λέων διεκπλέειν ἕως ἐς τὴν βορητὴν θάλασσαν, καὶ οὕτω ἐς Αἰγυ- vigation of  
 πτον ἀπικνεύεσθαι. ὁρμηθέντες ὦν οἱ Φοίνικες ἐκ τῆς Ἐρυθρῆς Libya by  
 θαλάσσης, ἐπλεον τὴν νοτίην θάλασσαν ὅκως δὲ γίνοιτο φθινό- Phenicians  
 πωρον, προσίσχοντες <sup>127</sup> ἂν σπεύρεσκον τὴν γῆν, ἵνα ἐκάστοτε τῆς under Neco,  
 Λιβύης πλέοντες γινώατο, καὶ μένεσκον τὸν ἄμητον θερίσαντες δ'  
 ἂν τὸν σίτον ἐπλεον ὥστε δύο ἔτεων διεξεληθόντων, τρίτῳ ἔτει  
 κάμψαντες Ἡρακληΐας στήλας ἀπίκοντο ἐς Αἰγυπτὸν καὶ ἔλεγον,  
 ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιστὰ ἄλλα δὲ δή τεφ, ὡς περιπλώοντες τὴν Λιβύην  
 τὸν ἥλιον ἔσχον ἐς τὰ δεξιὰ <sup>128</sup>. Οὕτω μὲν αὕτη ἐγνώσθη τὸ 43

<sup>126</sup> ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν. By this phrase must here be meant the Arabian gulf. The distance by the artificial navigation from sea to sea appears to have been estimated at 1000 stades. See note 488 on ii. 168.

<sup>127</sup> προσίσχοντες. This is Gaisford's reading, on the authority of S and V. The other MSS have προσχόντες. So have they just below γινώατο for γινώατο (which is the reading of S and V), and several γένοιτο for γίνοντο, just above.

<sup>128</sup> τὸν ἥλιον ἔσχον ἐς τὰ δεξιὰ. This passage is relied on by RENNELL, who is a strong advocate for the truth of Herodotus's story of the circumnavigation of Africa by the Phœnicians under Neco's instructions, as decisively proving the truth of his view. But whichever way

the balance of probability may incline in the general question, it appears a complete assumption that even the equinoctial line must have been passed in order that this notion should prevail. It would be known by the Arabians that the further south a traveller went (within the limits of their knowledge), the nearer he would approach to the sun; and hence they may well have assumed that when he got beyond a certain line he would leave the sun behind him. An exact parallel to this process of reasoning is furnished by the authorities (Tartars of the extreme north of Central Asia) on whom MARCO POLE depended for his accounts of the Northern Sea. "In an island of that sea," he says, "are bred the gerfalcons; and I assure you that the place is so far north, that the polestar

afterwards  
by Carthagi-  
nians, as  
they assert.

Failure of  
the Persian  
Sataspes.

Adventures  
of Sataspes  
in the course  
of his voy-  
age.

πρώτων μετὰ δέ, Καρχηδόνιοι εἰσι οἱ λέγοντες <sup>120</sup>. ἐπεὶ Σατάσπης γε ὁ Τεάσπιος <sup>120</sup>, ἀνὴρ Ἀχαιμενίδης, οὐ περιέπλωσε Λιβύην, ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο πεμφθείς· ἀλλὰ δεισας τό τε μήκος τοῦ πλόου καὶ τὴν ἐρημίην, ἀπῆλθε ὀπίσω, οὐδ' ἐπετέλεσε τὸν ἐπέταξέ οἱ ἡ μήτηρ ἄεθλον· θυγατέρα γὰρ Ζωπύρου τοῦ Μεγαβύζου ἐβίησατο παρ-  
θένον· ἔπειτα μέλλοντος αὐτοῦ διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίην ἀνασκολεπι-  
εῖσθαι ὑπὸ Ξέρξῳ βασιλέος, ἡ μήτηρ τοῦ Σατάσπεος, ἐούσα Δαρεῖον ἀδελφεή, παραιτήσατο, φάσα οἱ αὐτὴ μέζω ζημίην ἐπι-  
θήσειν ἥπερ ἐκείνον· Λιβύην γάρ οἱ ἀνάγκην ἔσσεσθαι περιπλώειν, ἐς δ' ἂν ἀπίκηται περιπλέων αὐτὴν ἐς τὸν Ἀράβιον κόλπον· συγχωρήσαντος δὲ Ξέρξῳ ἐπὶ τούτοις, ὁ Σατάσπης ἀπικόμενος ἐς Αἴγυπτον καὶ λαβὼν νέα τε καὶ ναύτας παρὰ τούτων, ἔπλεε παρὰ Ἡρακλεῖας στήλας· διεκπλώσας δὲ καὶ κάμψας τὸ ἄκρω-  
τήριον τῆς Λιβύης τῷ οὐνομα Σολόεις <sup>121</sup> ἐστὶ, ἔπλεε πρὸς μεσαμ-  
βρίην· περήσας δὲ θάλασσαν πολλὴν ἐν πολλοῖσι μήνεσι, ἐπεὶ τε τοῦ πλεῦνος αἰεὶ ἔδεε, ἀποστρέψας ὀπίσω ἀπέπλεε ἐς Αἴγυπτον· ἐκ δὲ ταύτης ἀπικόμενος παρὰ βασιλέα Ξέρξεα, ἔλεγε φὰς τὰ

*remains behind, and is seen to the south*" (p. 263). The process of reasoning by which this impossible conclusion was arrived at, shows itself manifestly from passages in other parts of his work. Of Sumatra he says, that "it lies so far south, that the north star is never seen" (p. 282). At Cape Comorin, "the north star, which we had not seen since leaving Java, appeared to us, when thirty miles out at sea, rising about a cubit above the horizon" (p. 311). At Malabar, "the north star at its greatest height appears two cubits above the water" (p. 312). The *Hyperborei* owe their existence to the same way of thinking. They are in the original notion a mythical people dwelling *beyond* the home of the northern storm-blasts (*βίραι*), which was supposed to be certain mountains (οἱ τὰ Πρωταῖα ὄρη καὶ τοὺς Ὑπερβορέους μυθοποιῶντες, STRABO, vii. c. 3, p. 71); and hence Herodotus could reasonably say, that on the same principle there must be also *Hypermotians*, i.e. human beings living further off than the region out of which the south wind blew (above, § 36). See also note 78 on § 26, above.

<sup>120</sup> Καρχηδόνιοι εἰσι οἱ λέγοντες. It does not appear at what time the voyage of which Herodotus here speaks was made,

but it must have been subsequent to the failure of Sataspes. He obviously means to say that there were three commonly alleged circumnavigations of Africa,—that under the auspices of Neco being the first, and the second (that by Sataspes) being in fact an abortive attempt; so that really the next after Neco who asserted themselves to have accomplished the feat were the Carthaginians. There is no occasion to desire to change *λέγοντες* into *πλέοντες*. The word *περιπλέων* is understood.

<sup>120</sup> ὁ Τεάσπιος. This is the reading of all the MSS (except S, which has Τεάσπειος), which would imply a nominative case Τεάσπης. But in vii. 11 there is an equal unanimity for the nominative Τεάσπης. It cannot be doubted that the original Achaemenid name is the same for both these forms, and the natural inference from their variation seems to be that the source of the story in the text is a different one from that of vii. 11. This one obviously comes through a Samian channel. See the end of the section.

<sup>121</sup> Σολόεις. Immediately after rounding Soloeis, the coast bends for a time to the east. Of the place see note 96 on ii. 32.

προσωτάτω <sup>133</sup> ανθρώπους σμικροὺς παραπλέειν, ἐσθῆτι φοινικῇ <sup>134</sup> διαχρεωμένους· οἱ, ὅκως σφεῖς καταγοιόατο τῇ νηϊ, φεύγεσκον πρὸς τὰ οὖρεα λείποντες τὰς πόλιας· αὐτοὶ δὲ ἀδίκηειν οὐδὲν ἐσιόντες, πρόβατα δὲ μούνα ἐξ αὐτέων λαμβάνειν τοῦ δὲ μὴ περιπλῶσαι Λιβύην παντελῶς, αἷτιον τόδε ἔλεγε, τὸ πλοῖον τὸ πρόσω οὐ δυνατὸν ἔτι προβαίνειν, ἀλλ' ἐνίσχεσθαι· Ἐξέρξης δὲ οὐ οἱ συγγινώσκων λέγειν ἀληθέα, οὐκ ἐπιτελέσαντά τε τὸν προκειμενον ἀεθλον ἀνεσκολόπισε, τὴν ἀρχαίην δίκην ἐπιτιμῶν. τούτου δὲ τοῦ Σατάσπεος εὐνοῦχος ἀπέδρη ἐς Σάμον, ἐπεὶ τε ἐπίθето τάχιστα τὸν δεσπότηα τετελευτηκότα, ἔχων χρήματα μεγάλα τὰ Σάμιος ἀνὴρ κατέσχε· τοῦ ἐπιστάμενος τὸ οὔνομα, ἐκὼν ἐπιλήθομαι <sup>135</sup>.

Τῆς δὲ Ἀσίης τὰ πολλὰ ὑπὸ Δαρείου ἐξευρέθη· ὃς βουλόμενος 44  
Ἰνδὸν ποταμὸν, ὃς κροκοδείλους δεύτερος οὗτος ποταμῶν πάντων παρέχεται <sup>136</sup>, τοῦτον τὸν ποταμὸν εἶδέναι τῇ ἐς θάλασσαν ἐκδιδοί, πέμπει πλοίοισι ἄλλους τε τοῖσι ἐπίστευε τὴν ἀληθῆν ἑρέειν, καὶ δὴ καὶ Σκύλακα ἄνδρα Καρνανδέα <sup>137</sup>. οἱ δὲ, ὀρμηθέντες ἐκ Κασπατύρου τε πόλιος καὶ τῆς Πακτυϊκῆς γῆς <sup>138</sup>, ἔπλεον κατὰ ποταμὸν πρὸς ἡῶ τε καὶ ἡλίου ἀνατολὰς ἐς θάλασσαν <sup>139</sup>. διὰ θαλάσσης δὲ

Voyage of Scylax of Caryanda, who, under the auspices of Darius, discovers the southern coast of Asia.

<sup>133</sup> φὰς τὰ προσωτάτω. This is the reading of Gaisford with all the MSS, except S, which has σφεας τὰ προσωτάτω.

<sup>134</sup> ἐσθῆτι φοινικῇ, "in a garb made of palm leaves." In the existing MSS the form φοινίκεος is always used to express the colour, while φοινικῆος is appropriated to denote that which is derived from the palm-tree.

<sup>135</sup> ἐκὼν ἐπιλήθομαι. The manuscripts S, V, α, c have ἐπιλήσσομαι. The expression ἐκὼν ἐπιλήθετο is used above (iii. 75), and τῶν ἐντολέων μεμνημένος ἐπελανθάνετο (iii. 147).

<sup>136</sup> ὃς κροκοδείλους . . . παρέχεται. The other river which, in the apprehension of Herodotus, produces crocodiles, is no doubt the Nile; and it may be hence gathered that the Ganges was entirely unknown. But it seems not impossible that the reputation of the Ganges was transferred to the Indus; for the latter river does not (I believe) produce alligators, at any rate within the limits which in the time of Herodotus were at all known.

<sup>137</sup> Σκύλακα ἄνδρα Καρνανδέα. It will be observed that Herodotus says nothing of Scylax as an author, but regards him wholly as a discoverer. The reputation acquired by this voyage probably caused his name to be attached to the existing work, which is of a much later date. See Niebuhr's article, translated in the *Cambridge Philological Museum*, for a complete discussion of this subject. See also note 499 on i. 46. The conclusion to which Niebuhr arrives is that the current treatise was compiled subsequently to the 100th Olympiad, and perhaps even subsequently to the 105th, but before the growth of the Macedonian empire.

<sup>138</sup> Κασπατύρου τε πόλιος καὶ τῆς Πακτυϊκῆς γῆς. See note 294 on iii. 102.

<sup>139</sup> πρὸς ἡῶ τε καὶ ἡλίου ἀνατολὰς ἐς θάλασσαν. This is the course of the Ganges, but not of the Indus below Attock. It is however the general direction of the Causal river, upon which the discoverer embarked, and this, coinciding with that of the alligator-producing Ganges, may have led to the confusion in the text.

πρὸς ἐσπέρην πλέοντες, τριηκοστῷ μῆλὶ ἀπικνέονται ἐς τοῦτον τὸν χῶρον ὅθεν ὁ Αἰγυπτίων βασιλεὺς τοὺς Φοῖνικας, τοὺς πρότερον εἶπα, ἀπέστειλε περιπλῶειν Λιβύην μετὰ δὲ τούτους περιπλῶσαντας, Ἰνδοὺς τε κατεστρέψατο Δαρεῖος<sup>139</sup> καὶ τῇ θαλάσῃ ταύτῃ ἐχρᾶτο· οὕτω καὶ τῆς Ἀσίης, πλὴν τὰ πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα, τὰ ἄλλα ἀνεύρηται ὁμοία παρεχομένη τῇ Λιβύῃ.

45

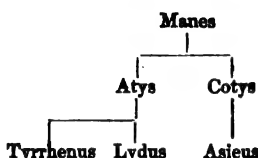
The boundary of Europe is unknown; and so is the origin of the names Europe, Asia, and Libya.

Ἡ δὲ δὴ Εὐρώπη πρὸς οὐδαμῶν φανερὴ ἐστὶ γνωσκομένη, οὔτε τὰ πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνατέλλοντα, οὔτε τὰ πρὸς βορρῇν εἰ περιέρνυτός ἐστι· μήκει δὲ γινώσκεται παρ' ἀμφοτέρας παρήκουσα. οὐδ' ἔχω συμβαλέσθαι ἐπ' ὅτεν μὴ εὐούση γῆ οὐνόματα τριφάσια κέεται ἐπωνυμίας ἔχοντα γυναικῶν, καὶ οὐρίσματα αὐτῇ Νεῖλός τε ὁ Αἰγύπτιος ποταμὸς ἐτέθη, καὶ Φάσις ὁ Κόλχος (οἱ δὲ Τάναϊν ποταμὸν τὸν Μαίητην<sup>140</sup> καὶ Πορθμῆϊα τὰ Κιμμέρια λέγουσι) οὐδὲ τῶν διουρισάντων τὰ οὐνόματα πυθέσθαι, καὶ ὅθεν ἔθεντο τὰς ἐπωνυμίας· ἡ δὲ γὰρ Λιβύη μὲν ἐπὶ Λιβύης λέγεται ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔχειν τὸ οὐνομα γυναικὸς αὐτόχthonος· ἡ δὲ Ἀσίη ἐπὶ τῆς Προμηθέος γυναικὸς τὴν ἐπωνυμίην καὶ τούτου μὲν μεταλαμβάνονται τοῦ οὐνόματος Ἀνδοί, φάμενοι ἐπὶ Ἀσίων, τοῦ Κότυος, τοῦ Μάνεω<sup>141</sup>, κεκληῖσθαι τὴν Ἀσίην, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐπὶ τῆς Προμηθέος Ἀσίης· ἀπ' ὅτεν καὶ τὴν ἐν Σάρδισι φυλὴν κεκληῖσθαι Ἀσιάδα. ἡ δὲ δὴ Εὐρώπη οὔτε εἰ περιέρνυτός ἐστι γινώσκεται πρὸς οὐδαμῶν ἀνθρώπων, οὔτε ὁκόθεν τὸ οὐνομα ἔλαβε τοῦτο<sup>142</sup>,

<sup>139</sup> Ἰνδοὺς τε κατεστρέψατο Δαρεῖος. For the probable extent of Darius's conquests in India, see note 293 on iii. 101. It is not easy to say what exact notion Herodotus attached to τῇ θαλάσῃ ταύτῃ ἐχρᾶτο. Perhaps the expression may refer to a traffic with India by way of the Persian gulf. See ARISTOBULUS, quoted in note 314 on iii. 111.

<sup>140</sup> οἱ δὲ Τάναϊν ποταμὸν τὸν Μαίητην. PROCOPIUS (iv. 6), in citing this passage, has the variation οἱ δὲ Τάναϊν ποταμὸν καὶ Μαίωτιν.

<sup>141</sup> ἐπὶ Ἀσίῳ, τοῦ Κότυος, τοῦ Μάνεω. In the genealogies given above (i. 7 and 94) Manes is made the father of Atys, and Atys of Lydus, the eponymous ancestor of the Lydians. On the hypothesis that both the three genealogies belong to the same cycle of traditions, and that the reading here is genuine, the mythical pedigree will have run thus :—



BUT DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS combines the names differently, making Atys not the brother, but the son of Cotys (*Archæol.* i. 27); and LYCOPHRON (*ap. Eustath. ad Dionys. Perieg.* v. 270) made Asieus the son of Atys. All these appear to me to be merely different combinations of three genuine genealogies, themselves framed on the principle explained in the note 336 on i. 94. The Asia of which Asieus is the eponym is the low country at the mouth of the Cayster.

<sup>142</sup> ὁκόθεν τὸ οὐνομα ἔλαβε τοῦτο. HESIOD makes Europa one of the Ocean-



οὔτε δοτις οἱ ἦν ὁ θέμενος φαίνεται· εἰ μὴ ἀπὸ τῆς Τυρρίας φήσομεν Εὐρώπης λαβεῖν τὸ οὔνομα τὴν χώραν, πρότερον δὲ ἦν ἄρα ἀνώνυμος, ὥσπερ αἱ ἑτεραι· ἀλλ' αὕτη γε ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας τε φαίνεται ἐοῦσα, καὶ οὐκ ἀπικομένη ἐς τὴν γῆν ταύτην ἢ τις νῦν ὑπὸ Ἑλληνῶν Εὐρώπῃ καλεῖται, ἀλλ' ὅσον ἐκ Φοινίκης ἐς Κρήτην ἐκ Κρήτης δὲ ἐς Δυκίην<sup>145</sup>. ταῦτα μὲν νῦν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον εἰρήσθω· τοῖσι γὰρ νομιζομένοισι αὐτῶν χρυσόμεθα.

Ὁ δὲ Πόντος ὁ Εὐξείνος, ἐπ' ὃν ἐστρατεύετο Δαρείος, χωρῶν 46  
 πασέων παρέχεται, ἔξω τοῦ Σκυθικοῦ, ἔθνεα ἀμαθέστατα· οὔτε Brutish  
character of  
the Pontine  
tribes.  
 γὰρ ἔθνος τῶν ἐντὸς τοῦ Πόντου<sup>146</sup> οὐδὲν ἔχομεν προβαλέσθαι  
 σοφίης πέρι, οὔτε ἄνδρα λόγιον οἶδαμεν γενόμενον<sup>147</sup>, Peculiarity  
of the  
Scythians  
 παρέξ τοῦ Σκυθικοῦ ἔθνεος καὶ Ἀναχάρσιος. τῷ δὲ Σκυθικῷ γένει ἔν μὲν τὸ  
 μέγιστον τῶν ἀνθρωπῆων πρηγμάτων σοφώτατα πάντων ἐξεύ-  
 ρηται τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν τὰ μέντοι ἄλλα οὐκ ἄγαμα· τὸ δὲ μέγιστον  
 οὕτω σφι ἀνεύρηται, ὥστε ἀποφυγεῖν τε μηδένα ἐπελθόντα ἐπὶ  
 σφέας, μὴ βουλομένους τε ἐξευρεθῆναι καταλαβεῖν μὴ οἷον τε  
 εἶναι· τοῖσι γὰρ μήτε ἄστεα μήτε τείχεα ἢ ἐκτισμένα, ἀλλὰ  
 φερέοικοι<sup>148</sup> εἶντες πάντες ἔωσι ἵπποτοξόται, ζῶντες μὴ ἀπ'  
 ἄρότου ἀλλ' ἀπὸ κτηνῶν, οἰκήματά τε σφι ἢ ἐπὶ ζευγέων, κῶς οὐκ  
 ἂν εἴσαν οὗτοι ἄμαχοί τε καὶ ἄποροι προσμίσγειν; Ἐξεύρηται 47

des (*Theogon.* 357); but the name does not occur either in the *Iliad* or *Odyssey*. The earliest mention of the word as denoting a region is in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, in the enumeration of the tribes which come to his temple:

ἡμὲν ὅσοι Πελοπόννησον πείραν ἔχουσιν,  
 ἡδ' ὅσοι Εὐρώπῃν τε καὶ ἀμφιπότους κατὰ  
 νῆσους.

These lines, which occur in two places, (250. 290), are supposed by Heyne to be from the hand of a copyist, but in my opinion without sufficient reason. The word *Europa* is perhaps connected etymologically with *ερεβος*. *HESTIUS*: Εὐρώπῃ χάρα τῆς δύσεως, ἢ σκοτεινῇ. *BUTTMANN* (*Mythologus*, ii. p. 176) makes *kadm* and *ereb*, the roots of *Cadmus* and *Europa*, to signify respectively the *east* and the *west*.

<sup>145</sup> ἐς Δυκίην. Several of the MSS have Διβήην.

<sup>146</sup> τῶν ἐντὸς τοῦ Πόντου. This expression is a very singular one. It seems appropriate rather to a mariner than any

other kind of traveller, and to mean "tribes upon which he would come after having entered the sea."

<sup>147</sup> λόγιον οἶδαμεν γενόμενον. So *Gaisford* with the majority of MSS. Two (S and V) have λόγιον οἶδαμεν λεγόμενον.

<sup>148</sup> φερέοικοι. This is a literally accurate description of the Scythians, "quorum plaustra vagas rite trahunt domos," as *HORACE* (iii. 24, 10) describes it. Their modern representatives, the Calmucks, do not either, properly speaking, dwell in wagons; but the round framework covered with felt in which they live when forming a camp, is lifted bodily on to the wheels of the carriage. See *Plate 6* in the first volume of *PALLAS* (*Travels in Southern Russia*), or the *Vignette* to chap. xiv. of *CLARKE*, vol. i. *ÆSCHYLUS*'s description is no less exact:

Σκύθας δ' ἀφίξει Νομάδας οἱ πλεκτὰς στέ-  
 γας  
 πεδάρσιοι βαλόνσ' ἐν' ἐνέκλοις ὄχοις.  
From. 709.

arising out  
of the nature  
of the  
country.

Fluvial  
system of  
Scythia.

48

The *Ister*  
and its  
feeders

the *Pyretus*,  
*Tiarantus*,  
*Arar*, *Na-*  
*paris*, and

δέ σφι ταῦτα, τῆς τε γῆς εἰσόδου ἐπιτηδής καὶ τῶν ποταμῶν  
ἐόντων σφι συμμάχων ἥ τε γὰρ γῆ εἰσὶν πεδιάς αὐτῇ, ποικίλης τε  
καὶ εὐδρὸς<sup>147</sup> ἐστὶν ποταμοὶ τε δι' αὐτῆς ῥέουσι οὐ πολλῶ τεφ  
ἀριθμὸν ἐλάσσονες τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ διαρύχων<sup>148</sup>. ὅσοι δὲ οὐνο-  
μαστοὶ τέ εἰσι αὐτῶν, καὶ προσπλωτοὶ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης, τούτους  
οὐνομανέω. Ἴστρος μὲν, πεντάστομος<sup>149</sup>, μετὰ δὲ, Τύρης τε καὶ  
Ἰπτανίς, καὶ Βορυσθένης, καὶ Παντικῆς, καὶ Ἰπτάκις, καὶ  
Γέρρος, καὶ Τάναϊς ῥέουσι δὲ οὗτοι κατὰ τὰδε.

Ἴστρος μὲν, ἐὼν μέγιστος ποταμῶν πάντων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν,  
ἴσος αἰεὶ αὐτὸς ἐκ τῆς γῆς καὶ θέρους καὶ χειμῶνος· πρῶτος δὲ τὸ  
ἀπ' ἐσπέρης τῶν ἐν τῇ Σκυθικῇ ῥέων, κατὰ τοιούδε μέγιστος γέγονε  
ποταμῶν καὶ ἄλλων ἐν αὐτὸν ἐκιδόντων· εἰσὶ δὲ οἷδε οἱ μέγαν  
αὐτὸν ποιεῖντες· διὰ μὲν γε τῆς Σκυθικῆς χώρας πέντε μὲν οἱ  
ῥέοντες<sup>150</sup>. τὸν τε Σκύθαι Πόρατα καλέουσι Ἕλληνας δὲ Πυ-  
ρετόν<sup>151</sup>. καὶ ἄλλος Τιαραντός· καὶ Ἀραρός τε, καὶ Νάπαρις, καὶ

<sup>147</sup> *εὐδρος*. So Gaisford prints with the majority of MSS, but S and V have *ἐνδρος*.

<sup>148</sup> *τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ διαρύχων*. By these are perhaps meant only the main channels, along the banks of which the roads ran, which in the time of the inundation connected the cities with one another. The general appearance of the Egyptian water arrangements must have been very unlike any thing in Scythia. CLARKE however speaks of the *Tanais* at its mouth as reminding him most strikingly of the Nile. "The same aquatic plants are found in both rivers; tall flags, reeds, and bulrushes sometimes rising to the height of twenty feet. The manner of entrance into the sea by several mouths is also the same, forming small islands with fens and morasses." (*Travels*, i. p. 356.)

<sup>149</sup> *πεντάστομος*. STRABO makes the *Ister* seven-mouthed. The southernmost is, according to him, the so-called "sacred mouth." A passage of 120 *stadia* through this brought the mariner to the island *Peuce*, at the lower part of which the tradition ran that Darius had made his bridge. Strabo, as if aware that such a proceeding would be useless, adds *δὲναρτο* ὃ ἂν *ἐνυθῆναι κατὰ τὸ ἐν*. The next three channels were small, and the three last a middle size between these and the "sacred mouth." The mouths of such a

river must be continually changing, and even their number varying. It would probably not be possible to identify at the present day either the *Peuce* of Strabo or the *Leuce* of Arrian (if they are not really the same). CLARKE (*Travels*, vol. ii. pp. 394—401) gives a very graphic description of the mouth of the Danube as he saw it. By his account one would incline to believe that there is only one remarkable island, and that *Leuce* was the true name of this. He speaks of its value as a landmark, "the shore being flat all the way from Odessa to the Danube; and so low near to the river's mouth, that no other object appears to those who approach the shore than tall reeds rising out of the water, or the masts of vessels lying in the river." He goes on to remark the *whiteness* of the Danube stream and of the porpoises seen in it.

<sup>150</sup> *πέντε μὲν οἱ ῥέοντες*. KOEN proposed as a conjecture *πέντε μεγάλοι ῥέοντες*, which is said to have met with the approbation of Porson. But it does not seem necessary to change the text, which rests on the authority of all the MSS.

<sup>151</sup> *Πυρετόν*. The *Pruth* is the easternmost of the rivers which fall into the Danube, and is doubtless meant by the *Pyretus*; but the identification of the other four tributaries mentioned by Herodotus is very doubtful. NIEBUHR considers the *Tiarantus* to be the *Alouza*, but be-

Ὁρδησσός· ὁ μὲν πρῶτος λεχθεὶς τῶν ποταμῶν μέγας, καὶ πρὸς ὧν ῥέων ἀνακοινοῦνται τῇ Ἰστροῦ τὸ ὕδωρ· ὁ δὲ δεύτερος λεχθεὶς, Ταραντὸς, πρὸς ἐσπέρης τε μᾶλλον καὶ ἐλάσσων ὁ δὲ δὴ Ἀραρός τε καὶ ὁ Νάπαρις καὶ ὁ Ὁρδησσός, διὰ μέσου τούτων ἰόντες ἐσβάλλουσι ἐς τὸν Ἰστρον· οὗτοι μὲν αὐτιγενεές<sup>153</sup> ποταμοὶ Σκυθικοὶ συμπληθύνουσι αὐτόν· Ἐκ δὲ Ἀγαθύρσων Μάρης ποταμὸς<sup>154</sup> ῥέων συμμίσγεται τῇ Ἰστροῦ· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Αἴμου τῶν κορυφῶν τρεῖς ἄλλοι μεγάλοι<sup>155</sup> ῥέοντες πρὸς βορρῇ ἄνεμον ἐσβάλλουσι ἐς αὐτόν, Ἀτλας, καὶ Αὔρας, καὶ Τίβισις· διὰ δὲ Θρητικής καὶ Θρητικῶν τῶν Κροβύζων<sup>156</sup> ῥέοντες, Ἀθρυσ, καὶ Νόης, καὶ Ἀρτάνης, ἐκδιδούσι ἐς τὸν Ἰστρον· ἐκ δὲ Παιόνων καὶ οὐρεὸς Ῥοδόπης Σκίος ποταμὸς<sup>157</sup>, μέσον σχίζων τὸν Αἶμον, ἐκδιδοὶ ἐς αὐτόν· ἔξ Ἰλλυριῶν δὲ ῥέων πρὸς βορρῇ ἄνεμον Ἀγγρος ποταμὸς, ἐσβάλλει ἐς πεδίον τὸ Τριβαλλικὸν καὶ ἐς ποταμὸν Βρόγγον, ὁ δὲ Βρόγγος ἐς τὸν Ἰστρον οὕτω ἀμφοτέρους, ἔοντας μεγάλους, ὁ Ἰστρος δέκεται. ἐκ δὲ τῆς κατύπερθε χώρας Ὀμβρικών, Κάρπις ποταμὸς καὶ ἄλλος Ἀλπις [ποταμὸς,] πρὸς βορρῇ ἄνεμον καὶ οὗτοι ῥέοντες, ἐκδιδούσι ἐς αὐτόν. ῥεῖ γὰρ δὴ διὰ πάσης τῆς Εὐρώπης ὁ Ἰστρος ἀρξάμενος ἐκ Κελτῶν, οἱ ἔσχατοι πρὸς ἡλίου δυσμέων μετὰ Κύνητας<sup>157</sup> οἰκέουσι τῶν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ· ῥέων δὲ διὰ πάσης τῆς Εὐρώπης, ἐς τὰ πλάγια τῆς Σκυθίης ἐσβάλλει. Τού- 50

*Ordessus*,  
all rising in  
Scythia;

49  
the *Maris*  
from the  
*Agathyrri*;  
the *Atlas*,  
*Auras*, and  
*Tibisis* from  
*Hemus*; the  
*Athrys*,  
*Noes*, and  
*Artanes*  
from  
Thrace; the  
*Oscius* from  
*Rhodope*;  
the *Angrus*  
and *Brongus*  
from *Illy-*  
*ria*; and the  
*Corpis* and  
*Alpis* from  
above *Um-*  
*bria*.

tween that and the Pruth more than three considerable streams fall into the Danube.

<sup>153</sup> αὐτιγενεές. So Gaisford reads with the majority of the MSS. But K, F, a have αὐθιγενεές and S αὐθηγενεές, and in ii. 149, αὐθιγενεές is unanimously sanctioned.

<sup>154</sup> Μάρης ποταμὸς. This name seems preserved in the *Maróth*, one of the tributaries of the Theiss, falling into it at Szegedin in Hungary. The river therefore may probably be identified with the Theiss.

<sup>155</sup> τρεῖς ἄλλοι μεγάλοι. These words have occasioned great difficulty, as no three large rivers are to be found flowing northward from the Balkan into the Danube. Some have proposed to insert the particle οὐ before μεγάλοι, some to omit the whole clause. It is however easier to suppose the writer ill-informed on the subject.

<sup>156</sup> Θρητικῶν τῶν Κροβύζων. These Crobyzi are said by the ETYMOLOGICUM

MAGNUM (v. Ζάμολξίς) to have the same practice of human sacrifices which is attributed by Herodotus to the *Gela* (§ 94, below).

<sup>157</sup> Σκίος ποταμὸς. So Gaisford prints on the authority of S and V. Other MSS have *Kios*. A river Ὀσκίος is mentioned by THUCYDIDES (ii. 96), and an *Œscus* by PLINY (N. H. iii. 26). *Oscius* and *Skios* are apparently merely local varieties of the same name, connected with each other as *Etruscus* and *Tuscus* (through the Umbrian *turske*); *δρυγμα* and *ruga*; *ἐρυθρός* and *ruber*; *ἐλεύθερος* and *liber*; *εσχεω* and *shy* (Germ. *schewen*); *effrayer* and *fray*. (Compare the etymological pairs given in note 278 on ii. 100.) The modern name of the *Œscus* is *Iskar*.

<sup>157</sup> μετὰ Κύνητας. These are probably the same people to whom he elsewhere gives the name of *Κυνήσιοι* (ii. 33). There is no variation whatever in the MSS in either passage.

Comparison  
of the Ister  
with the  
Nile.

των ὧν τῶν καταλεχθέντων καὶ ἄλλων πολλῶν συμβαλλομένων τὸ σφέτερον ὕδωρ, γίνεται ὁ Ἰστρος ποταμῶν μέγιστος· ἐπεὶ ὕδωρ γὰρ ἐν πρὸς ἐν συμβάλλειν, ὁ Νεῖλος πληθεῖ ἀποκρατέει· ἐς γὰρ δὴ τοῦτον οὔτε ποταμὸς, οὔτε κρήνη οὐδεμία ἐσδιδούσα, ἐς πληθὸς οἱ συμβάλλεται<sup>158</sup>. Ἰσος δὲ αἰεὶ ῥέει ἐν τε θέρεϊ καὶ χειμῶνι ὁ Ἰστρος, κατὰ τοιούδε τι, ὥς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν τοῦ μὲν χειμῶνός ἐστι ὅσοσπερ ἐστι, ὀλίγη τε μέζων τῆς ἐαυτοῦ φύσις γίνεται· ὕεται γὰρ ἡ γῆ αὕτη τοῦ χειμῶνος πάμπαν ὀλίγη, νιφετῷ δὲ πάντα χρέεται· τοῦ δὲ θέρεος ἡ χιών ἡ ἐν τῷ χειμῶνι πεσοῦσα, ἐοῦσα ἀμφιλαφής, τηκομένη πάντοθεν ἐσδιδοὶ ἐς τὸν Ἰστρον· αὕτη τε δὴ ἡ χιών ἐσδιδούσα ἐς αὐτὸν συμπληθύνει, καὶ ὄμβροι πολλοὶ τε καὶ λάβροι σὺν αὐτῇ· ὕει γὰρ δὴ τὸ θέρος· ὅσῳ δὲ πλεον ἐπ' ἐαυτὸν ὕδωρ ὁ ἥλιος ἐπέλκεται ἐν τῷ θέρεϊ ἢ ἐν τῷ χειμῶνι, τοσοῦτῳ τὰ συμμισγόμενα τῷ Ἰστρῳ πολλαπλασιάσθαι ἐστὶ τοῦ θέρεος ἥπερ τοῦ χειμῶνος· ἀντιτιθέμενα δὲ ταῦτα ἀντισήκωσις γίνεται, ὥστε ἴσον μιν αἰεὶ φαίνεσθαι εἶντα.

51 Next to the Ister is the Tyras, with the Hellenic Tyrítas at its mouth.

52 Then the Hypanis, which flows from a lake nine days' sail to the mouth.

The salt fountain at

Εἰς μὲν δὴ τῶν ποταμῶν τοῖσι Σκύθῃσι ἐστὶ ὁ Ἰστρος· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον, Τύρης· ὃς ἀπὸ βορέω μὲν ἀνέμου ὀρμάται, ἄρχεται δὲ ῥέων ἐκ λίμνης μεγάλης, ἣ οὐρῖζει τήν τε Σκυθικὴν καὶ τὴν Νευρίδα γῆν· ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ κατοικῆνται Ἕλληνες, οἱ Τυρίται καλεῖνται. Τρίτος δὲ Ἵπανις ποταμὸς ὀρμάται μὲν ἐκ τῆς Σκυθικῆς, ῥέει δὲ ἐκ λίμνης μεγάλης, τὴν πέριξ νέμονται ἵπποι ἄγριοι λευκοί· καλεῖται δ' ἡ λίμνη αὕτη ὀρθῶς μήτηρ Ἵπάνιος· ἐκ ταύτης ὧν ἀνατέλλων ὁ Ἵπανις ποταμὸς, ῥέει ἐπὶ μὲν πέντε ἡμερῶν πλόου βραχὺς καὶ γλυκὺς ἔτι<sup>159</sup>, ἀπὸ δὲ τούτου, πρὸς θαλάσσης τεσσέρων ἡμερῶν πλόου, πικρὸς αἰνῶς· ἐκδιδοὶ γὰρ ἐς αὐτὸν κρήνη πικρὴ, οὕτω δὴ τι ἐοῦσα πικρὴ, ἢ μεγάλῃ σμικρῇ<sup>160</sup> ἐοῦσα, κυρῶ τὸν Ἵπανιν εἶντα ποταμὸν ἐν ὀλίγοις μέγαν· ἔστι δὲ ἡ κρήνη αὕτη ἐν οὐροῖσι χώρας τῆς τε ἀροτήρων Σκυθῶν καὶ Ἀλαζώνων

<sup>158</sup> ἐς γὰρ δὴ τοῦτον . . . συμβάλλεται. The Nile receives many tributaries in Ethiopia, but the last tributary, the Atbara, falls into it as far south as lat. 16°, not less than six hundred miles above the frontier of Egypt. The statement of Herodotus in the text serves to furnish a limit of the distance to which any authentic knowledge of the country extended.

<sup>159</sup> γλυκὺς ἔτι. Some MSS have γλυ-

κὺς ἐστὶ. It has been conjectured with some probability that the saline quality of the waters of the Hypanis might have arisen from the effect of the s.w. winds driving the waters of the Euxine up the embouchure of the Borystheneis, and thus into the Hypanis.

<sup>160</sup> μεγάλῃ σμικρῇ. See note 157 on i. 51.

οὔνομα δὲ τῇ κρήνῃ, καὶ ὅθεν ῥέει τῷ χώρῳ, Σκυθιστὶ μὲν Ἑξαμ- *Ἑξαμπερσι.*  
παῖος<sup>161</sup>, κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἑλλήνων γλῶσσαν Ἰραὶ ὁδοί· συνάγουσι  
δὲ τὰ τέρματα ὃ τε Τύρης καὶ ὁ Ἵπανις κατὰ Ἀλάζωνας, τὸ δὲ  
ἀπὸ τούτου, ἀποστρέψας ἑκάτερος ῥέει εὐρύνων τὸ μέσον.

Τέταρτος δὲ Βορυσθένης ποταμός· ὃς ἐστὶ μέγιστός τε μετὰ 53  
Ἰστρον τούτων, καὶ πολυαρκέστατος κατὰ γνῶμας τὰς ἡμετέρας, Fourthly  
the Borys-  
sthenes.  
οὔτι μόνον τῶν Σκυθικῶν ποταμῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάν-  
των, πλὴν Νείλου τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου· τούτῳ γὰρ οὐκ οἶά τε ἐστὶ  
συμβαλέειν ἄλλον ποταμόν· τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν Βορυσθένης ἐστὶ  
πολυαρκέστατος, ὃς νομῆς τε καλλίστας καὶ εὐκομδεστάτας  
κτῆνεσι παρέχεται, ἰχθύας τε ἀρίστους διακριδὸν καὶ πλείστους  
πίνεσθαι τε ἥδιστός ἐστι· ῥέει τε καθαρὸς παρὰ θολεροῖσι· σπόρος  
τε παρ' αὐτὸν ἄριστος γίνεταί· ποίη τε, τῇ οὐ σπείρεται ἡ χώρα,  
βαθυτάτῃ· ἅλεις τε ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ αὐτόματοι πῆγνυνται  
ἄπλετοι· κήτεά τε μεγάλα ἀνάκανθα, τὰ ἀντακαίους καλέουσι<sup>162</sup>,  
παρέχεται ἐς ταρίχενσιν, ἄλλα τε πολλὰ θωυμάσαι ἄξια. μέχρι  
μὲν νυν Γέρρου χώρου, ἐς τὸν τεσσαράκοντα ἡμερέων πλόος ἐστὶ<sup>163</sup>, Its course  
is known  
as far as  
Gerrhus,  
forty days'  
γινώσκειται ῥέων ἀπὸ βορέω ἀνέμου· τὸ δὲ κατύπερθε δι' ὧν ῥέει  
ἀνθρώπων, οὐδεὶς ἔχει φράσαι· φαίνεται δὲ ῥέων δι' ἐρήμου ἐς  
τῶν γεωργῶν Σκυθῶν τὴν χώραν· οὔτοι γὰρ οἱ Σκύθαι παρ' αὐτὸν  
ἐπὶ δέκα ἡμερέων πλόον νέμονται. μύνου δὲ τούτου τοῦ ποταμοῦ  
καὶ Νείλου οὐκ ἔχω φράσαι τὰς πηγάς· δοκέω δὲ, οὐδὲ οὐδεὶς  
Ἑλλήνων. ἀγχοῦ τε δὴ θαλάσσης ὁ Βορυσθένης ῥέων γίνεταί, At its em-  
bouchure  
the Hypanis  
joins it, and  
there is a

<sup>161</sup> Ἑξαμπαῖος. RITTER (*Vorhalle*, p. 345) recognizes in this name the word 'hexenpfad,' of which *Irak* ὁδοί would be a very fair translation.

<sup>162</sup> τὰ ἀντακαίους καλέουσι. This is probably the fish called *deluga*, a species of sturgeon. CLARKE speaks of them as sometimes reaching an enormous size, although commonly not more than twelve feet in length (i. p. 360). The *ταρίχος ἀντακαίων* is mentioned by the comic poet ANTIPHANES (*ap. Athenæum*, iii. p. 118). It is probably the same as the *ταρίχος Ποντικῶν* of other writers. See note 54 on ii. 15.

<sup>163</sup> ἐς τὸν τεσσαράκοντα ἡμερέων πλόος ἐστὶ. The indirect character of much of Herodotus's information is shown by this statement of the locality of *Gerrhus*. He had heard it was the place where the Scythian kings were buried, that the

burial place of these kings was on the confines of Scythia (there being nothing but a desert beyond), and that it was high up the *Borysthenes*, as far as the river was navigable. But some accounts seem to have made this distance 11 days, some 40. (See §§ 18 and 71, compared with this.) The *Borysthenes* (*Dnieper*) is in fact only navigable for about 80 leagues above its mouth. (See note 57 on § 18, above.) The *Wolga*, on the other hand, is navigable almost to its source; and it is not impossible that the locality assigned to *Gerrhus* in the text partly arises from a confusion between these two rivers. Very near *Tver* (on the *Wolga*, about a day's journey from Moscow) there is now a group of tumuli, remarkably perfect in their forms and conspicuous from their situation. (CLARKE, *Travels*, i. p. 50.)

temple of  
Demeter  
and a Hel-  
lenic settle-  
ment.

καὶ οἱ συμμίσγεται ὁ Ἵπανις ἐς τὸν τὸ ἔλος ἐκδιδούς· τὸ δὲ μεταξὺ τῶν ποταμῶν τούτων ἐὼν ἐμβολον τῆς χώρας, Ἰππόλεω ἄκρη καλέεται· ἐν δὲ τὸ ἱὸν Δήμητρος ἐνίδρυται· πέρην δὲ τοῦ ἱοῦ ἐπὶ τῷ Ἵπάνι Βορυσθενεῖται κατοικηται. ταῦτα μὲν τὰ ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν ποταμῶν.

54  
Then comes  
the Panti-  
capes.

Μετὰ δὲ τούτους πέμπτος ποταμὸς ἄλλος τῷ ὄνομα Παντι-  
κάπης· ῥέει δὲ καὶ οὗτος ἀπὸ βορρῆς τε καὶ ἐκ λίμνης, καὶ τὸ  
μεταξὺ τούτου τε καὶ τοῦ Βορυσθένης νέμονται οἱ γεωργοὶ  
Σκύθαι<sup>164</sup>. ἐκδιδού δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἰπλίην παραμειψάμενος δὲ ταύτην,

55  
Next the  
Hyrcania.

τῷ Βορυσθένι συμμίσγεται. Ἐκτος δὲ Ἰπάκυρις ποταμὸς· δὲ  
ὀρμάται μὲν ἐκ λίμνης, διὰ μέσων δὲ τῶν νομάδων Σκυθῶν ῥέων,  
ἐκδιδού κατὰ Καρκινίτην πόλιν, ἐς δεξιὴν ἀπέρχων τὴν τε Ἰπλίην

56  
Next the  
Gerrhus.

καὶ τὸν Ἀχιλλήϊον καλεόμενον Δρόμον<sup>165</sup>. Ἑβδομος δὲ Γέρρος  
ποταμὸς ἀπέσχισται μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ Βορυσθένης κατὰ τοῦτο τῆς  
χώρας ἐς δὲ γινώσκεται ὁ Βορυσθένης· ἀπέσχισται μὲν νυν ἐκ τού-  
του τοῦ χώρου, ὄνομα δὲ ἔχει τόπερ ὁ χώρος αὐτός, Γέρρος, ῥέων  
δ' ἐς θάλασσαν, οὐρίζει τὴν τε τῶν Νομάδων χώραν, καὶ τὴν τῶν

57  
Next the  
Tanais, into  
which the  
Hyrgia  
flows.

βασιληῶν Σκυθῶν· ἐκδιδού δὲ ἐς τὸν Ἰπάκυριν. Ὀγδοὺς δὲ δὴ  
Τάναϊς ποταμὸς· δὲ ῥέει τὰ ἀνέκαθεν<sup>166</sup> ἐκ λίμνης μεγάλης ὀρμεώ-  
μενος, ἐκδιδού δὲ ἐς μέζω ἐτι λίμνην καλεομένην Μαιήτῳ, ἣ οὐρίζει  
Σκύθας τε τοὺς βασιληῆς καὶ Σαυρομάτας· ἐς δὲ Τάναϊν τοῦτον

58 ἄλλος ποταμὸς ἐσβάλλει τῷ ὀνόματι ἐστὶ Ἵργις<sup>167</sup>. Τοῖσι μὲν δὴ  
ὀνομαστοῖσι ποταμοῖσι οὕτω δὴ τι οἱ Σκύθαι ἐσκευάδαται· τοῖσι

<sup>164</sup> τὸ μεταξὺ τούτου . . . οἱ γεωργοὶ Σκύθαι. STRABO expressly says that the Scythians who have the name of γεωργοὶ are the inhabitants of the Tauric peninsula. The soil from where the mountains begin to dip to the north was extremely rich, rendering thirty-fold with the rudest cultivation. The corn tribute paid to Mithridates from this region was no less than 180,000 *medimni*; and Leucon (of whom DEMOSTHENES speaks in the Oration against Leptines) was said to have shipped no less than 2,100,000 *medimni* at Theodosia for the Athenians (vii. c. 4, p. 97).

<sup>165</sup> τὸν Ἀχιλλήϊον Δρόμον. STRABO (xi. c. 2, p. 402) mentions an Ἀχιλλεῖος κόμη and a temple to Achilles upon the eastern shore of the entrance to the sea of Azof, exactly where the strait was the narrowest,—about 20 *stadia* across. Per-

haps in all these cases there was one of the barrows which abound so much in this part of the world. ALCEUS (fr. 49, *Bergk*) addressed Achilles as ὁ τὰς Σκυθικῶν μέγας, which is an indication that he was recognised very generally as a hero by the Hellenic settlers in Scythia. But this is not so likely to have been owing to the real or professed descent of the *οἰκιστὰς* of these several settlements from him, as to the very general existence of barrows similar to those which were already familiar to them in the Troad, and which were already coupled with the Homeric legend of Achilles. See note on v. 94.

<sup>166</sup> τὰ ἀνέκαθεν. See note on v. 62.

<sup>167</sup> Ἵργις. See note 315 on § 123. The modern name of this river is said to be *Seversky*, in which some slight vestige of its ancient title may be traced.

δὲ κτήνεσι ἢ ποίῃ ἀναφυομένη ἐν τῇ Σκυθικῇ, ἔστι ἐπιχολωτάτη<sup>168</sup> Richness  
 πασέων ποείων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν ἀνοιγομένοισι δὲ τοῖσι κτήνεσι  
 ἔστι σταθμώσασθαι, ὅτι τοῦτο οὕτως ἔχει. Scythian  
 grass.

Τὰ μὲν δὴ μέγιστα οὕτω σφι εὐπορά ἐστι. τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ 59  
 νόμαια κατὰ τὰδε σφι διακέεται· θεοὺς μὲν μούνους τούσδε Scythian  
 ἰλίσκονται· Ἰστίην μὲν μάλιστα· ἐπὶ δὲ, Δία τε καὶ Γῆν, Their  
 deities,  
 νομίζοντες τὴν Γῆν τοῦ Διὸς εἶναι γυναικα· μετὰ δὲ τούτους,  
 Ἀπόλλωνά τε καὶ οὐρανίην Ἀφροδίτην, καὶ Ἡρακλέα, καὶ Ἄρεα  
 τούτους μὲν πάντες οἱ Σκύθαι νενομίκασι· οἱ δὲ καλούμενοι βασι-  
 λῆϊοι Σκύθαι καὶ τῷ Ποσειδῶνι θύουσιν· οὐνομάζεται δὲ Σκυθιστὶ,  
 Ἰστίη μὲν Ταβιτί· Ζεὺς δὲ (ὀρθότατα, κατὰ γνώμην γε τὴν ἐμὴν,  
 καλούμενος) Παπαῖος· Γῇ δὲ Ἀπία<sup>169</sup>. Ἀπόλλων δὲ Οἰτόσυρος  
 οὐρανίη δὲ Ἀφροδίτῃ Ἀρτίμπασα<sup>170</sup>. Ποσειδῶν δὲ Θαμμιασά-  
 δας<sup>171</sup>. ἀγάλματα δὲ καὶ βωμοὺς καὶ νηοὺς οὐ νομίζουσι ποιεῖν,  
 πλὴν Ἀργῷ· τούτῳ δὲ νομίζουσι. Θυσίῃ δὲ ἡ αὐτὴ πᾶσι κατ- 60  
 ἔστηκε περὶ πάντα τὰ ἱρὰ ὁμοίως, ἐρδομένη ὥδε τὸ μὲν ἱρήϊον ritual,  
 αὐτὸ<sup>172</sup> ἐμπροσθίον τὸν ἐμπροσθίον πόδας ἔστηκε· ὁ δὲ

<sup>168</sup> ἐπιχολωτάτη. The MSS vary between this reading, ἐπίσχυλωτάτη, ἐπιχλωστάτη, and ἐπιχολωτάτη.

<sup>169</sup> Ζεὺς . . . Ἀπία. These two reputed Scythian words seem to be unquestionably of the Indo-Germanic family of languages. *Apia* is the name by which a portion of the Peloponnesus was anciently called (*ÆSCHYLUS, Supplices*, 260—269), and it is probably identical in etymology with the word *ἡπία*, and originally an epithet of the Earth considered as an object of worship (*Διόμαι μὲν Ἀπίαν βοῦνιν, Suppl.* 117, 127). *Artimpasa*, if genuine, seems to be merely another form of *Artemis* with an affix. *Oitosyros* is most suspiciously like *olros Xēros*—the Syrian dirge or chant, of which the proper name was *Linus*. (See note 207 on ii. 79.) *Thammasidas*, too, suggests the *Thammas* of *EZEKIEL* (viii. 14) in a Hellenic dress, especially if the reading *θαμμιασά* (which is apparently *θαφιμασά*) be adopted. So that all these names, with the exception of *Tabiti*—and perhaps that too may be the  
<sup>170</sup> *Tophet* of 2 *Kings* xxiii. 10—seem to belong either to an Achaean or a Syro-phoenician language, and to all appearance are not genuine Scythian. In that case the authority for them could hardly be any other than one whose occupation brought

him into contact with Achæans and Phœnicians. See note 368 on i. 105.

<sup>170</sup> Ἀρτίμπασα. So Gaisford prints with S, V, and Hesychius. But the majority of the MSS have Ἀρτίμπασα, and some, with Origen Ἀργίμπασα. For *οἰτόσυρος* ORIGEN has *γογγύσυρος*, and HESYCHIUS *γοιτόσυρος*, which is, no doubt, *γοιτόσυρος*.

<sup>171</sup> Θαμμιασάδας. So Gaisford prints with the majority of MSS. But S, V, a, c, d have *Θαμισμασά*, and ORIGEN *Θαμιασάδα*.

<sup>172</sup> αὐτὸ, "by itself," i. e. without any attendant holding it; so as to present the appearance of advancing to the altar of its own accord. Similarly v. 85, *ἀνακομισθῆναι αὐτὸν ἐς Φάληρον*, "got back to Phalerum alone," all his companions having been slain. The idiom familiar in Attic colloquial language: *αὐτὸ σημαίνει*, "the matter will itself explain," is analogous to that in the text. VIRGIL uses the Latin pronoun *ipse* in the same manner:—

"*Ipse lacte domum referent distenta capellæ  
 Ubera.*" (*Bucol.* iv. 21.)

In all the sacrifices of the ancients the willingness of the victim was regarded as

61

mode of  
cooking the  
flesh of the  
victims.

θύων, ὅπισθε τοῦ κτήνεος ἑστέως, σπάσας τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ στρόφου καταβάλλει μιν πίπτοντος δὲ τοῦ ἱρήτου, ἐπικαλεῖ τὸν θεὸν τῷ ἂν θύῃ· καὶ ἔπειτα βρόχῳ περὶ ὧν ἔβαλε τὸν αἰχλῆνα· σκυταλῖδα δὲ ἐμβαλὼν περιάγει καὶ ἀποσπνύγει, οὔτε πῦρ ἀνακαύσας, οὔτε καταρξάμενος, οὔτ' ἐπισπείσας· ἀποσπνύξας δὲ καὶ ἀποδείρας τράπεται πρὸς ἔψησιν. Τῆς δὲ γῆς τῆς Σκυθικῆς αἰνῶς ἀξύλου ἐούσης, ὠδέ σφι ἐς τὴν ἔψησιν τῶν κρεῶν ἐξεύρηται· ἔπεαν ἀποδείρωσι τὰ ἱρήια, γυμνοῦσι τὰ ὀστέα τῶν κρεῶν· ἔπειτα ἐσβάλλουσι, ἣν μὲν τύχῳσι ἔχοντες λέβητας ἐπιχωρίους, μάλιστα Λεσβίοισι κρητῆρσι προσεκέλους χωρὶς ἢ ὅτι πολλῷ μέζονας, ἐς τούτους ἐσβάλλοντες, ἔψουσι ὑποκαίοντες τὰ ὀστέα τῶν ἱρήτων· ἣν δὲ μὴ σφι παρῇ λέβης, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὰς γαστέρας τῶν ἱρήτων ἐσβάλλοντες τὰ κρέα πάντα καὶ παραμίξαντες ὕδωρ, ὑποκαίουσι τὰ ὀστέα<sup>173</sup>. τὰ δὲ αἰθεται κάλλιστα· αἱ δὲ γαστέρες χωρέουσι εὐπετέως τὰ κρέα ἐφιλωμένα τῶν ὀστέων· καὶ οὕτω βοῖς τε ἑωντὸν ἐξέψει, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἱρήια ἑωντὸ ἕκαστον· ἔπεαν δὲ ἐψηθῇ τὰ κρέα, ὁ θύσας τῶν κρεῶν καὶ τῶν σπλάγχχνων ἀπαρξάμενος ῥίπτει ἐς τὸ ἔμπροσθεν<sup>174</sup>. θύουσι δὲ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πρόβατα καὶ ἵππους μάλιστα.

62

Pile of *Ares*  
on which

Τοῖσι μὲν δὴ ἄλλοισι τῶν θεῶν οὕτω θύουσι καὶ ταῦτα τῶν κτηνῶν, τῷ δὲ δὴ Ἀρῇ ὦδε· κατὰ νομοὺς ἕκαστοισι τῶν ἀρχηγῶν<sup>175</sup>

a good omen. Hence in the Moloch ritual, where parents sacrificed their own children, MINUCIUS FELIX speaks of their very carcases being employed to produce the appearance of this: "osculo compri- mente vagitum, ne *stebilis hostia* immola- retur" (§ 30); and of the same thing TERTULLIAN says: "infantibus blandi- ebantur, ne *lacrumanies* immolarentur." (*Apolog.* § 9.)

<sup>173</sup> ὑποκαίουσι τὰ ὀστέα. Compare EZEKIEL xxiv. 5.

<sup>174</sup> ἀπαρξάμενος ῥίπτει ἐς τὸ ἔμπροσθεν. The feeling embodied in this act seems to be that the deity to whom the sacrifice is made is present, invisible, and ready to receive his *portion* of the feast. Compare the practice described in iii. 24. Thus the *Lar*, in the old Italian religions, always was served first; and HORACE gives his legacy-hunter the advice, "Ante *Larem* gustet venerabilior *Lare* dives." The act implied in the word *κατάρχεισθαι* is the dedication of the *whole victim* to the deity, to whom it was conceived not to belong until this ceremony had taken

place. Thus Dido was unable to die before she had been thus dedicated. VIR- GIL says (*Æn.* iv. 680):—

"Nondum illi flammam Proserpina vertice  
crinem  
Abstulerat, Stygioque caput damnaverat  
Orco."

The absence of any such proceeding from the Scythian sacrifices indicates the rude and savage condition of the people as compared with other pagan nations of antiquity.

<sup>175</sup> τῶν ἀρχηγῶν. The manuscripts S and V have ἀρχαίων, but the text is apparently genuine. The word ἀρχαίων is more appropriate to the seat of a prefecture, or jurisdiction, such as those which were familiar to the civilized nations of anti- quity, than to Scythia; and its use here must be regarded rather as an adaptation, like that of the word *ἱρά*, § 60, above, to the places where sacrifices were offered, although there were no *temples*. The word *νομάρχης* (§ 66, below) seems a similar adaptation.



ἐσιδρυταί σφι Ἄρης ἱὸν τοιόνδε φρυγάνων φάκελοι συννεύεται captives are immolated.  
 ὅσον τ' ἐπὶ σταδίου τρεῖς μῆκος καὶ εἶρος, ὕψος δὲ ἔλασσον ἄνω  
 δὲ τούτου, τετράγωνον ἄπεδον <sup>176</sup> πεποιήται· καὶ τὰ μὲν τρία τῶν  
 κώλων ἐστὶ ἀπότομα, κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἐν, ἐπιβατόν· ἔτεος δὲ ἐκάστου  
 ἀμάξας πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ἐπινέουσι φρυγάνων ὑπουοστέει  
 γὰρ δὴ αἰεὶ ὑπὸ τῶν χειμώνων. ἐπὶ τούτου δὴ τοῦ ὄγκου ἀκινάκης  
 σιδήρεος ἔδρυται <sup>177</sup> ἀρχαῖος ἐκάστοισι, καὶ τοῦτ' ἔστι τοῦ Ἄρης  
 τὸ ἄγαλμα· τούτῳ δὲ τῷ ἀκινάκει θυσίας ἐπετελοῦσι προσάγουσι  
 προβάτων καὶ ἵππων, καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῖσδ' ἔτι πλέω θύουσι ἢ τοῖσι  
 ἄλλοις θεοῖσι· ὅσους δ' ἂν τῶν πολεμίων ζωγρήσωσι, ἀπὸ τῶν  
 ἑκατὸν ἀνδρῶν ἄνδρα ἓνα θύουσι, τρόπῳ οὐ τῷ αὐτῷ ᾧ καὶ τὰ πρό-  
 βατα, ἀλλ' ἑτεροῖν· ἐπεὶ γὰρ οἶνον ἐπισπείωσι κατὰ τῶν κεφα-  
 λέων, ἀποσφάζουσι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐς ἄγρος <sup>178</sup>, καὶ ἔπειτα ἀνεύ-  
 καντες ἄνω ἐπὶ τὸν ὄγκον τῶν φρυγάνων καταχέουσι τὸ αἷμα τοῦ  
 ἀκινάκεος· ἄνω μὲν δὴ φορέουσι τοῦτο· κάτω δὲ παρὰ τὸ ἱὸν  
 ποιεῖσι τάδε· τῶν ἀποσφαγέντων ἀνδρῶν τοὺς δεξιὸς ὤμους  
 πάντας ἀποτάμνοντες σὺν τῇσι χερσὶ <sup>179</sup> ἐς τὸν ἥερα ἰεῖσι, καὶ  
 ἔπειτα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἀπέρξαντες <sup>180</sup> ἱρήϊα ἀπαλλάσσονται· χεῖρ δὲ  
 τῇ ἂν πέσῃ κέεται, καὶ χωρὶς ὁ νεκρός· θυσῖαι μὲν νῦν αὐταί σφι **63**  
 κατεστέασι, ὕς δὲ οὗτοι οὐδὲν νομίζουσι <sup>181</sup>. οὐδὲ τρέφειν ἐν τῇ Swine are not kept in Scythia.  
 χώρῃ τὸ παράπαν θέλουσι.

<sup>176</sup> ἄπεδον. The manuscripts S, V, A, B have ἐπιπέδον.

<sup>177</sup> ἀκινάκης σιδήρεος ἔδρυται. AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS represents the Alans and Huns of his time as symbolizing their deity by a sword stuck into the ground (xix. 2). Attila professed to have a peculiarly sacred idol of this description, which was found by a herdsman who had observed one of his heifers limping. Following the track of the blood he came to a sword stuck in the ground, which he took up and carried to the king, who received it as the sword of Mars, and considered that it indicated a mission to himself to conquer the whole world. (*Valesius ad Ammian. Marcellin. l. c.*) See too note 187, below.

<sup>178</sup> ἀποσφάζουσι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐς ἄγρος. See iii. 11, and note 35 thereon.

<sup>179</sup> σὺν τῇσι χερσὶ, "arms and all," not "hands and all." See the note 351 on ii. 121. The notion of the sacrificers seems to have been to deprive the corpse

of that limb which was, while life remained, serviceable for war. This would be the whole arm, but especially those muscles which are most called into play in the actions of hurling the spear, striking with the sword, or shooting with the bow, i. e. the muscles of the upper arm and shoulder. Hence Iolaus in *ΕΥΡΙΠΙΔΕΣ (Heracl. 740)*, lamenting his enfeebled condition, says:—

εἴθ' ὃ βραχίον, ὅλον ἠβήσαντά σε  
 μεμνημέθ' ἡμεῖς, ἦνίκα ἐν Ἑρακλεῖ  
 Σπάρτην ἐπύρθεῖς, ξύμμαχος γένουί μοι  
 τοιοῦτος.

<sup>180</sup> ἀπέρξαντες. This is an *orist* following the analogy of a non-existent present *ἔργω*, of which a relic still remains in the perfect *ἔργα*. HESYCHIUS explains *ἔργον* by *θύσον*. Translate: "and then after finishing the offering of the other victims too, they go away."

<sup>181</sup> ὕς δὲ οὗτοι οὐδὲν νομίζουσι. It is not to be considered that the word *νομί-*

64

Ferocity of  
the Scy-  
thians;

Practice of  
scalping and  
flaying their  
enemies.

Quality of  
the human  
skin.

Τὰ δ' ἐς πόλεμον ἔχοντα ὧδέ σφι διακέεται· ἐπεὰν τὸν πρῶτον  
ἄνδρα καταβάλῃ ἀνὴρ Σκύθης, τοῦ αἵματος ἐμπλίνει ὄσους δ' ἂν  
φονεύσῃ ἐν τῇ μάχῃ, τούτων τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀποφέρει<sup>153</sup> τῷ βασιλεῖ·  
ἀπενείκας μὲν γὰρ κεφαλὴν τῆς ληΐης μεταλαμβάνει τὴν ἂν  
λάβωσι, μὴ ἐνείκας δὲ οὐκ ἀποδίδει· δὲ αὐτὴν τρὶς τοιῶδες περι-  
ταμὼν κύκλῳ περὶ τὰ ὦτα, καὶ λαβόμενος τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐκσεῖε·  
μετὰ δὲ, σαρκίσας βοὸς πλευρῇ δέψει τῇσι χερσὶ ὀργήσας<sup>154</sup> δὲ  
αὐτὸ ἅτε χειρόμακτρον ἔκτεται· ἐκ δὲ τῶν χαλινῶν τοῦ ἵππου τὸν  
αὐτὸς ἐλαίνει, ἐκ τούτου ἐξάπτει, καὶ ἀγάλλεται· ὃς γὰρ ἂν  
πλεῖστα δέρματα χειρόμακτρα ἔχῃ, ἀνὴρ ἄριστος οὗτος κέκριται·  
πολλοὶ δὲ αὐτῶν ἐκ τῶν ἀποδερμάτων καὶ χλαῖνας ἐπέλυσσθαι  
ποιεῖσι, συρράπτοντες κατὰ περ βαίτας· πολλοὶ δὲ ἀνδρῶν ἐχθρῶν  
τὰς δεξιὰς χέρας νεκρῶν ἐόντων<sup>155</sup> ἀποδεδραίναντες<sup>156</sup> αὐτοῖσι ὄνυξι,  
καλύπτρας τῶν φαρετρέων ποιεῖνται· δέρμα δὲ ἀνθρώπου καὶ  
παχὺ καὶ λαμπρὸν ἦν ἄρα σχεδὸν δερμάτων πάντων λαμπρό-  
τατον λευκότητι<sup>157</sup>. πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ὄλους ἄνδρας ἐκδεδραίναντες καὶ  
διατείναντες ἐπὶ ξύλων, ἐπ' ἵππων περιφέρουσι<sup>158</sup>. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ

ζουσι takes the dative case after it in this passage retaining its usual sense, but that it is the equivalent of *χρῶνται*, with the notion of *custom* superadded, and consequently used in the regimen of *χρῶνται*. So below, § 117, Herodotus says, *φωνῇ οἱ Σαυρομάται νομίζουσι Σκυθικῇ* (*habitually use the Scythian tongue*). See the note 132 on ii. 44.

<sup>153</sup> *τούτων τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀποφέρει*. POSEIDONIUS (*ap. Strabon. iv. c. 4, p. 319*) notes it as a distinctive peculiarity of all the northern nations to scalp their dead enemies, and nail the skin of their faces to the front of their houses. The Gauls who took Rome spent the whole of the day succeeding the battle they won in decapitating the dead. (DIODORUS, xiv. 115.)

<sup>154</sup> *ὀργήσας*. So Gaisford prints on the authority of S and V. But the majority of the MSS have *ὀργίσας*. Perhaps *ὀργήσας*, as from a form *ὀργάω*, is the true reading.

<sup>155</sup> *νεκρῶν ἐόντων*. According to CLARKE, the banditti haunting the steppes of southern Russia are now accustomed by way of revenge to cut the skin round the upper part of the legs of their victims, and then strip it off by the feet. This is called "giving a man a pair of red boots"

—boots of red leather being commonly worn in the Ukraine. (*Travels*, ii. p. 327.)

<sup>156</sup> *ἀποδεδραίναντες*. So Gaisford prints. But the word appears to rest on next to no authority, S and the Aldine edition adding καὶ *διατείναντες*, and the other MSS omitting the word altogether.

<sup>157</sup> *ἦν ἄρα σχεδὸν δερμάτων πάντων λαμπρότατον λευκότητι*. This passage has occasioned a great deal of difficulty to the commentators, and I am far from satisfied that the passage is sound. If it be, I should consider that *ἦν* is to be taken in the sense of *ἐμελλε ἵσθαι*, and regard the paragraph as an inference from the general qualities which have just been predicated of the human skin, and explaining the object which the Scythians would have in view in their barbarous practice. Translate: "But human skin being both thick and shiny, would of course be calculated to take the brightest appearance in point of whiteness of almost all skins."

<sup>158</sup> *ἐπ' ἵππων περιφέρουσι*. AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS (xxx. 2) attributes this, and some other of the Scythian practices, to the *Alans* and *Huns* of his time, who are to be looked for east of the Tanais. Perhaps it is common to most warlike and barbarous nomads.

οὕτω σφι νενόμισται. Αὐτὰς δὲ τὰς κεφαλὰς, οὐ τι πάντων ἀλλὰ 65  
 τῶν ἐχθίστων<sup>188</sup>, ποιεῖσι τάδε· ἀποπρίσας ἕκαστος πᾶν τὸ ἐνερθε  
 τῶν ὀφρύων, ἐκκαθαίρει· καὶ ἦν μὲν ἡ πένης, ὃ δὲ ἔξωθεν ὠμοβοήην  
 μούνην περιτείνας οὕτω χρᾶται· ἦν δὲ ἡ πλούσιος, τὴν μὲν ὠμο-  
 βοήην περιτείνει, ἔσωθεν δὲ περιχρυσώσας οὕτω χρᾶται ποτηρίῃ·  
 ποιεῖσι δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ἐκ τῶν οἰκητῶν, ἦν σφι διάφοροι γένωνται,  
 καὶ ἦν ἐπικρατήσῃ αὐτοῦ παρὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ· ξείνων δὲ οἱ ἐλθόντων  
 τῶν ἂν λόγον ποιέηται, τὰς κεφαλὰς ταύτας παραφέρει, καὶ ἐπι-  
 λέγει ὥς οἱ ἔοντες οἰκήϊοι πόλεμον προσεθήκαντο καὶ σφρων αὐτὸς  
 ἐπεκράτησε· ταύτην ἀνδραγαθίην λέγοντες. "Απαξ δὲ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ 66  
 ἑκάστου ὁ νομάρχης<sup>189</sup> ἕκαστος ἐν τῷ ἔωτου νομῷ κινῶ κρητῆρα  
 οἶνου, ἀπ' οὗ πίνουνσι τῶν Σκυθῶν ὅσοις ἂν ἄνδρες πολέμοι  
 ἀραιρημένοι ἔωσι· τοῖσι δ' ἂν μὴ κατεργασμένοι ἡ τοῦτο, οὐ  
 γεύονται τοῦ οἶνου τούτου, ἀλλ' ἡτιμωμένοι ἀποκατέαται· ὄνειδος  
 δὲ σφί ἐστι μέγιστον τοῦτο· ὅσοι δὲ ἂν αὐτῶν καὶ κάρτα πολλοὺς  
 ἄνδρας ἀναιρηκότες ἔωσι, οὗτοι δὲ σύνδυο κύλικας ἔχοντες, πίνουνσι  
 ὁμοῦ.

Μάντιες δὲ Σκυθῶν εἰσὶ πολλοὶ, οἱ μαντεύονται ῥάβδοις 67  
 ἰτεῖνθσι πολλῇσι ὧδε· ἐπεὰν φακέλους ῥάβδων μεγάλους ἐνέλικω-  
 νται, θέντες χαμαὶ διεξελίσσουσι αὐτοὺς· καὶ ἐπὶ μίαν ἑκάστην  
 ῥάβδον τιθέντες, θεσπίζουσι ἅμα τε λέγοντες ταῦτα συνελεύουσι  
 τὰς ῥάβδους ὀπίσω, καὶ αὐτὶς κατὰ μίαν συντιθεῖσι<sup>190</sup>. αὕτη μὲν  
 σφι ἡ μαντικὴ πατρῴη ἐστὶ· οἱ δὲ Ἑνάρεις<sup>191</sup> [οἱ ἀνδρό-  
 The Ema-  
 roes.

<sup>188</sup> ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐχθίστων. PLATO (*Euthydemus*, § 66) attributes to the Scythians the practice of setting in gold the skulls, not of their enemies, but their relatives, as Herodotus asserts of the Issedones, above, § 26.

<sup>189</sup> ὁ νομάρχης. See above, note 175 on § 62.

<sup>190</sup> This kind of rabdomancy is apparently the same as that attributed by AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS to the Alans of his time: "Rectiores virgas vimineas colligentes, easque cum incantamentis quibusdam secretis præstituto tempore discernentes, aperte quid portendatur norunt" (xxxi. 2). These sticks seem to have been treated as push-pins. But the divination by *marked* sticks described by TACITUS (*German.* § 10) seems more analogous to the petalomanancy attributed by VIRGIL to the Sibyl of Cumæ (*Æneid* vi. 74).

<sup>191</sup> οἱ δὲ Ἑνάρεις. ARISTOTLE (*Ethica Nicom.* vii. 8, p. 1150) speaks of a *μαλακία*, which is a family vice with the Scythian kings, and perhaps the same thing is the foundation for attributing an androgynous character to the Ἑνάρεις. HIPPOCRATES however gives a physical reason for a phenomenon which was imputed by the ignorance of the sufferers to the direct interposition of Aphrodite. (*De aere, aquis, locis*, pp. 561, 2.) It is remarked by Hippocrates that the disease prevails chiefly among the *higher classes* of the Scythians,—for which also he gives a physical reason. With regard to the etymology of the name, see note 368 on i. 106. Exactly the same complaint has been found in recent times among the Nogay Tartars. (REINROD, *ap. Adelung's Mithridates*, i. p. 472.)

- γυνοι<sup>192</sup>] τὴν Ἀφροδίτην σφι λέγουσι μαντικὴν δοῦναι· φιλήρης ὦν φλοιῷ μαντεύονται· ἐπεὰν τὴν φιλήρην τρήχα σχίσῃ, διαπλέκων ἐν τοῖσι δακτύλοις τοῖσι ἐωυτοῦ καὶ διαλύων χρῶ<sup>193</sup>. Ἐπεὰν δὲ βασιλεὺς ὁ Σκυθῶν κάμη, μεταπέμπεται τῶν μαντῶν ἄνδρας τρεῖς τοὺς εὐδοκίμεοντας μάλιστα, οἱ τρόπῳ τῷ εἰρημένῳ μαντεύονται· καὶ λέγουσι οὗτοι ὡς τὸ ἐπίπαν μάλιστα τάδε, ὡς τὰς βασιλῆας ἰστίας ἐπιόρηκε ὃς καὶ ὃς, λέγοντες τῶν ἀστῶν τὸν ἄν δὴ λέγουσι· τὰς δὲ βασιλῆας ἰστίας νόμος Σκύθησι τὰ μάλιστα ἔστι ὁμνῦναι τότε, ἐπεὰν τὸν μέγιστον ὄρκον ἐθέλωσι ὁμνῦναι· αὐτίκα δὲ διαλελαμμένος ἄγεται<sup>194</sup> οὗτος τὸν ἄν δὴ φῶσι ἐπιορκῆσαι· ἀπυγμένον δὲ ἐλέγχουσι οἱ μάντιες, ὡς ἐπιορκήσας φαίνεται ἐν τῇ μαντικῇ τὰς βασιλῆας ἰστίας, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα ἀλγέει ὁ βασιλεὺς· ὁ δὲ ἀρρέεται, οὐ φάμενος ἐπιορκῆσαι, καὶ δεινολογέεται· ἀρνεομένου δὲ τούτου, ὁ βασιλεὺς μεταπέμπεται [ἄλλους<sup>195</sup>] διπλησίους μάντιας· καὶ ἦν μὲν μιν καὶ οὗτοι, ἐσορέωντες ἐς τὴν μαντικὴν, καταδήσῃσι ἐπιορκῆσαι<sup>196</sup>, τοῦ δὲ ἰθέως τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτάμνουσι καὶ τὰ χρήματα αὐτοῦ διαλαγχάνουσι οἱ πρῶτοι τῶν μαντῶν ἦν δὲ οἱ ἐπελθόντες μάντιες ἀπολύσῃσι, ἄλλοι πάρεσι μάντιες, καὶ μάλα ἄλλοι· ἦν ὦν οἱ πλευνες τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀπολύσῃσι, δέδοκται τοῖσι πρῶτοις τῶν μαντῶν αὐτοῖσι ἀπόλυσθαι. Ἀπολλύσι δὴτα αὐτοὺς τρόπῳ τοιῷδε· ἐπεὰν ἄμαξαν<sup>197</sup>

Proceedings in case of the sickness of the chiefs when the soothsayers are not agreed.

<sup>192</sup> οἱ ἀνδρόγυνοι. The majority of the MSS have καὶ οἱ ἀνδρόγυνοι, and one (d) καὶ ἀνδρόγυνοι. It appears to me that οἱ ἀνδρόγυνοι is originally a gloss of οἱ ἐνδρες, which, having been originally placed in the margin, was introduced in three different ways into the existing MSS. Gaisford, who prints οἱ ἀνδρόγυνοι, follows S, V, a, c, and Valla.

<sup>193</sup> ἐπεὰν τὴν φιλήρην . . διαλύων χρῶ. The number three appears as a sacred one in the religious rites of nations the most widely separated from one another. VIGIL (*Bucol.* viii. 77) makes the subject of Alpheus's song say:

"Necte tribus nodis ternos, Amarylli, colores:

Necte, Amarylli, modo, et 'Veneris' dic, 'vincula necto.'"

One form of the divining rod was a year's shoot of hazel, forked, and with the forks twisted three times (GRIMM, *Deutsche Mythologie*, p. 546); and perhaps the

singular epithet given in the *Homeric Hymn* (530) to the rod of Hermes (τριπέτηλον), rests upon a similar feeling.

<sup>194</sup> διαλελαμμένος ἄγεται, "he is seized and brought." See note 402 on i. 114.

<sup>195</sup> [ἄλλους]. This word is omitted in S.

<sup>196</sup> καταδήσῃσι ἐπιορκῆσαι. A similar expression is used in ii. 174: κατέδησαν φάρα εἶναι.

<sup>197</sup> ἄμαξαν. The manuscripts S and V add the word καμάρης, and it is not impossible that this is a genuine reading, and that καμάρη meant "a tilted wagon." POLLUX (x. 52) gives Herodotus as an authority for κάμαραι being equivalent to ὀχήματα στεγαστά, and it is possible that he has this passage in his eye, and not i. 199. TACITUS (*Hist.* iii. 47) gives the local name of *camarae* to certain covered boats, something like the Venetian gondola, made by the inhabitants of the coast in the neighbourhood of Trebisund; and STRABO (xi. c. 2, p. 405) says the Greeks

φρυγάνων πλήσωσι, καὶ ὑποζεύξωσι βούς, ἐμποδίσαντες τοὺς μάντιας, καὶ χέρας ὀπίσω δήσαντες, καὶ στομώσαντες<sup>198</sup>, κατειργυῖσι ἐς μέσα τὰ φρύγανα· ὑποπρήσαντες δὲ αὐτὰ, ἀπικίεισι φοβήσαντες τοὺς βούς· πολλοὶ μὲν δὴ συγκατακαίονται τοῖσι μάντισι βόες, πολλοὶ δὲ περικεκαυμένοι ἀποφεύγουσι, ἐπεὰν αὐτῶν ὁ ῥυμός κατακαυθῇ. κατακαίουσι δὲ τρόπῳ τῷ εἰρημένῳ καὶ δι' ἄλλας αἰτίας τοὺς μάντιας, ψευδομάντιας καλέουσιν. τοὺς δ' ἂν ἀποκτείνῃ βασιλεὺς, τούτων οὐδὲ τοὺς παῖδας λείπει· ἀλλὰ πάντα τὰ ἔρσενα κτείνει, τὰ δὲ θήλεα οὐκ ἀδικεῖ.

They burn the false soothsayers alive.

“Ὅρκια δὲ ποιεῦνται Σκύθαι ὧδε, πρὸς τοὺς ἂν ποιεῶνται· ἐς 70 κύλικα μεγάλην κεραμῆνην οἶνον ἐγχέαντες, αἷμα συμμίσχουσιν τῶν τὰ ὅρκια ταμνομένων<sup>199</sup>, τύψαντες ὅπῃτι ἢ ἐπιταμόντες μαχαίρῃ

Mode of plighting their faith.

give the same name to similar boats used in the Bosphorus. And although with us the tilt is accessory to the wagon, yet with the Scythians the wain would be rather considered as accessory to the tent which formed the sole habitation of its owner (see § 121 and note 146, above); and thus *ἀμαξα καμάρης* would be a more appropriate phrase than *καμάρη ἀμαξίης*. (See the note 673 on i. 199.) It is, at any rate, extremely difficult to account for the introduction of the word *καμάρης* by a copyist,—very much more so than for its expulsion. RUBRQUIS, who visited the Crimea in 1253, describes the wagons of Scacatari as “laden with houses.” These consisted of a frame of wicker, covered with black or white felt, and thirty feet in diameter. They were placed upon huge wains drawn each by twenty-two oxen, and were lifted bodily off these carriages.

<sup>198</sup> *στομώσαντες*, “having gagged them.” This was to prevent the imprecations of the dying man being audible; as a curse uttered under such circumstances would be regarded as possessing a fatal power. MARCO POLO relates that when Kublai Khan put his kinsman Nayan, who had rebelled against him, to death, he did it by having him wrapped in a carpet, and violently tossed to and fro until he died. “This mode of death was adopted, that being of imperial lineage, his blood might not be shed upon the ground, nor his cries ascend into the air.” But the attachment of extraordinary validity to the expressions of a dying person was not peculiar to the Scythians. It ap-

pears in the description by ÆSCHYLUS of the sacrifice of Iphigenia, where Agamemnon is made to order the attendants *στόματος καλλιπέρου φυλακὰν κατασχῆναι, φθόγγον ἀραίον οἴκοις, βία χαλινῶν τ' ἀναυδῶς μένει* (*Agam.* 236); and, in fact, the feeling on which it rests is a part of universal human nature.

<sup>199</sup> *αἷμα συμμίσχουσιν τῶν τὰ ὅρκια ταμνομένων*. LUCIAN makes the Scythians use a form of proceeding compounded of the one described in the text and of that which Tacitus imputes to the Armenians. (See TACITUS, quoted in the note 258 on i. 74.) *ἀφ' οὗ γὰρ ἐντεμόντες ἀπαῖ τοὺς δακτύλους ἐνσταλάξμεν τὸ αἷμα εἰς κύλικα, καὶ τὰ ξίφη ἄκρα βδύσαντες ἀμα ἀμφοτέροι ἐπισχόμενοι πίωμεν, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅ,τι μετὰ τοῦτο ἡμᾶς διαδόσειεν ἔλν.* (*Isaur.* § 37.) The practice of tasting blood as a part of a solemn proceeding existed in the old religions of the Italian peninsula. FÆSTUS (*sub v.*) says, “*Assiratus apud antiquos dicebatur genus quoddam potionis ex vino et sanguine temperatum, quod Latini prius sanguinem assere vocarent.*” Hence SALLUST says of Catiline, that, in forming his party, “*fuere qui dicerent eum humani corporis sanguinem vino permixtum in pateris circumtulisse: inde cum post execrationem omnes degustavissent, sicuti in solemnibus sacris fieri consuevit, aperuisse consilium suum.*” The practice was probably a relic of religious ceremonies coming down from a time when sacrifices were human, and cannibalism the ordinary usage. See the note 34 on iii. 11.

σμικρὸν τοῦ σώματος καὶ ἔπειτα ἀποβάψαντες ἐς τὴν κύλικα ἀκινάκεα, καὶ οἰστοὺς, καὶ σάγαριν, καὶ ἀκόντιον ἑπεὰν δὲ ταῦτα ποιήσωσι, κατεύχονται πολλὰ, καὶ ἔπειτα ἀποπίνουσι αὐτοὶ τε οἱ τὸ ὄρκιον ποιούμενοι, καὶ τῶν ἐπομένων οἱ πλεῖστου ἄξιοι.

71  
Mode of  
burying the  
chiefs.

Ταφαὶ δὲ τῶν βασιλέων ἐν Γέρροισι εἰσὶ, ἐς δ' ὁ Βορυσθένης ἐστὶ προσπλωτός<sup>290</sup>. ἐνθαῦτα, ἑπεὰν σφὶ ἀποθάνῃ ὁ βασιλεὺς, ὄρυγμα γῆς μέγα ὀρύσσουσι τετράγωνον ἐτοιμον δὲ τοῦτο ποιήσαντες, ἀναλαμβάνουσι τὸν νεκρὸν, κατακεκρωμένον μὲν τὸ σῶμα, τὴν δὲ νηδὺν ἀνασχισθεῖσαν καὶ καθαρθείσαν, πλὴν κυτέρου κεκομμένου καὶ θυμῆματος καὶ σελίνου σπέρματος καὶ ἀνήσου, συνερραμμένην ὀπίσω, καὶ κομίζουσι ἐν ἀμάξῃ ἐς ἄλλο ἔθνος· οἳ δ' ἂν παραδέξωνται κομισθέντα τὸν νεκρὸν, ποιεῦσι τὰ περ οἱ βασιλῆοι Σκύθαι· τοῦ ὧτος ἀποτάμνονται, τρίχας περικεῖρονται, βραχιόνας περιτάμνονται, μέτωπον καὶ ῥίνα καταμύσσονται, διὰ τῆς τε ἀριστερῆς χειρὸς οἰστοὺς διαβυνέονται<sup>291</sup>. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ κομίζουσι ἐν ἀμάξῃ τὸν νέκυν τοῦ βασιλέως ἐς ἄλλο ἔθνος τῶν ἄρχουσι (οἳ δὲ σφὶ ἔπονται ἐς τοὺς πρότερον ἦλθον) ἑπεὰν δὲ πάντας περιέλθωσι τὸν νέκυν κομίζοντες, ἐν Γέρροισι<sup>292</sup> ἔσχατα κατοικημένοισι εἰσι τῶν ἐθνέων τῶν ἄρχουσι, καὶ ἐν τῇσι ταφῇσι καὶ ἔπειτα, ἑπεὰν θέωσι τὸν νέκυν ἐν τῇσι θήκησι ἐπὶ στιβάδος, παραπήξαντες αἰχμὰς ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν τοῦ νεκροῦ, ξύλα ὑπερτείνουσι καὶ ἔπειτα ῥίγῃ καταστεγάζουσιν· ἐν δὲ τῇ λουπῇ εὐρυχωρίῃ τῆς θήκης, τῶν

<sup>290</sup> Ταφαὶ δὲ . . . . ἐστὶ προσπλωτός. The 'tombs of the Scythian chiefs,' as well as those of the Cimmerian mentioned above (§ 11), are doubtless some of the barrows which abound all over the continent of Europe east of the Carpathian mountains, and extend southwards down into Greece, both European and Asiatic, —in fact probably existing wherever a pastoral people has penetrated in large numbers. CLARKE says that from the plain of Thessaly the whole coast northwards is lined with them. HAWKINS observed them on the north side of the Propontis between Silivria and Constantinople. They are also found in the fork of the Don and Donetz, and in the plains to the s.e. of the sea of Azof, between the Don and the Kouban rivers,—so thick, that from one point Clarke counted no less than ninety-one of them, with huge

oaks growing upon them. (Compare FALKENER, quoted in note 331 on i. 93.) In the time of PAUSANIAS one very large one on the plain of Bottiaea was called the tomb of Orpheus (ix. 30). In the *Iliad* one on the plain of Troy is spoken of as the tomb of Aesyetes, and another as that of Ilus (ii. 793; x. 414). See too the note on v. 94, ἐξ Ἀχιλλῆος πόλιος ὀρμηόμενοι, below. It is not likely that Herodotus's informant had ever been at the spot where the sepulchres of the kings are said to have been; for the locality is most doubtful. See note 163 on § 53, above.

<sup>291</sup> διαβυνέονται. See note 256 on ii. 96.

<sup>292</sup> ἐν Γέρροισι. The manuscripts S and V have ἐν τοῖσι, and the former of them also the variation ἐσχαταῖσι for ἐσχατα κατοικημένοισι.

παλλακέων τε μίαν ἀποπνίξαντες θάπτουσι, καὶ τὸν οἰνοχόον, καὶ μάγειρον, καὶ ἵπποκόμον, καὶ διήκονον, καὶ ἀγγελιηφόρον, καὶ ἵππους, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων ἀπαρχάς, καὶ φιάλας χρυσέας· (ἀργύρῳ δὲ οὐδὲν οὐδὲ χαλκῷ χρέωνται<sup>303</sup>·) ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες, χούσι πάντες χῶμα μέγα, ἀμιλλεώμενοι καὶ προθυμεόμενοι ὡς μέγιστον ποιῆσαι. Ἐνιαυτοῦ δὲ περιφερομένου, αὗτις ποιεῖσι 72 τοιόνδε λαβόντες τῶν λοιπῶν θεραπόντων τοὺς ἐπιτηδεωτάτους· Cruel custom in commemoration of the funeral after a year has past. (οἱ δὲ εἰσι Σκύθαι ἐγγενέες· οὗτοι γὰρ δὴ θεραπεύουσι τοὺς ἀν αὐτὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς κελεύσῃ, ἀργυρώνητοι δὲ οὐκ εἰσὶ σφι θεράποντες·) τούτων ὧν τῶν δικόνων ἐπεὰν ἀποπνίξωσι πεντήκοντα, καὶ ἵππους τοὺς καλλιστεύοντας πεντήκοντα, ἐξελόντες αὐτῶν τὴν κοιλίην καὶ καθήραντες, ἐμπιπλᾶσι ἀχύρων, καὶ συρράπτουσι· ἀψίδος δὲ ἡμισυ ἐπὶ δύο ξύλα στήσαντες ἵπτιον, καὶ τὸ ἕτερον ἡμισυ τῆς ἀψίδος ἐπ' ἕτερα δύο, καταπῆξαντες τρόφῳ τοιούτῳ πολλὰ ταῦτα, ἔπειτα τῶν ἵππων κατὰ τὰ μήκεα ξύλα παχέα διελάσαντες μέχρι τῶν τραχήλων, ἀναβιβάζουσι αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὰς ἀψίδας· τῶν δὲ, αἱ μὲν πρότεραι ἀψίδες ὑπέχουσι τοὺς ὤμους τῶν ἵππων, αἱ δὲ ὀπισθε παρὰ τοὺς μηρούς τὰς γαστέρας ὑπολαμβάνουσι· σκέλεα δὲ ἀμφοτέρα κατακρέματα μετέωρα· χαλινούς δὲ καὶ στόμια ἐμβαλόντες ἐς τοὺς ἵππους, κατατείνουσι ἐς τὸ πρόσθεν αὐτῶν, καὶ ἔπειτα ἐκ πασσάλων δέουσι. τῶν δὲ δὴ νεηνίσκων τῶν ἀποπεπνυγμένων τῶν πεντήκοντα ἕνα ἕκαστον ἀναβιβάζουσι ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον, ὧδε ἀναβιβάζοντες· ἐπεὰν νεκροῦ ἐκάστου παρὰ τὴν ἄκανθαν ξύλον ὀρθὸν διελάσωσι μέχρι τοῦ τραχήλου, κάτωθεν δὲ ὑπερέχει τοῦ ξύλου τούτου τὸ ἐς τὸρμον<sup>304</sup> πηγνύνουσι τοῦ ἐτέρου ξύλου τοῦ διὰ τοῦ ἵππου ἐπιστήσαντες δὲ κύκλῳ τὸ σῆμα ἱππέας τοιούτους, ἀπελαύνουσι.

<sup>303</sup> ἀργύρῳ δὲ οὐδὲν οὐδὲ χαλκῷ χρέωνται. This must mean that they do not use either silver or bronze in commerce; for their arms would doubtless be of the latter. See RITTEN, quoted in note 710 on i. 215. But the communication through caravan traffic with Central Asia would produce such an abundance of gold as might render any other metallic medium unnecessary in the commercial relations of these nomad tribes with the Hellenic merchants who dealt with them. See

MARCO POLO, quoted in note 280 on iii. 95.

<sup>304</sup> τὸρμον. This word is explained by the gloss writer as τροήμα. It is a "socket formed by boring," the root of the word being τρο or τρο, which appears in many Greek and Latin words containing the notion of 'turning,' e. g. τροχός, τροχός; τροπικός, τέρμα; τρο, τέρω; τέρεδο, τέρετρον, τροπύνη. See an excellent paper in the *Transactions of the Philological Society*, vol. v. pp. 103—106.

73

Mode of  
burying  
those who  
are not  
chiefs.

Οὕτω μὲν τοὺς βασιλῆας θάπτουσι<sup>205</sup>. τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους Σκίθας, ἐπεὰν ἀποθάνωσι, περιάγουσι οἱ ἀγχιστάτω προσήκοιτες κατὰ τοὺς φίλους ἐν ἀμάξεισι κειμένους τῶν δὲ ἕκαστος ὑποδεκόμενος εὐωχεῖ τοὺς ἐπομένους, καὶ τῷ νεκρῷ πάντων παρατιθεῖ τῶν καὶ τοῖσι ἄλλοις· ἡμέρας δὲ τεσσαράκοντα οὕτω οἱ ἰδιῶται περι-  
ἀγονται, ἔπειτα θάπτονται· θάψαντες δὲ οἱ Σκίθαι καθαίρονται τρόπῳ τοιῷδε· σμησάμενοι τὰς κεφαλὰς καὶ ἐκπλυνάμενοι, ποιεύσι περὶ τὸ σῶμα τάδε· ἐπεὰν ξύλα στήσῃσι τρία ἐς ἄλληλα κεκλιμένα, περὶ ταῦτα πῖλους εἰρινέους περιτείνουσιν· συμφράξαντες δὲ ὥς μάλιστα, λίθους ἐκ πυρὸς διαφανέας ἐσβάλλουσι ἐς σκάφην

74

Hemp grows  
in the coun-  
try.

κειμένην ἐν μέσῳ τῶν ξύλων τε καὶ τῶν πέλων· Ἔστι δὲ σφι κάν-  
ναβις<sup>206</sup> φυομένη ἐν τῇ χώρῃ πλὴν παχύτητος καὶ μεγάλους τῷ

<sup>205</sup> οὕτω μὲν τοὺς βασιλῆας θάπτουσι. The following account is given by IBN BATUTA (the Arabian traveller in China about the year 1346), of the burial of the Khan of the Tartars, who had been slain in battle. "The Khan who had been killed, with about 100 of his relations, was then brought, and a large sepulchre was dug for him under the earth, in which a most beautiful couch was spread, and the Khan was, with his weapons, laid upon it. With him they placed all the gold and silver vessels he had in his house, together with four female slaves and six of his favourite Mamluks, with a few vessels of drink. They were then all closed up, and the earth heaped upon them to the height of a large hill. They then brought four horses, which they pierced through at the hill until all motion in them ceased; they then forced a piece of wood into the hinder part of the animal till it came out at his neck, and this they fixed in the earth, leaving the horse thus impaled upon the hill. The relatives of the Khan they buried in the same manner, putting all their vessels of gold and silver in the grave with them. At the doors of the sepulchres of ten of these they impaled three horses in the manner thus mentioned. At the graves of each of the rest only one horse was impaled." But that such proceedings as those described in the text were not merely a traditional custom, but rested on that common feeling of humanity which ascribes to the departed similar tastes and pursuits to those which have been valued by them in their lifetime, is clear from the follow-

ing description of a Patagonian funeral, given by CAPTAIN FITZROY (*Narrative of the Beagle*, ii. p. 155). "The body is wrapped in the best mantle of the deceased, placed on his favourite horse, and carried to the burying-place of the tribe. The wizard rattles together two pieces of dried bladder in which are some loose stones, to frighten away the Validru or evil spirits, and the other people howl over the corpse as it is carried to the sepulchre. In a square pit, about six feet deep and two or three feet wide, where many others have been deposited, the corpse is placed in a sitting posture, adorned with mantles, plumes of feathers, and beads. The spurs, sword, balls, and other such property belonging to the deceased are laid beside him, and the pit is then covered over with branches of trees, upon which earth is laid. His favourite horse is afterwards killed. It is held at the grave while a man knocks it on the head with one of the balls of the deceased. When dead it is skinned and stuffed, then supported by sticks (or set up) on its legs, with the head propped up as if looking at the grave. Sometimes more horses than one are killed. At the funeral of a Cacique four horses are sacrificed, and one is set up at each corner of the burial place. The clothes and other effects belonging to the deceased are burned, and, to finish all, a feast is made of the horses' flesh."

<sup>206</sup> κάνναβις, "hemp." This article grows in the northern part of Russia, higher up than any part of Scythia known to the Greeks. It will therefore have come down to the traders in the Euxine,



λίμφ᾽ ἐμφερεστάτῃ ταύτῃ δὲ πολλῷ ὑπερφέρει ἢ κάνναβις· αὕτη  
καὶ αὐτομάτῃ καὶ σπειρομένη φύεται· καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς Θρήικες μὲν  
καὶ εἴματα ποιεῖνται τοῖσι λινέοισι ὁμοιώτατα· οὐδ' ἂν ὅστις μὴ  
κάρτα τρίβων εἴῃ αὐτῆς διαγνώῃ, λίνου ἢ καννάβιός ἐστι· ὅς δὲ  
μὴ εἰδὲ κω τὴν κανναβίδα, λίνεον δοκῇσιν εἶναι τὸ εἶμα· Ταύτης ὦν 75  
οἱ Σκύθαι τῆς καννάβιος τὸ σπέρμα ἐπεὰν λάβωσι, ὑποδύνουσι Practice of  
ὑπὸ τοὺς πέλους, καὶ ἔπειτα ἐπιβάλλουσι τὸ σπέρμα ἐπὶ τοὺς burning the  
διαφανέας λίθους τῷ πυρὶ τὸ δὲ θυμῇται ἐπιβαλλόμενον, καὶ hemp-seeds  
ἀτμίδα παρέχεται τοσαύτην, ὥστε Ἑλληνικὴ οὐδεμία ἂν μιν πυρὶν to produce  
ἀποκρατήσῃ· οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι ἀγάμενοι τῇ πυρὶν <sup>297</sup> ὥρουνται. τοῦτό a vapour-  
σφι ἀντὶ λουτροῦ ἐστὶ· οὐ γὰρ δὴ λούνται ὕδατι τὸ παράπαν τὸ bath.  
σῶμα· αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες αὐτῶν, ὕδωρ παραχέουσιν, κατασώχουσι  
περὶ λίθον τρηγὺν τῆς κυπαρίσσου, καὶ κέδρου, καὶ λιβάνου ξύλου  
καὶ ἔπειτα τὸ κατασώχόμενον τοῦτο, παχὺ ἔδν, καταπλάσσονται  
πᾶν τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον καὶ ἅμα μὲν εὐωδία σφέας ἀπὸ  
τούτου ἴσχει, ἅμα δὲ ἀπαιρέουσιν τῇ δευτέρῃ ἡμέρῃ τὴν κατα-  
πλαστὴν γίνονται καθαραὶ καὶ λαμπραί.

Ξεινικοῖσι δὲ νομαίοισι καὶ οὗτοι <sup>298</sup> αἰνῶς χρᾶσθαι φεύγουσι, 76  
μήτι γε <sup>299</sup> ὦν ἀλλήλων, Ἑλληνικοῖσι δὲ καὶ ἥκιστα, ὥς διέδεξαν The Scy-  
thians are

most probably by water carriage, from a considerable distance. The notice in the text is the earliest of it, and one may suppose that the name is a native one. If so, the "Scythians" who cultivated it must have belonged to the Indo-Germanic race, for the identity of *cannabis* with the Teutonic *hanf* is certain. But it is possible that the name was given to the plant by the merchants who bought, not by the people who grew it.

<sup>297</sup> ἀγάμενοι τῇ πυρὶν. The extraordinary practice mentioned in the text was no doubt partly for the purpose of getting quit of the annoyance of the mosquitoes, the numbers of which in the steppes are almost inconceivable. CLARKE says that in the plains of the Kouban no contrivance on the part of himself and his companion could prevent millions of these insects from entering the carriage; and in spite of gloves, clothes, and handkerchiefs, they rendered their bodies one entire wound, and excited a considerable degree of fever. The mortality occasioned by them in the Russian army, both of men and horses, was very great; and it was the practice of the sol-

diers to scoop out a hollow in the ancient barrows, and even in the greatest heats of summer to light fires in order to fill this with smoke, and thus escape the stings. (*Travels*, vol. ii. p. 59.) This circumstance will explain a curious sentiment attributed to Anacharsis (the Scythian) by DIOGENES LAERTIUS (l. 104). He wondered at nothing so much as that the Greeks should use *ελαρcoal*: τὸν μὲν *καπνόν ἐν τοῖς ὕρεσι καταλείπουσι*, τὰ δὲ ξύλα εἰς τὴν πόλιν κομίζουσι. But at the same time the desire of intoxication was what determined the use of hemp seeds, from which at the present time the narcotic called *bang* is produced. The effect of hemp even while growing is to produce drowsiness and stupor in those who remain among it.

<sup>298</sup> καὶ οὗτοι. "this people, too." Here it has been supposed there is a tacit reference back to ii. 91, where the writer has remarked upon the dislike of the Egyptians to Hellenic customs.

<sup>299</sup> μήτι γε. So Gaisford prints, on the authority of S and F. The other MSS have *μή τοι γε*. Hermann conjec-

averse to  
foreign cus-  
toms.

Fate of  
*Anacharsis*  
and *Scyles*  
in conse-  
quence of  
their inno-  
vations.

Ἀνάχαρσις τε καὶ δεύτερα αὐτῆς Σκύλης. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ Ἀνάχαρσις, ἐπεὶ τε γῆν πολλὴν θεωρήσας καὶ ἀποδεξάμενος κατ' αὐτὴν σοφίην πολλὴν ἐκομίζετο ἐς ἡθεα τὰ Σκυθέων, πλέων δι' Ἑλλησπόντου προσίσχει ἐς Κύζικον<sup>210</sup>, καὶ, εὖρε γὰρ τῇ Μητρὶ τῶν θεῶν ἀνάγοντας τοὺς Κυζικηνούς ὀρτὴν κάρτα μεγαλοπρεπέως, εὗξато τῇ Μητρὶ ὁ Ἀνάχαρσις, ἦν σῶς καὶ ὑγιὲς ἀπουοστήσῃ ἐς ἐωυτοῦ, θύσειν τε κατὰ ταῦτα κατὰ τὰ ὄρα<sup>211</sup> τοὺς Κυζικηνούς ποιεῦντας καὶ παννυχίδα στήσειν ὥς δὲ ἀπικέτο ἐς τὴν Σκυθικὴν, καταδὺς ἐς τὴν καλεομένην Ἰλαίην<sup>212</sup>. (ἡ δ' ἔστι μὲν παρὰ τὸν Ἀχιλλήϊον Δρόμον, τυγχάνει δὲ πᾶσα ἐοῦσα δεινδρέων παντοίων πλέη) ἐς ταύτην δὴ καταδὺς ὁ Ἀνάχαρσις, τὴν ὀρτὴν πᾶσαν ἐπετέλλε τῇ θεῇ, τύμπανόν τε ἔχων καὶ ἐκδησάμενος ἀγάλματα<sup>213</sup>. καὶ τῶν τις Σκυθέων καταφρασθεὶς αὐτὸν ταῦτα ποιεῦντα ἐσήμηνε τῷ βασιλεῖ Σαυλίῳ ὁ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπικόμενος, ὥς εἶδε τὸν Ἀνάχαρσιν ποιεῦντα ταῦτα, τοξεύσας αὐτὸν ἀπέκτεινε καὶ νῦν, ἦν τις εἴρηται περὶ Ἀναχάρσιος, οὗ φασὶ μιν Σκύθαι γινώσκειν διὰ τοῦτο ὅτι ἐξεδήμησέ τε ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ ξεινικοῖσι ἔθεσι διεχρήσατο. ὥς δ' ἐγὼ ἤκουσα Ἱλμνεω, τοῦ Ἀριαπίθεος ἐπιτρόπου<sup>214</sup>, εἶναι αὐτὸν Ἰδανθύρσου<sup>215</sup> τοῦ Σκυθέων βασιλέως

tures ἄλλων in the place of ἀλλήλων, and Gaisford adopts it. But the passage presents little real difficulty, if we suppose that χρᾶσθαι φεύγουσι is to be taken with the regimen of οὐ χρώνται, to which it is nearly equivalent. Translate: "These Scythians too have an invincible aversion to adopting foreign customs;—they will not take up any from one another, and least of all such as are Hellenic." Compare ii. 91: "Ἑλληνικοῖσι δὲ νομαίοισι φεύγουσι χρᾶσθαι" τὸ δὲ σύμπαν εἰπεῖν, μὴδ' ἄλλων μηδαμᾶ μηδαμῶν ἀνθρώπων νομαίοισι.

<sup>210</sup> προσίσχει ἐς Κύζικον. It appears from § 14, above, that Herodotus was at Cyzicus, and it seems likely that there he heard the story of Anacharsis's mishap. It would certainly not be from the Scythians, for they professed (and probably with truth) not to know him. See the note 216, below.

<sup>211</sup> κατὰ τὰ ὄρα. So ii. 90, κατὰ τὰ ἵκονον: v. 112 and vi. 88, κατὰ τὰ συνέθηκατο.

<sup>212</sup> ἐς τὴν καλεομένην Ἰλαίην. See note 54 on § 18, above.

<sup>213</sup> ἐκδησάμενος ἀγάλματα. These were certain symbols suspended from the breast of the officiating priest. DIONYSIUS describes the proceeding which took place annually at Rome in honour of the same deity: ἱερᾶται αὐτῆς [τῆς θυσίας] ἀνὴρ Φρυγὴ καὶ γυνὴ Φρυγία: καὶ περιάγουσιν ἀπὸ τὴν πόλιν οὗτοι μητραγυροῦντες ὅσπερ αὐτοῖς ἔθος, τύπους τε περικέιμενοι τοῖς στήθεσι, καὶ καταλούμενοι πρὸς τῶν ἐπομένων τὰ μητρεῖα μέλη καὶ τύμπανα κροτοῦντες. (*Archæolog.* ii. 19.) When Manlius in his Asiatic campaign threw a bridge over the river *Sangarius*, there came to his camp Γάλλοι παρὰ Ἀττιδὸς καὶ Βαρτάκου τῶν ἐκ Πισσινοῦντος ἱερῶν τῆς Μητρὸς τῶν θεῶν, ἔχοντες προστηθῖδια καὶ τύπους. (POLYBIUS, xii. 20.)

<sup>214</sup> ἐπιτρόπου. This word seems applied here to some functionary representing the interests of the barbarian sovereign, perhaps resident at the factory which was the centre of the commercial dealings between the Hellenic merchants and the natives. Such a post would probably be filled by the issue of a mixed marriage between a

πάτρων, παῖδα δὲ εἶναι Γνούρου, τοῦ Λύκου, τοῦ Σπαργαπίθεος· εἰ ὦν ταύτης ἦν τῆς οἰκῆς ὁ Ἀνάχαρσις, ἴστω ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ ἀποθανών· Ἰδάνθυρσος γὰρ ἦν παῖς Σαυλίου· Σαύλιος δὲ ἦν ὁ ἀποκτείνας Ἀνάχαρσιν. Καίτοι τινὰ ἤδη ἤκουσα λόγον ἄλλον 77 ὑπὸ Πελοποννησίων λεγόμενον<sup>216</sup>, ὡς ὑπὸ τοῦ Σκυθέων βασιλέως Ἀνάχαρσις ἀποπεμφθεὶς τῆς Ἑλλάδος μαθητὴς γένοιτο· ὅπισω τε ἀπονοστήσας φαίη πρὸς τὸν ἀποπέμψαντα, Ἕλληνας πάντας ἀσχόλους εἶναι ἐς πᾶσαν σοφίην, πλὴν Λακεδαιμονίων· τοῦτοισι δὲ εἶναι μούνοισι σωφρόνως δοῦναι τε καὶ δέξασθαι λόγον. ἀλλ' οὗτος μὲν ὁ λόγος ἄλλως πέπαισται<sup>217</sup> ὑπ' αὐτῶν Ἑλλήνων ὁ δ' ὦν ἀνὴρ, ὥσπερ πρότερον εἰρέθη, διεφθάρη. οὗτος μὲν νυν οὕτω δὴ τι ἔπραξε διὰ ξεινικά τε νόμαια καὶ Ἑλληνικὰς ὁμιλίας.

*Peloponnesian story of Anacharsis, a mere fiction on the part of the Hellenes.*

Πολλοῖσι δὲ κάρτα ἔτεσι ὕστερον, Σκύλης ὁ Ἀριαπίθεος ἔπαθε 78 παραπλήσια τούτῳ· Ἀριαπίθει γὰρ τῷ Σκυθέων βασιλεῖ γίνεται μετ' ἄλλων παίδων Σκύλης· ἐξ Ἰστριμῆς δὲ γυναικὸς οὗτος γίνεται, καὶ οὐδαμῶς ἐγχωρήσας τὸν ἢ μήτηρ αὐτῇ γλῶσσάν τε Ἑλλάδα καὶ γράμματα ἐδίδαξε· μετὰ δὲ, χρόνῳ ὕστερον, Ἀριαπίθης μὲν τελευτᾷ δόλῳ ὑπὸ Σπαργαπίθεος τοῦ Ἀγαθύρσων βασιλέως· Σκύλης δὲ τὴν τε βασιλητὴν παρέλαβε, καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα

*Fate of Scyles many years after Anacharsis.*

Hellenic settler and a native, or a native chief and a Hellenic slave.

<sup>216</sup> Ἰδανθύρσων. So Gaisford prints; and the MSS here, and also in §§ 120. 126, vary between this form and Ἰνδαθύρσων, predominating in favour of the text. But the analogy of Intaphernes (the correctness of which is ascertained by the equivalent *Vidafrana* of the Behistun Inscription) is in favour of the rejected form.

<sup>217</sup> ὑπο Πελοποννησίων λεγόμενον. The Spartans connected the origin of the madness of their king Cleomenes with an embassy of some Scythians to Lacedæmon. See vi. 84. Perhaps Anacharsis was in their traditions represented to have come on this occasion. The compliment to the Lacedæmonians at the expense of the other Greeks would induce one to suppose that the story which Herodotus heard from Peloponnesians originated at Sparta or thereabouts. It is apparently of more recent origin than the fashion of sophistical disputations; and perhaps the same may be said of all the stories of Anachar-

sis as a travelling philosopher. (See the passage from Plato, cited in note 113 on i. 32.) The epistle from Anacharsis to Hanno, which is gravely quoted by Cicero (*Tusc. Disp.* v. 32), is probably the translation of a rhetorical thesis of a much later time. But the views upon which this was based belong to the era which in Greece corresponded to the age of Buffon and Rousseau in France, and to that of Lucretius at Rome; when disgust at the scenes around them induced many to regret the time "when wild in woods the noble savage ran," and produced such fictions as the 'Contrat Social,' and the fifth book of the *De Rerum Naturâ*. The stories of the Ethiopians given by Herodotus belong to the same era. See note 56 on iii. 18.

<sup>217</sup> πέπαισται. This is the reading of S and V, the rest of the MSS having πέπλασται. But πέπαισται means παθίας χάριν πέπλασται, and Gaisford rightly prefers it. The story is no doubt an ethopoeic fiction. See notes 113 and 477 on Book i.

τοῦ πατρὸς τῇ οὐνομα ἦν Ὀποίη <sup>218</sup>. ἦν δὲ αὕτη ἡ Ὀποίη ἀστὴ <sup>219</sup>,  
 ἐξ ἧς ἦν Ὀρικος Ἀριαπιθεὶ παῖς· βασιλεύων δὲ Σκυθῶν ὁ Σκύ-  
 λης διαίτη μὲν οὐδαμῶς ἠρέσκετο Σκυθικῇ, ἀλλὰ πολλὸν πρὸς τὰ  
 Ἑλληνικὰ μᾶλλον τετραμμένος ἦν ἀπὸ παιδείσιος τῆς ἐπεπαί-  
 δευτο· ἐποίεε τε τοιοῦτο· εὔτε ἀγάγοι τὴν στρατιὴν τὴν Σκυθῶν  
 ἐς τὸ Βορυσθενεῖτέων ἄστυ, (οἱ δὲ Βορυσθενεῖται οὗτοι λέγουσι  
 σφέας αὐτοὺς εἶναι Μιλησίους,) ἐς τούτους ὅκως ἔλθοι ὁ Σκύλης,  
 τὴν μὲν στρατιὴν καταλείπεσκε ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ, αὐτὸς δὲ ὅκως  
 ἔλθοι ἐς τὸ τεῖχος καὶ τὰς πύλας ἐγκλητῆσει, τὴν στολὴν ἀποθέ-  
 μενος τὴν Σκυθικὴν, λάβεσκε ἀν' Ἑλληνίδα ἐσθῆτα· ἔχων δ' ἀν  
 ταύτην ἡγόραζε, οὔτε δορυφόρων ἐπομένων οὔτε ἄλλου οὐδενός  
 (τὰς δὲ πύλας ἐφύλασσον, μή τις μιν Σκυθῶν ἴδοι ἔχοντα ταύτην  
 τὴν στολὴν) καὶ τᾶλλα ἐχράτο διαίτη Ἑλληνικῇ, καὶ θεοῖσι ἱρὰ  
 ἐποίεε κατὰ νόμους τοὺς Ἑλλήνων· ὅτε δὲ διατρίψαι μῆνα ἢ  
 πλεόν τούτου, ἀπαλλάσσετο ἐνδὺς τὴν Σκυθικὴν στολὴν ταῦτα  
 ποιέεσκε πολλάκις· καὶ οἰκία τε ἐδείματο ἐν Βορυσθένῃ καὶ  
 79 γυναῖκα ἔγχευ ἐς αὐτὰ <sup>220</sup> ἐπιχωρήν. Ἐπεὶ τε δὲ ἔδεε οἱ κακῶς  
 γενέσθαι, ἐγένετο ἀπὸ προφάσιος τοιῆσδε· ἐπεθύμησε Διονύσῳ  
 Βακχεῖα τελεσθῆναι· μέλλοντι δὲ οἱ ἐς χεῖρας ἄγεσθαι <sup>221</sup> τὴν  
 τελετὴν ἐγένετο φάσμα μέγιστον· ἦν οἱ ἐν Βορυσθενεῖτέων τῇ  
 πόλει οἰκίης μεγάλης καὶ πολυτελέος περιβολῇ, (τῆς καὶ ὀλίγη τι  
 πρότερον τούτων μνήμην εἶχον,) τὴν πέριξ λευκοῦ λίθου σφίγγες  
 τε καὶ γρύπες ἔστασαν <sup>222</sup>. ἐς ταύτην ὁ θεὸς ἐνέσκηψε βέλους· καὶ ἡ

Scyles's  
palace in  
Olbiopolis.

<sup>218</sup> Ὀποίη. The manuscripts S and V have in place of this word Ὀρίη.

<sup>219</sup> ἦν δὲ αὕτη ἡ Ὀποίη ἀστὴ. The phrase ἀστὴ is a strong instance of adaptation, if the meaning of the author is that Opoea was a native Scythian woman. This however appears to be his intention; and perhaps the taking this woman as his wife is to be regarded as a conciliatory step on the part of Scyles to gain over the native interest, who may be supposed somewhat jealous of a chief born of a Hellenic mother. This supposition will account for the indignation with which they regarded his subsequent participation in Hellenic orgies, and their setting up in his place a brother of pure barbarian blood. There is entertained at the present day by the native Russian aristocracy a similar jealousy of the descend-

ants of the western Europeans, through whom civilization was introduced into the country.

<sup>220</sup> γυναῖκα ἔγχευ ἐς αὐτὰ. The full expression would be ἔγχευ καὶ ἡγάγετο ἐς αὐτὰ.

<sup>221</sup> ἐς χεῖρας ἄγεσθαι. See note 434 on i. 126.

<sup>222</sup> σφίγγες τε καὶ γρύπες ἔστασαν. RITTER (*Vorhalle*, pp. 225—227) quotes these decorations of Scyles's palace as an indication of the early passage of Indo-Bactrian symbolism, together with the religious ideas with which it was connected, into the regions about the Sea of Azof and the Euxine. But whether or not his theory be well founded, this passage can scarcely help it. It seems quite clear from the story of Scyles, that the ornaments in question belonged to the

μὲν κατεκάη πᾶσα· Σκύλης δὲ οὐδὲν τούτου εἵνεκα ἦσσαν ἐπετέ-  
 λεσε τὴν τελετήν. (Σκύθαι δὲ τοῦ βακχεύειν περί Ἑλλησι ὀνειδί-  
 ζουσι· οὐ γὰρ φασὶ οἶκός εἶναι θεὸν ἐξευρίσκειν τούτον ὅστις  
 μαίνεσθαι ἐνάγει ἀνθρώπους.) ἐπεὶ τε δὲ ἐτελέσθη τῷ Βακχείῳ  
 ὁ Σκύλης, διεπρήστευσε<sup>222</sup> τῶν τις Βορυσθενεϊτέων πρὸς τοὺς  
 Σκύθας, λέγων “ ἡμῖν γὰρ καταγελᾶτε, ὦ Σκύθαι, ὅτι βακχεύομεν  
 καὶ ἡμέας ὁ θεὸς λαμβάνει· νῦν οὗτος ὁ δαίμων καὶ τὸν ὑμέτερον  
 βασιλέα λελάβηκε, καὶ βακχεύει τε<sup>224</sup> καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ μαίνεται·  
 εἰ δέ μοι ἀπιστέετε, ἔπεσθε, καὶ ὑμῖν ἐγὼ δείξω” εἶποντο τῶν  
 Σκυθῶν οἱ προεστέωτες· καὶ αὐτοὺς ἀναγαγὼν ὁ Βορυσθενεΐτης  
 λάβρη ἐπὶ πύργον κατεῖσε· ἐπεὶ τε δὲ παρήϊε σὺν τῷ θιάσῳ ὁ  
 Σκύλης καὶ εἰδὼν μιν βακχεύοντα οἱ Σκύθαι, κάρτα συμφορὴν  
 μεγάλην ἐποιήσαντο, ἐξελθόντες δὲ ἐσήμαινον πάσῃ τῇ στρατιῇ  
 τὰ ἴδοιεν ὥς δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐξήλανε ὁ Σκύλης ἐς ἥθεα τὰ ἑωυτοῦ, 80  
 οἱ Σκύθαι προστησάμενοι τὸν ἀδελφεὸν αὐτοῦ Ὀκταμασάδην  
 γεγονότα ἐκ τῆς Τήρεω θυγατρὸς, ἐπανιστέατο τῷ Σκύλῃ· ὁ δὲ,  
 μαθὼν τὸ γινόμενον ἐπ’ ἑωυτῷ καὶ τὴν αἰτίην δι’ ἣν ἐποίετο,  
 καταφεύγει ἐς τὴν Θρηϊκὴν πυθόμενος δὲ ὁ Ὀκταμασάδης ταῦτα,  
 ἐστρατεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν Θρηϊκὴν ἐπεὶ τε δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ Ἰστροφ ἐγένετο,  
 ἡντίασάν μιν οἱ Θρηϊκῆς· μελλόντων δὲ αὐτῶν συνάψειν, ἔπεμψε  
 Σιτάλης<sup>223</sup> παρὰ τὸν Ὀκταμασάδην λέγων τοιαύδε· τί δεῖ ἡμέας  
 ἀλλήλων πειρηθῆναι; εἰς μὲν μευ τῆς ἀδελφεῆς παῖς, ἔχεις δέ μευ  
 ἀδελφεόν· σύ τ’ ἐμοὶ ἀπόδος τούτον, καὶ ἐγὼ σοὶ τὸν σὸν Σκύλην  
 παραδίδωμι· στρατιῇ δὲ μήτε σὺ κινδυνεύσης, μήτ’ ἐγὼ ταῦτά οἱ

same time at which the palace was built. At that time the artists could hardly be other than Greeks, probably Asiatics, and if so, the forms in question would be suggested to them by what they saw in Asia Minor, in which such figures were unquestionably familiar after the long continuance of the Persian occupation.

<sup>222</sup> διεπρήστευσε. The MSS vary between this reading, ἐπρήστευσε and διεπρίστευσε, which last rests only upon the authority of S, and looks like a correction for the sake of escaping the difficulty occasioned by the other readings. If it be adopted it must be rendered “asserted,” or “gave his word.” But perhaps διεπρήστευσε is a corruption of the transcribers from διεπρήστευσε, a possible though un-

known form equivalent in sense to διεδρη.

<sup>224</sup> βακχεύει τε. This is the reading of M, P, F, K. Gaisford with the remainder omits τε.

<sup>223</sup> Σιτάλης. This is the first time Herodotus mentions this chief, yet he does not think it necessary to give any further description of him. Sitalces no doubt became familiar to every one after he joined the Athenian alliance, which he did in the first year of the Peloponnesian war. (THUCYDIDES, ii. 29.) One may suppose therefore that this passage was written *after* that time. By parity of reasoning it may be supposed that the description of him given below (vii. 137) was written *before* this notoriety was acquired. See the note 566 on i. 170.

πέμψας ὁ Σιτάλκης ἐπεκηρυκεύετο· ἦν γὰρ παρὰ τῷ Ὀκταμασάδῃ ἀδελφεὸς Σιτάλκῳ, πεφευγὼς τούτων· ὁ δὲ Ὀκταμασάδης καταινέει ταῦτα, ἐκδιδούς δὲ τὸν ἐωντοῦ μήτρωα Σιτάλκῃ ἔλαβε τὸν ἀδελφεὸν Σκύλην καὶ Σιτάλκης μὲν παραλαβὼν τὸν ἀδελφεὸν ἀπῆγγετο· Σκύλεω δὲ Ὀκταμασάδης αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ ἀπέταμε τὴν κεφαλὴν. οὕτω μὲν περιστέλλουσι<sup>226</sup> τὰ σφέτερα νόμῳ Σκύθαι, τοῖσι δὲ παρακτωμένοισι ξεινικοὺς νόμους τοιαῦτα ἐπιτίμια διδοῦσι.

81

*Numbers of the Scythians are variously given.*

*A huge bowl, said to be made from the heads of their arrows, stands at Exampneus.*

Πλήθος δὲ τὸ Σκυθῶν οὐκ οἶός τε ἐγενόμην ἀτρεκέως πυθέσθαι, ἀλλὰ διαφόρους λόγους περὶ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ ἤκουον καὶ γὰρ κάρτα πολλοὺς εἶναι σφεας, καὶ ὀλίγους, ὡς Σκύθας εἶναι<sup>227</sup>. τοσόνδε μέντοι ἀπέφαινόν μοι ἐς ὄψιν ἔστι μεταξὺ Βορυσθένης τε ποταμοῦ καὶ Ἑπάνιος χώρος, οὐνομα δὲ οἷ ἔστι Ἑξαμπαῖος<sup>228</sup>. τοῦ καὶ ὀλίγῳ τι πρότερον τούτων μνήμην εἶχον, φάμενος ἐν αὐτῷ κρήνην ὕδατος πικροῦ εἶναι, ἀπ' ἧς τὸ ὕδωρ ἀπορρέον τὸν Ἑπανιν ἄποτον ποιεῖν. ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χώρῳ κέεται χαλκήϊον<sup>229</sup>, μεγάλῃ καὶ ἐξαπλήσιον τοῦ ἐπὶ στόματι τοῦ Πόντου κρητῆρος, τὸν Πausanías ὁ Κλεομβρότου ἀνέθηκε· ὃς δὲ μὴ εἰδὲ κω τούτων, ὥδε δηλώσω ἐξακοσίους ἀμφορέας εὐπετέως χωρεῖ τὸ ἐν Σκύθῃσι χαλκήϊον. πάχος δὲ τὸ Σκυθικὸν τοῦτο χαλκήϊον ἔστι δακτύλων ἑξ· τοῦτο ὦν ἔλεγον οἱ ἐπιχώριοι ἀπὸ ἀρδίων γενέσθαι· βουλόμενον γὰρ τὸν σφέτερον βασιλέα, τῷ οὐνομα εἶναι Ἀριαντὰν, τούτων<sup>230</sup> εἰδέναι τὸ

<sup>226</sup> περιστέλλουσι. See note 347 on I. 98.

<sup>227</sup> καὶ ὀλίγους, ὡς Σκύθας εἶναι. This expression is similar to *μεγὰλα ἐκτῆσατο χρήματα, ὡς ἂν εἶναι Ῥοδῶνιν* (ii. 136). Translate: "and few, to be Scythians." The smallest numbers which were given to Herodotus by his informants were great for any other nation.

<sup>228</sup> Ἑξαμπαῖος. See above, note 161 on § 52.

<sup>229</sup> ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χώρῳ κέεται χαλκήϊον. RITTER (*Vorhalle*, p. 344) conceives that the spot where this bowl was set up was a sacred one, and that it was the site of a colony of Buddha-worshippers. But the principal argument with which he backs his opinion rests upon the supposition that the footmark of Heracles (spoken of in § 82) was in the immediate vicinity,—of which there is certainly no hint in Herodotus. The two objects were un-

doubtedly on different sides of the river Hypanis, and the latter not near its bank. (Compare § 52 and § 82.) But Ritter in fact puts Exampneus between the *Tyras* and the Hypanis, apparently from a slip of the memory, and not, as Herodotus does, between the latter river and the *Borysthenes*. And it is not easy to see to what use Buddhists would put such a cauldron as that described. The *Cimbri* of the north of Europe had a much smaller one, which they held sacred, and sent as a present to Augustus Caesar. Over this it was their practice to cut the throats of the captives they took in war (STRABO, vii. pp. 68—70); and the identification of these *Cimbri* with the *Cimmerii* of Scythia seems to have rested mainly on the notorious similarity of their habits,—a circumstance which squares very ill with Buddhism.

<sup>230</sup> τούτων. One MS has *τούτων*.

πλήθος τῶν Σκυθέων, κελεύει μιν πάντας Σκύθας ἄρδιν ἕκαστον  
 μίαν ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴστου κομίσαι· ὃς δ' ἂν μὴ κομίσῃ, θάνατον ἀπειλεῖ  
 κομισθῆναι τε δὴ χρήμα πολλὸν ἄρδιν, καὶ οἱ δόξαι ἐξ αὐτῶν  
 μνημόσυνον ποιήσαντι λιπέσθαι· ἐκ τούτων δὴ μιν τὸ χαλκῆιον  
 ποιῆσαι τοῦτο, καὶ ἀναθεῖναι ἐς τὸν Ἑξαμπαῖον τούτον. ταῦτα  
 δὴ περὶ τοῦ πλήθους τοῦ Σκυθέων ἤκουον. Θουμάσια δὲ ἡ χώρα 82  
 αὕτη οὐκ ἔχει, χωρὶς ἥ ὅτι ποταμούς τε πολλὰ μεγίστους, καὶ  
 ἀριθμὸν πλείστους· ὃ δὲ ἀποθωμάσαι ἀξίον καὶ πάρεξ τῶν ποτα-  
 μῶν καὶ τοῦ μεγάλους τοῦ πεδίου παρέχεται, εἰρήσεται· ἴχνος  
 Ἑρακλέος<sup>231</sup> φαίνουσι ἐν πέτρῃ ἐνεόν, τὸ οἴκε μὲν βήματι ἀνδρὸς,  
 ἔστι δὲ τὸ μέγαθος δέπηχυν, παρὰ τὸν Τύρην ποταμὸν. τοῦτο μὲν  
 νυν τοιοῦτό ἐστι. ἀναβήσομαι δὲ ἐς τὸν κατ' ἀρχὰς ἥϊα λέξων  
 λόγον<sup>232</sup>.

Print of the  
 foot of He-  
 racles near  
 the river  
 Tyras.

Παρασκευαζόμενου Δαρείου ἐπὶ τοὺς Σκύθας, καὶ ἐπιπέμ- 83  
 ποντος ἀγγέλους ἐπιτάζοντας τοῖσι μὲν πεζὸν στρατὸν τοῖσι  
 δὲ νέας παρέχειν τοῖσι δὲ ζευγνύναι τὸν Θρηῆκιον Βόσπορον<sup>233</sup>,  
 Ἀρτάβανος ὁ Τιστάσπεος, ἀδελφεὸς ἐὼν Δαρείου, ἔχρηξε μηδα-  
 μῶς αὐτὸν στρατητὴν ἐπὶ Σκύθας ποιεέσθαι, καταλέγων τῶν  
 Σκυθέων τὴν ἀπορίην· ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ ἔπειθε συμβουλευόντων οἱ  
 χρηστὰ, ὃ μὲν ἐπέπαυτο, ὃ δὲ, ἐπειδὴ οἱ τὰ πάντα παρεσκεύ-  
 αστο, ἐξήλαυε τὸν στρατὸν ἐκ Σούσων<sup>234</sup>. Ἐνθαῦτα τῶν Περ- 84  
 σέων Οἰόβαζος ἐδεήθη Δαρείου, τριῶν ἐόντων οἱ παῖδων καὶ  
 πάντων στρατευομένων, ἕνα αὐτῷ καταλειφθῆναι· ὃ δὲ οἱ ἔφη, ὥς

Darius pre-  
 paring for his  
 Scythian  
 expedition  
 is fruitlessly  
 dissuaded by  
 his brother  
 Artabanus.

His cruelty  
 to the sons  
 of Gobazus.

<sup>231</sup> ἴχνος Ἑρακλέος. See note 228 on ii. 91.

<sup>232</sup> ἐς τὸν κατ' ἀρχὰς ἥϊα λέξων λόγον. The thread of the narrative is resumed from the beginning of this book,—and the expression κατ' ἀρχὰς affords a presumption in favour of the book being the commencement of a new division of the subject when it came from the hands of the author.

<sup>233</sup> ζευγνύναι τὸν Θρηῆκιον Βόσπορον. See the note 251 on § 88.

<sup>234</sup> ἐξήλαυε τὸν στρατὸν ἐκ Σούσων. RENNELL considers the site of the ancient Susa to be the place called *Sus*, about forty-four geographical miles more to the n.w. in the direction of Babylon than *Tustar* or *Suster*, which was previously considered its site. (*Geography of Herodotus*, p. 203.) As far as Herodotus is

concerned, or the Greeks of his time, it may be affirmed that all known of Susa was that it stood by the side of a river called Choaspes, was the royal palace of the Great King, and that it formed one termination of a great caravan road, of which Sardis constituted the other, in which road there was a certain number of halting places, and a certain amount of estimated, *not* measured, distance. (See notes on v. 49 and on v. 63.) The expression in the text implies that in the notion of the writer the army was concentrated at Susa, and marched from thence, —a journey of at least three months—to the coast. Such can never have been the actual plan of operations. See another instance of misapprehension of oriental strategics, i. 77 (with note 268) above.



φίλῳ ἔοντι καὶ μετρίῳν δεομένῳ πάντας τοὺς παῖδας καταλείψειν ὁ μὲν δὴ Οἰόβαζος περιχαρὴς ἦν ἐλπίζων τοὺς υἱέας στρατηγῆς ἀπολελεύσθαι, ὁ δὲ ἐκέλευσε τοὺς ἐπὶ τούτων ἐπεστέωτας ἀποκτεῖναι πάντας τοὺς Οἰοβάζου παῖδας· καὶ οὔτοι μὲν ἀποσφαγέντες αὐτοῦ ταύτη ἐλπίοντο <sup>235</sup>.

85

Darius arrives at the Bosphorus and surveys the view from the temple of Zeus Urius.

Δαρεῖος δὲ ἐπεὶ τε πορευόμενος ἐκ Σούσων ἀπῆκετο τῆς Καλ-  
χιδονίης ἐπὶ τὸν Βόσπορον <sup>236</sup> ἵνα ἔξευκο ἡ γέφυρα, ἐνθεύτην  
ἐσβὰς ἐς νέα ἔπλεε ἐπὶ τὰς Κιανέας καλυμμένας, τὰς πρότερον  
πλαγκτὰς "Ελληνέες φασὶ εἶναι· ἐξόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ ἱρῷ ἔθγειτο  
τὸν Πόντον, ὄντα ἀξιοθέτηον· πελαγέων γὰρ ἀπάντων πέφυκε  
θωυμασιώτατος <sup>237</sup>. τοῦ τὸ μὲν μήκος στάδιοι εἰσι ἑκατὸν καὶ  
χίλιοι καὶ μύριοι, τὸ δὲ εὖρος, τῇ εὐρύτατος αὐτοῦ ἐωντοῦ, στάδιοι

<sup>235</sup> αὐτοῦ ταύτη ἐλπίοντο. A parallel piece of barbarity to this is related of *Xerxes* (vii. 39), and it appears to be far more in accordance with his character than with that of his father. But a certain palliation of this outrage has been attempted on the ground, that it being a constitutional maxim of the Persians for all capable of bearing arms to follow the king wherever he went on an expedition in person, the mere attempt to excuse one of his sons was on the part of *Ceobazus* a kind of treason. I conceive that the anecdote itself, as well as the parallel one, is substantially an ethical story, illustrative of the temper of an eastern despot, and that the *dramatis personæ*, as in many other stories related by Herodotus, very probably varied in different versions of it. See the notes on v. 92, where the story of *Thrasylbulus's* advice to *Periander* is discussed; also notes 494 on ii. 160 and 368, below.

<sup>236</sup> ἀπῆκετο τῆς Καλχιδονίης ἐπὶ τὸν Βόσπορον. The course of *Darius* from *Susa* to the *Bosphorus*, it will be observed, is entirely unnoticed; and so are all the details of the concentration of the troops. Yet the preparations for assembling any thing like the force mentioned (700,000 land troops and 600 ships, § 87) must have employed all the resources of Asia, comparatively unexhausted as they were at that time, and must have left many a recollection of interesting incidents behind them;—as, according to Herodotus, the similar preparations of *Xerxes* did. See the notes 245 and 247, below.

<sup>237</sup> πέφυκε θωυμασιώτατος. It is a remarkable circumstance, that while Herodotus gives the true dimensions of the *Bosphorus*, on the supposition of the *stade* being about 600 feet, or 10 *stades* to a geographical mile, the magnitude in length and breadth which he assigns to the *Euxine* is enormously too great. The breadth of the strait and the length of the αὐχὴν would fall under his very eye, but this would not be the case with the other facts. When he comes to the *Propontis* the dimensions become much too great, and to make his statement harmonize with facts, the *stades* must be taken much smaller, as equalling no more than  $\frac{1}{10}$  of their real magnitude. But even this exaggeration is much less than for the *Euxine*, where the *stades* must be taken at only  $\frac{1}{10}$  of the proper magnitude. In other words, the error of estimated distance in a run by sea of the extent of the *Propontis* amounts to an excess of two-fifths, and in one of the extent of the *Euxine* to an excess of no less than eleven-tenths. (LEAKE, *op. Geogr. Journal*, ix. p. 11.) Now although the ability of the ancients to estimate a run out at sea was next to nothing, they having no contrivance answering to our *log*, it seems impossible that the rate of error should vary so greatly as appears above. It is more probable that the dimensions of the *Euxine* were exaggerated by the merchants from whom Herodotus obtained his information, than that he himself made the voyage and was deceived to so enormous an extent.



τριηκόσιοι καὶ τρισχίλιοι<sup>238</sup>. τούτου τοῦ πελάγους τὸ στόμα ἐστὶ εὖρος τέσσερες στάδιοι, μήκος δὲ [τοῦ στόματος] ὁ αὐχὴν τὸ δὴ Βόσπορος κέκληται, κατ' ὃ δὴ ἔξευκτο ἡ γέφυρα, ἐπὶ σταδίου εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν ἐστὶ· τείνει δ' ἐς τὴν Προποντίδα ὁ Βόσπορος· ἡ δὲ Προποντίς, εἶσα εὖρος μὲν σταδίων πεντακοσίων μήκος δὲ τετρακοσίων καὶ χιλίων, καταδιδοὶ ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἔοντα στενωπότητι μὲν ἑπτὰ σταδίου μήκος δὲ τετρακοσίων· ἐκδιδοὶ δὲ ὁ Ἑλλήσποντος ἐς χάσμα πελάγους τὸ δὴ Αἰγαῖον καλεῖται. (Με- 86  
μέτρηται δὲ ταῦτα ὧδε· νῆς ἐπὶπαν μάλιστα κη κατανύει ἐν μακρημερίῃ ὀργυῖας ἑπτακισμυρίας, νυκτὸς δὲ ἑξακισμυρίας· ἥδη ὦν ἐς μὲν Φάσις ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος<sup>239</sup>—τούτο γάρ ἐστι τοῦ Πόντου μακρότατον—ἡμερῶν ἐννέα πλόος ἐστὶ καὶ νυκτῶν ὀκτώ· αὗται ἑνδεκα μυριάδες καὶ ἑκατὸν ὀργυῖων<sup>240</sup> γίνονται· ἐκ δὲ τῶν ὀργυῖων τούτων στάδιοι ἑκατὸν καὶ χίλιοι καὶ μύριοι εἰσι. ἐς δὲ Θερμίσκυρην τὴν ἐπὶ Θερμώδοντι ποταμῷ ἐκ τῆς Σινδικῆς<sup>241</sup>—κατὰ

Dimensions and description of the Euxine, Bosphorus, Propontia, and Hellespont.

Mode of estimating the dimension of these seas.

<sup>238</sup> τοῦ τὸ μὲν μήκος . . τρισχίλιοι. For the enormous exaggeration of this statement as regards the Euxine see the last note. It is perhaps not impossible to guess the way in which the error arose. It would appear from § 86 that these distances are the result of a calculation of which the elementary fact is the number of day and night runs out at sea. Now it is a curious circumstance that if the estimated length of a day and night's run be taken at about sixty-two geographical miles,—an amount which results from the *Homeric* story of Odysseus sailing from Crete to Egypt in less than five whole days (*Odys.* xiv. 257)—the true dimensions of the Euxine will come out with very tolerable accuracy from the times ("nine days and eight nights" and "three days and two nights") given in § 86. If then we conceive the author receiving his information in terms of "time,"—which time had been traditionally handed down from the days when about 620 *stades* were the twenty-four hours' run,—and converting this time into "space" according to the standard which prevailed in his own day, when, as was the case from the time of the battle of Mycale, the navigation had undoubtedly become far more courageous, (See below, viii. 132,) we shall obtain an explanation of his erroneous statement without any drawback from his accuracy. The traders in the Euxine would certainly not be anxious to

remove the ancient impression which existed of the length and dangers of the voyage. (See the next note.)

<sup>239</sup> ἐς μὲν Φάσις ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος. Herodotus, although he seems to have been himself at Phasis, doubtless here gives the average run, not from his own experience, but as he heard it from the traders. (For the importance of Phasis as an emporium see note 363 on i. 104.) The proverb was current: *εἰς Φάσις, ἔρθα ναυσὶν ἱσχατος δρόμος*, although to the easternmost point of the sea was, according to STRABO, 600 *stades* further direct run (xi. c. 2, p. 406). This section furnishes an excellent lesson of the caution with which Herodotus's statements are to be weighed.

<sup>240</sup> ἑνδεκα μυριάδες καὶ ἑκατὸν ὀργυῖων, "one hundred and eleven myriads of fathoms," not, as Larcher supposes, 110,100 only.

<sup>241</sup> ἐκ τῆς Σινδικῆς. This is the region between Corocandae (which was nearly on the extreme point of the southern shore of the Cimmerian Bosphorus) and the mouth of the river Kouban. STRABO (xi. c. 2, p. 406) puts the Σινδικὸς λιμὴν 180 *stades* east of Corocandae, the coast in that part running due *π.* and *ω.* Another harbour (called *Bata*) he puts 400 *stades* east of the port of Sind, and considers it to be due north of Sinope; while Herodotus in the text makes the

τοῦτο γάρ ἐστι τοῦ Πόντου εὐρύτατον—τριῶν τε ἡμερέων καὶ δύο νυκτῶν πλούς· αὐται δὲ τρεῖς μυριάδες καὶ τριήκοντα ὀργυμέων γίνονται, στάδιοι δὲ τριηκόσιοι καὶ τρισχίλιοι. ὁ μὲν νυν Πόντος οὗτος καὶ Βόσπορος τε καὶ Ἑλλήσποντος οὕτω τέ μοι μεμετρήσεται, καὶ κατὰ τὰ εἰρημένα πεφύκασιν.) παρέχεται δὲ καὶ λίμνην ὁ Πόντος οὗτος ἐκδιδοῦσαν ἐς ἑωυτὸν, οὐ πολλῷ τέφ ἐλάσσων ἑωυτοῦ<sup>242</sup>, ἣ Μαίητις τε καλέεται καὶ μήτηρ τοῦ Πόντου.

87

After surveying the entrance of the sea, Darius sails back to Mandrocles's bridge, and sets up two *stelae* upon the shore to commemorate the enterprise.

Ὁ δὲ Δαρεῖος ὡς ἐθήσατο τὸν Πόντον, ἔπλεε ὀπίσω ἐπὶ τὴν γέφυραν τῆς ἀρχιτέκτων ἐγένετο Μανδροκλέης Σάμιος· θηησάμενος δὲ καὶ τὸν Βόσπορον, στήλας ἕστησε δύο ἐπ' αὐτῷ<sup>243</sup> λίθου λευκοῦ, ἐνταμὼν γράμματα ἐς μὲν τὴν Ἀσσύρια<sup>244</sup> ἐς δὲ τὴν Ἑλληνικὰ, ἔθνεα πάντα ὅσαπερ ἦγε· ἦγε δὲ πάντα τῶν ἡρχε<sup>245</sup>. τούτων μυριάδες ἐξηριθμήθησαν, χωρὶς τοῦ ναυτικοῦ, ἐβδομήκοντα σὺν ἱππεύσιν· νέες δὲ ἑξακόσiai συνελέχθησαν. τῇσι μὲν νυν στήλησι ταύτησι Βυζάντιοι κομίσαντες ἐς τὴν πόλιν ὕστερον τούτων ἐχρήσαντο πρὸς τὸν βωμὸν τῆς Ὀρθωσίης<sup>246</sup> Ἀρτέμιδος, χωρὶς ἐνὸς λίθου· οὗτος δὲ κατελείφθη παρὰ τοῦ Διονύσου τὸν νηὸν ἐν Βυζαντίῳ, γραμμάτων Ἀσσυρίων πλέος<sup>247</sup>. τοῦ δὲ Βοσ-

port of Sind due north of Themiscyra. All the MSS have Ἰνδικῆς, on which see note 90 on § 28.

<sup>242</sup> οὐ πολλῷ τέφ ἐλάσσων ἑωυτοῦ. The inaccuracy of this statement even as compared with the exaggerated dimensions given of the Euxine is remarkable. The author seems to have had no *data* whatever by which the Sea of Azof could be measured. Undoubtedly it must be considered that the silting up of this sea necessarily proceeds much more rapidly than that of the Euxine, and consequently that their relative magnitudes must have altered considerably since the time of Herodotus. But in fact access to it seems to have been closed at the time the author was writing. (See note 65 on § 21.)

<sup>243</sup> ἐπ' αὐτῷ, "on the coast of it." It will be observed that the στήλαι were no longer *in situ*; and that there was no *positive* evidence as to what part of the strait the bridge had been thrown across. In the *opinion* of Herodotus it will have been half way between Byzantium and the temple of Zeus Urius at the mouth of the sea. But between the time of which he here speaks and the time at which he

wrote, Byzantium had been deserted, and the empty town burnt by the Phoenicians with the Persian army (vi. 33).

<sup>244</sup> Ἀσσύρια. These characters will doubtless have been the arrow-headed writing, but which of the three varieties which are combined on the Behistun Inscription it is impossible to say. It seems very questionable whether the Greeks were aware of any distinction between them. The same writing is no doubt that of the intercepted despatch mentioned in THUCYDIDES, iv. 50.

<sup>245</sup> ἦγε δὲ πάντα τῶν ἡρχε. These words induce the suspicion that the στήλαι in question possibly contained a table of the different provinces of the Persian empire, and of the contingent that each was able to furnish. See the note 236, above.

<sup>246</sup> Ὀρθωσίης. This surname apparently refers to the rebuilding of the city after its destruction by the Persians and Phoenicians. See note 243. It has nothing to do with the title ὀρθία.

<sup>247</sup> γραμμάτων Ἀσσυρίων πλέος. There seems no reasonable doubt, from this phrase, that Herodotus himself *saw* this stone; and as little, from the same cir-

πόρου ὁ χώρος τὸν ἔξευξε βασιλεὺς Δαρεῖος, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκέειν συμ-  
βαλλομένῳ, μέσον ἐστὶ Βυζαντίου τε καὶ τοῦ ἐπὶ στόματι<sup>248</sup>  
ἱροῦ.

Δαρεῖος δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα, ἡσθεὶς τῇ σχεδίῃ, τὸν ἀρχιτέκτονα 88  
αὐτῆς Μανδροκλέα τὸν Σάμιον ἐδωρήσατο πᾶσι δέκα<sup>249</sup>. ἀπ' ὧν  
δὴ<sup>250</sup> Μανδροκλῆς ἀπαρχὴν ζῶα γραψάμενος πᾶσαν τὴν ζεύξιν  
τοῦ Βοσπόρου, καὶ βασιλέα τε Δαρεῖον ἐν προεδρίῃ κατήμενον,  
καὶ τὸν στρατὸν αὐτοῦ διαβαίνοντα, ταῦτα γραψάμενος ἀνέθηκε ἐς  
τὸ Ἡραῖον<sup>251</sup>, ἐπυγράψας τάδε

Mandrocles  
from the  
first-fruits  
of the re-  
ward be-  
stowed by  
Darius  
dedicates a  
painting  
in the  
Heræum  
at Samos.

Βόσπορον ἰχθυόεντα γεφυρώσας ἀνέθηκε

Μανδροκλῆς<sup>252</sup> Ἡρῇ μνημόσυνον σχεδίστης·

αὐτῷ μὲν στέφανον περιβέις Σαμίῳσι δὲ κύδος,

Δαρεῖου βασιλέως<sup>253</sup> ἐκτελέσας κατὰ νοῦν.

ταῦτα μὲν νυν τοῦ ζεύξαντος τὴν γέφυραν μνημόσυνα ἐγένετο.

Δαρεῖος δὲ δωρησάμενος Μανδροκλέα διέβαινε ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην, 89  
τοῖσι Ἴωσι παραγγείλας πλέειν ἐς τὸν Πόντον μέχρι Ἴστρου  
ποταμοῦ· ἐπεὰν δὲ ἀπίκωνται ἐς τὸν Ἴστρον, ἐνθαῦτα αὐτὸν περι-  
μένειν ζευγύνοντας τὸν ποταμόν· τὸ γὰρ δὴ ναυτικὸν ἔργον Ἰωνές τε  
καὶ τὸ πλοῖον<sup>254</sup>.

Darius, after  
crossing,  
marches  
through  
Thrace, and  
the fleet

cumstance, that if he saw those out of which the altar of Artemis Orthosia had been built, he did *not* see the same appearance on them. He is evidence for the fact that a stone of peculiar character was lying by the side of the temple of Dionysus in Byzantium; and *he was told* that this was a component part of two στήλαι which had formerly stood on the shore of the Bosphorus, and that the remaining portions had been used for building the altar of Artemis in the same city. He was also told that the original monuments had contained a certain bilingual inscription, which was regarded as the muster roll of Darius's army on a particular occasion when he had all his subjects with him.

<sup>248</sup> τοῦ ἐπὶ στόματι. The manuscripts S and V have τοῦ ἐπὶ στόματος. The temple spoken of is that of Ζεὺς Ὀβριος (ARRIAN, *Peripl.* § 11), the starting point for the run up the Euxine under a s.w. breeze, which began regularly in April. See note 87 on § 28, above.

<sup>249</sup> πᾶσι δέκα. See note 213 on iii. 74.

<sup>250</sup> ἀπ' ὧν δὴ. This offering of Mandrocles is the particular point to which the attention of the reader is directed.

See on this use of the particle δὴ the note 6 on i. 1.

<sup>251</sup> ἀνέθηκε ἐς τὸ Ἡραῖον. It seems unquestionable that the painting in the Heræum and the traditions of the temple attaching to it are the main foundation for the story of the bridge of boats having been laid across the Thracian Bosphorus. (See the last note.) It seems also certain that the army was represented as *marching*, not *being ferried*, across. In the picture therefore, at any rate, the whole transaction was represented as a parallel to the transit of the Hellespont by Xerxes, who himself ἐθάρτο τὸν στρατὸν ἐπὶ μαστιγῶν διαβαλόντα (vii. 66). From i. 164 it would appear that paintings existed in the temples of Phocæa when that city was taken by Harpagus,—perhaps votive offerings of merchants saved from shipwreck.

<sup>252</sup> Μανδροκλῆς. This name is given as Ἀνδροκλῆς in the citation of the epigram by GYLLIUS (*Bosp. Thrac.* ii. 13), and as Μανδοκλέων in the *Palatine Anthology* (vi. 341). In the next line the Palat. Anth. has τῷ μὲν δὴ στέφανον.

<sup>253</sup> βασιλέως. One MS gives this reading. Gaisford has βασιλέος.

meet him at  
the head of  
the delta  
of the Ister.

καὶ Αἰολέες καὶ Ἑλλησπόντιοι <sup>354</sup>. ὁ μὲν δὲ ναυτικός στρατὸς τὰς  
Κυανέας διεκπλώσας ἔπλεε ἰθὺ τοῦ Ἰστρου ἀναπλώσας δὲ ἀνὰ  
τὸν ποταμὸν δυνὼν ἡμερέων πλόον ἀπὸ θαλάσσης, τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸν  
αὐχένα ἐκ τοῦ σχίζεται τὰ στόματα τοῦ Ἰστρου ἐξεύρνε. Δαρεῖος  
δὲ ὡς διέβη τὸν Βόσπορον κατὰ τὴν σχεδίνην, ἐπορεύετο διὰ τῆς  
Θρηκίης· ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ Τέαρου ποταμοῦ τὰς πηγὰς, ἐστρα-  
τοπεδεύσατο ἡμέρας τρεῖς. Ὁ δὲ Τέαρος λέγεται ὑπὸ τῶν περι-  
οίκων εἶναι ποταμῶν ἄριστος, τὰ τε ἄλλα ἐς ἅκεσιν φέροντα <sup>355</sup> καὶ  
δὴ καὶ ἀνδράσι καὶ ἵπποισι ψώρην ἀκέσασθαι· εἰσὶ δὲ αὐτοῦ αἱ  
πηγαὶ δυνὼν δέουσαι τεσσαράκοντα ἐκ πέτρης τῆς αὐτῆς ῥέουσai·  
καὶ αἱ μὲν αὐτέων εἰσὶ ψυχραὶ, αἱ δὲ θερμαί· ὁδὸς δ' ἐπ' αὐτάς  
ἐστὶ ἴση ἐξ Ἡραίου τε πόλιος τῆς παρὰ Περίνθου καὶ ἐξ Ἀπολ-  
λωνίης τῆς ἐν τῷ Εὐξείνῳ Πόντῳ, δυνὼν ἡμερέων ἑκατέρη <sup>356</sup>. ἐκδι-  
δοὶ δὲ ὁ Τέαρος οὗτος ἐς τὸν Κοντάδεσδον ποταμὸν ὁ δὲ Κοντά-  
δεσδος, ἐς τὸν Ἀγριάνην ὁ δὲ Ἀγριάνης, ἐς τὸν Ἑβρον· ὁ δὲ, ἐς  
θάλασσαν τὴν παρ' Αἰνῆ πόλιν <sup>357</sup>. Ἐπὶ τούτῳ ὦν τὸν ποταμὸν  
ἀπικόμενος ὁ Δαρεῖος ὡς ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο, ἥσθεις τῷ ποταμῷ <sup>358</sup>

90  
He arrives  
at the  
sources of  
the Taurus,  
whose  
waters are  
good for  
skin dis-  
eases.

91  
An inscrip-  
tion on a .

<sup>354</sup> Ἴωνες τε καὶ Αἰολέες καὶ Ἑλλη-  
σπόντιοι. For the probable early incor-  
poration of the Ionians and Eolians as  
Persian allies see the notes 476 on i. 141,  
and 593 on i. 176. It is not to be over-  
looked that in the narrative of this expe-  
dition of Darius no Phoenician force is  
mentioned. If there were no Phoenician  
ships, the expression ἦγε δὲ πάντα ὧν  
ἤρχε must be taken with considerable  
allowance (above, § 87). If there was a  
Phoenician force present, the omission of  
its mention possibly arises from the cir-  
cumstance of Herodotus here following  
the authority of an *Ionian* narrative. See  
the note 269 on § 98, below.

<sup>355</sup> ἐς ἅκεσιν φέροντα. See note 365  
on iii. 133.

<sup>356</sup> ὁδὸς δ' ἐπ' αὐτάς ἐστὶ ἴση, κ.τ.λ.  
These two cities were probably the points  
from which persons wishing to make use  
of the mineral springs of the Taurus set  
out on their journey to them; and it is  
likely that at one or the other Herodotus  
heard the story of Darius's visit and of  
the monument which commemorated it.  
The expression Περσέων τε καὶ πάσης  
τῆς ἡπειροῦ βασιλεὺς is a description  
of the king which would be natural to an  
Asiatic or Hellenistic Greek, but not to a  
Persian. (See the BEHISTUN INSCRIPTION

quoted in *Excursus* on iii. 74, p. 423.)  
Nothing is more likely than that both this  
monument and the cairn mentioned in  
§ 92 stood by the side of the mountain  
road which led from Perinthus to Apol-  
lonia, and that the authority of Herodotus  
is some traveller by this road whom he  
met at Perinthus.

<sup>357</sup> ἐκδιδοὶ δὲ ὁ Τέαρος οὗτος . . . τὴν  
παρ' Αἰνῆ πόλιν. From this description of  
the river-system to which the Taurus be-  
longs, it seems plain that the Agrianes  
must be the river *Erzene*, which falls into  
the *Mariza* (Hebrus) about ten miles to  
the south of Adrianople. Which of the  
tributaries of the Erzene is the Contades-  
dus can only be guessed. PLINY (*N. H.*  
iv. 11) mentions the Taurus, but in such  
a way as to induce the belief that in the  
notion of the authority *he* followed its wa-  
ters fell into the Euxine. And if the springs  
were high up in the mountain range which  
forms the water-shed between the tribu-  
taries of the Hebrus and the streams which  
fall into the Euxine, and the direction in  
the first part of the course appeared to be  
westerly, it is conceivable that visitors at  
the source should at once refer it to a  
river-system with which in its lower parts  
they were acquainted.

<sup>358</sup> ἥσθεις τῷ ποταμῷ. See note 635

στήλην ἔστησε καὶ ἐνθαῦτα, γράμματα ἐγγράψας λέγοντα τάδε·  
 ΤΕΑΡΟΤ ΠΟΤΑΜΟΤ ΚΕΦΑΛΑΙ ΤΔΩΡ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΝ ΤΕ  
 ΚΑΙ ΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΟΝ ΠΑΡΕΧΟΝΤΑΙ ΠΑΝΤΩΝ ΠΟΤΑ-  
 ΜΩΝ· ΚΑΙ ΕΠ' ΑΤΤΑΣ ΑΠΙΚΕΤΟ ΕΛΛΑΤΝΩΝ ΕΠΙ  
 ΣΚΤΘΑΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΟΝ ΑΝΗΡ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΣ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΛ-  
 ΛΙΣΤΟΣ ΠΑΝΤΩΝ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΩΝ, ΔΑΡΕΙΟΣ 'Ο 'ΤΣΤΑ-  
 ΣΠΕΟΣ, ΠΕΡΣΕΩΝ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΣΗΣ ΤΗΣ ΗΠΕΙΡΟΤ  
 ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ. ταῦτα δὴ ἐνθαῦτα ἐγράφη.

at the place there  
is said to commem-  
orate his  
visit.

Δαρείος δὲ ἐνθεύτεν ὁρμηθεὶς ἀπύκετο ἐς ἄλλον ποταμὸν τῷ 92  
 οὔνομα Ἀρτισκός ἐστι, δὲ διὰ Ὀδρυσέων ῥέει. ἐπὶ τοῦτον δὴ τὸν  
 ποταμὸν ἀπικόμενος ἐποίησε τοῖονδε· ἀποδέξας χωρίον τῇ στρατιῇ,  
 ἐκέλευε πάντα ἄνδρα λίθον ἓνα παρεξίοντα τιθέναι ἐς τὸ ἀπο-  
 δεδεγμένον τοῦτο χωρίον ὥς δὲ ταῦτα ἡ στρατιὴ ἐπετέλεσε,  
 ἐνθαῦτα κολωνοὺς μεγάλους τῶν λίθων καταλιπὼν, ἀπέλαυνε τὴν  
 στρατιήν. Πρὶν δὲ ἀπύκεσθαι ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰστρον, πρώτους αἰρέει 93  
 Γέτας τοὺς ἀθανατίζοντας. οἱ μὲν γὰρ δὴ τὸν Σαλμυδησσὸν  
 ἔχοντες Θρηίκας καὶ ὑπὲρ Ἀπολλωνίης τε καὶ Μεσαμβρίας πόλεις  
 οἰκήμενοι, (καλούμενοι δὲ Σκυρμιάδαι καὶ Νιψαῖοι,) ἀμαχητὶ  
 σφέας αὐτοὺς παρέδωσαν Δαρεῖν, οἱ δὲ Γέται πρὸς ἀγνωμοσύνην  
 τραπόμενοι αὐτίκα ἐδουλώθησαν, Θρηίκων ἔοντες ἀνδρείοτατοι καὶ  
 δικαιοτάτοι. Ἀθανατίζουσι δὲ τόνδε τὸν τρόπον οὔτε ἀποθνή- 94  
 σκειν ἑωυτοὺς, νομίζουσι ἵεναι τε τὸν ἀπολλύμενον παρὰ Ζάλ-  
 μοξιν· δαίμονα· οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον νομίζουσι Γεβε-  
 who hold  
the doctrine  
of immor-  
tality.

on i. 188 for the importance attached to water by the Asiatics. Still it is not likely that any man should commend for its potable qualities a water obviously of a mineral, and (judging from its effects) probably a sulphureous character. It was however the practice of the Persian court to pass a considerable portion of every summer in a part of the country in which mineral springs existed, and in fact to go through a course of water drinking and bathing,—a fashion which is ridiculed in a somewhat coarse manner by ARISTOPHANES (*Acharn.* 80—84). It is probable that the Persian officers in the Hellespont would retain their habits, and thus the springs of Tearus would become a kind of Toplitz or Aix la Chapelle for the Chersonese. In that case the visit of any person of high rank would naturally

be commemorated by a monument, as a circumstance calculated to enhance the honour of the baths. That it should be set up by their express desire is another matter.

\* Ζάλμοξιν. Some of the MSS have Ζάλμοξιν, and some Ζάμολξιν. The name Σαλμυδησσός, which apparently belongs to the same dialect, would induce the belief that *Salm* or *Zalm* is the real form of the first syllable of the name. From HESYCHIUS (*sub v.*) it appears that some identified this deity with the Hellenic *Cronus*. But this identification was probably not earlier than the Alexandrine times, when Cronus was regarded as an allegorizing of χρόνος (the course of time). ΜΝΑΣΚΑΣ (see *Etym. Magn.* v. Ζάμολξιν) is apparently one of the authorities referred to by Hesychius.

Custom of  
sending a  
messenger  
to Zalmoxis.

95  
Account  
given of  
Zalmoxis by  
the Helle-  
pontine  
Greeks,  
who make  
him to have  
been a slave  
to Pytha-  
goras in  
Samos.

λείζιν<sup>250</sup>. διὰ πεντετηρίδος δὲ τὸν πάλω λαχόντα αἰεὶ σφεν  
αὐτῶν ἀποπέμπουσι ἄγγελον παρὰ τὸν Ζάλμοξιν, ἐντελλόμενοι  
τῶν ἂν ἐκάστοτε δέωνται· πέμπουσι δὲ ὧδε οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ταχθέντες  
ἀκόντια τρία ἔχουσι· ἄλλοι δὲ διαλαβόντες<sup>251</sup> τοῦ ἀποπεμπομένου  
παρὰ τὸν Ζάλμοξιν τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τοὺς πόδας, ἀνακινήσαντες  
αὐτὸν μετέωρον ῥιπτεύει ἐς τὰς λόγχας. ἦν μὲν δὴ ἀποθάη  
ἀναπαρεῖς, τοῖσι δὲ Ἰλῆως ὁ θεὸς δοκεῖ εἶναι· ἦν δὲ μὴ ἀποθάη,  
αἰτιῶνται αὐτὸν τὸν ἄγγελον, φάμενοί μιν ἄνδρα κακὸν εἶναι·  
αἰτησάμενοι δὲ τοῦτον, ἄλλον ἀποπέμπουσι· ἐντέλλονται δὲ ἐπι  
ζῶντι. οὗτοι οἱ αὐτοὶ Θρήικες καὶ πρὸς βροντὴν τε καὶ ἀστραπὴν  
τοξεύοντες ἄνω πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν, ἀπειλεῦσι<sup>252</sup> τῷ θεῷ, οὐδένα  
ἄλλον θεὸν νομίζοντες εἶναι εἰ μὴ τὸν σφέτερον. Ὡς δὲ ἐγὼ  
πυνθάνομαι τῶν τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον οἰκεόντων Ἑλλήνων καὶ Πόν-  
τον, τὸν Ζάλμοξιν τοῦτον ἔοντα ἄνθρωπον δουλεῦσαι ἐν Σάμῳ·  
δουλεῦσαι δὲ Πυθαγόρῃ τῷ Μνησάρχῳ ἐνθεύτην δὲ αὐτὸν, γενό-  
μενον ἐλεύθερον, χρήματα κτήσασθαι συχνὰ, κτησάμενον δὲ  
ἀπελθεῖν ἐς τὴν ἐωυτοῦ· ἅτε δὲ κακοβίων τε ἔόντων τῶν Θρηίκων  
καὶ ὑπαφρονεστέρων, τὸν Ζάλμοξιν τοῦτον ἐπιστάμενον δίαίταν τε  
Ἰάδα καὶ ἥθεα βαθύτερα<sup>253</sup> ἢ κατὰ Θρηίκας, οἷα Ἑλλησὶ τε  
ὀμιλήσαντα καὶ Ἑλλήνων οὐ τῷ ἀσθενεστάτῃ σοφιστῇ<sup>254</sup> Πυθα-  
γόρῃ, κατασκευάσασθαι ἀνδρεῶνα, ἐς τὸν πανδοκεῖοντα τῶν ἀστῶν  
τοὺς πρώτους καὶ εὐωχέοντα, ἀναδιδάσκειν ὥς οὔτε αὐτὸς οὔτε οἱ  
συμπόται αὐτοῦ οὔτε οἱ ἐκ τούτων αἰεὶ γινόμενοι ἀποθανέονται,  
ἀλλ' ἤξουσι ἐς χώρον τοῦτον ἵνα αἰεὶ περιέοντες ἔξουσι τὰ πάντα  
ἀγαθὰ· ἐν ᾧ δὲ ἐποίηε τὰ καταλεχθέντα καὶ ἔλεγε ταῦτα, ἐν τούτῳ  
κατάγειον οἴκημα ἐποίηετο· ὥς δὲ οἱ παντελέως εἶχε τὸ οἶκημα, ἐκ  
μὲν τῶν Θρηίκων ἠφανίσθη, καταβὰς δὲ κάτω ἐς τὸ κατάγειον

<sup>250</sup> Γεβελίζιν. The manuscripts M, P, K, F, b, d have Βελίζιν.

<sup>251</sup> διαλαβόντες. See note 402 on i. 114.

<sup>252</sup> ἀπειλεῦσι. Gaisford adopts this reading and ῥιπτεύει above, mainly on the authority of S and V, the majority of the MSS having the common forms.

<sup>253</sup> ἥθεα βαθύτερα. This phrase is one which is used by POLYBIUS (see Schweighauser's *Lexicon Polybianum*, vv. Βάθος and Βαθύς), and several times by PHILO JUDÆUS, but it rather surprises in so

early an author as Herodotus. The original notion of ἥθεα βαθύ seems to be a character formed by sound and philosophical instruction, not of the merely technical kind (such as the use of weapons) to which the education of a savage would be confined. ἥθ. β. ἢ κατὰ Θρηίκας would be "the results of a deeper training than the Thracian customs recognized."

<sup>254</sup> σοφιστῇ. See note 99 on i. 30, and note 140 on ii. 49.

οἰκημα<sup>264</sup> διαιτᾶτο ἐπ' ἕτεα τρία· οἱ δέ μιν ἐπόθεόν τε καὶ ἐπέν-  
 θεον ὡς τεθνεῶτα· τετάρτῳ δὲ ἔτει ἐφάνη τοῖσι Θρήϊξιν καὶ οὕτω  
 πιθανά σφι ἐγένετο τὰ ἔλεγε ὁ Ζάλμοξις. ταῦτά φασί μιν  
 ποιήσαι· Ἐγὼ δὲ περὶ μὲν τούτου καὶ<sup>265</sup> τοῦ καταγαίου οἰκή-  
 ματος οὔτε ἀπιστέω οὔτε ὦν πιστεύω τι λίην δοκέω δὲ πολλοῖσι  
 ἔτεσι πρότερον τὸν Ζάλμοξιν τούτον γενέσθαι Πυθαγόρεω. εἴτε  
 δὲ ἐγένετό τις Ζάλμοξις ἄνθρωπος, εἴτ' ἐστὶ δαίμων τις Γέτησι  
 οὗτος ἐπιχώριος, χαίρετω. οὗτοι μὲν δὴ τρόπῳ τοιοῦτῳ χρεώ-  
 μενοι, ὡς ἐχειρώθησαν ὑπὸ Περσέων, εἴποντο τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ·

96

Herodotus's  
criticism of  
the story.

Δαρείος δὲ ὡς ἀπίκετο καὶ ὁ πεζὸς ἅμ' αὐτῷ στρατὸς ἐπὶ τὸν

97

Ἰστρον, ἐνθαῦτα διαβάντων πάντων Δαρείος ἐκέλευσε τοὺς Ἴωνας  
 τὴν σχεδὴν λύσαντας ἔπεςθαι κατ' ἡπειρον ἑωυτῷ, καὶ τὸν ἐκ  
 τῶν νεῶν στρατὸν μελλόντων δὲ τῶν Ἰόνων λύειν καὶ ποιεῖν  
 τὰ κελευόμενα, Κῶης δ' Ἐρξάνδρου, στρατηγὸς ἑὸν Μυτιλη-  
 ναίων, ἔλεξε Δαρεῖν τάδε, πυθόμενος πρότερον εἰ οἱ φίλον εἴη  
 γνώμην ἀποδέκεσθαι παρὰ τοῦ βουλομένου ἀποδεικνυσθαι· “ὦ  
 βασιλεῦ, ἐπὶ γῇν γὰρ μέλλεις στρατεῦσθαι τῆς οὔτε ἀρρομένου  
 φανήσεται οὐδέν<sup>266</sup> οὔτε πόλις οἰκομένη, σὺ νῦν γέφυραν ταύτην  
 ἔα κατὰ χώρην ἐστάναι, φυλάκους αὐτῆς λιπὼν τούτους οἱ περ  
 μιν ἔξευξαν καὶ ἦν τε κατὰ νόον πρήξωμεν εὐρόντες Σκύθας ἔστι  
 ἄποδος ἡμῖν, ἦν τε καὶ μὴ σφεας εὐρεῖν δυνεώμεθα ἢ γε ἄποδος  
 ἡμῖν ἀσφαλής· οὐ γὰρ ἔδεισά κω μὴ ἐσσωθῶμεν ὑπὸ Σκυθῶν  
 μάχῃ, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον μὴ οὐ δυνάμενοί σφεας εὐρεῖν πάθωμέν τι  
 ἀλώμενοι. καὶ τάδε λέγειν φαίη τις ἂν με ἑωυτοῦ<sup>267</sup> εἵνεκεν, ὡς  
 καταμένω· ἐγὼ δὲ γνώμην μὲν τὴν εὕρισκον ἀρίστην σοι, βασιλεῦ,  
 ἐς μέσον φέρω· αὐτὸς μέντοι ἔψομαί τοι, καὶ οὐκ ἂν λειφθεῖην.”  
 κάρτα τε ἦσθη τῇ γνώμῃ Δαρείος, καὶ μιν ἡμέψατο τοῖσδε  
 “ξείνε Δέσβιε, σωθέντος ἐμεῦ ὀπίσω ἐς οἶκον τὸν ἐμὸν ἐπιφάνηθί  
 μοι πάντως, ἵνα σε ἀντὶ χρηστῆς συμβουλῆς χρηστοῖσι ἔργοισι

The Gets  
after a  
vain re-  
sistance are  
compelled  
to join the  
expedition.

On arriving  
at the Ister  
Darius in-  
tends to  
destroy the  
bridge after  
passing, but  
is dissuaded  
by Coes of  
Mytilene.

<sup>264</sup> ἐποιέετο . . . οἰκημα. These words are omitted in S, obviously from the eye of the transcriber being deceived.

<sup>265</sup> τούτου καί. These two words are omitted in the manuscripts M, P, K, F, d.

<sup>266</sup> ἀρρομένου φανήσεται οὐδέν. The region described above (§ 17) as inhabited by Scythian husbandmen is not taken into

account by the speaker. Neither is there any indication in the narrative of Darius's campaign of his entering such a country. The geographical part of Herodotus's account of the country apparently belongs to a different cycle of stories from those on which the expedition of Darius rests.

<sup>267</sup> ἑωυτοῦ. The manuscripts S and V have ἐμευτοῦ. But see note on vii. 28.

98 ἀμείψωμαι." Ταῦτα εἶπας καὶ ἀπάντας ἄμματα ἐξήκοντα<sup>266</sup> ἐν ἱμάντι, καλέσας ἐς λόγους τοὺς Ἴωνων τυράννους<sup>267</sup> ἔλεγε τάδε· "ἄνδρες Ἴωνες, ἡ μὲν πρότερον γνώμη ἀποδεχθεῖσα ἐς τὴν γέφυραν μετείσθω μοι· ἔχοντες δὲ τὸν ἱμάντα τύνδε ποιεῖτε τάδε· ἐπεὰν με ἴδῃτε τάχιστα πορευόμενον ἐπὶ Σκύθας, ἀπὸ τούτου ἀρξάμενοι τοῦ χρόνου λύετε ἄμμα ἐν ἐκάστης ἡμέρης· ἦν δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ μὴ παρέω, ἀλλὰ διεξέλθωσι ὑμῖν αἱ ἡμέραι τῶν ἀμμάτων, ἀποπλέετε ἐς τὴν ὑμετέρεν αὐτῶν· μέχρι δὲ τούτου, ἐπεὶ τε οὕτω μετέδοξε, φυλάσσετε τὴν σχεδὴν πᾶσαν προθυμίην σωτηρίας τε καὶ φυλακῆς παρεχόμενοι· ταῦτα δὲ ποιεῦντες, ἐμοὶ μεγάλως χαριείσθε." Δαρεῖος μὲν ταῦτα εἶπας ἐς τὸ πρόσω ἐπεύγετο.

99 Τῆς δὲ Σκυθικῆς γῆς ἡ Θρηίκη τὸ ἐς θάλασσαν πρόκειται· κόλπου δὲ ἀγομένου τῆς γῆς ταύτης, ἡ Σκυθική τε ἐκδέκεται, καὶ ὁ Ἰστρος ἐκδιδοὶ ἐς αὐτὴν πρὸς εὖρον ἄνεμον τὸ στόμα τετραμμένος. τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ Ἰστροῦ, ἔρχομαι σημανέων τὸ πρὸς θάλασσαν αὐτῆς τῆς Σκυθικῆς χώρας ἐς μέτρησιν ἀπὸ Ἰστροῦ αὕτη ἥδη ἀρχαίη Σκυθική ἐστι, πρὸς μεσαμβρίην τε καὶ νότον ἄνεμον κειμένη, μέχρι πόλιος καλεομένης Καρκινίτιδος<sup>270</sup>. τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ ταύτης,

Description of the sea-board of Scythia from the Ister.

<sup>266</sup> ἀπάντας ἄμματα ἐξήκοντα. It has been remarked that this rude method of computation ascribed to the Persians is very striking, and undoubtedly it would surprise us to find that it prevailed among them. But if it be looked at as a feature in a local story of the invasion, it indicates nothing more than that such a mode of computing was familiar to the locality whence the story was obtained,—perhaps a part of Thrace or Scythia. The practice of the early Romans and the Vulturnians to register the lapse of a year by driving a nail into the wall of a temple is well known from LIVY (vii. 3).

<sup>267</sup> τοὺς Ἴωνων τυράννους. It appears that the *Hellespontine* dynasts, as well as the Ionians, were left in charge of the bridge (§ 138). But the Ionians perhaps are mentioned as constituting the most important element of the force, at any rate in the idea of the authority followed by Herodotus. But see the note 354, below.

<sup>270</sup> καλεομένης Καρκινίτιδος. This town has been mentioned before, as if known at least by description. But there is no appearance whatever of the author having visited it; and from the description in the

text, it seems plain that he conceived it, the mouth of the Ister, and that of the Borysthenes, as lying nearly on the same parallel. STRABO himself does not appear to know the town, although he describes the *Καρκινίτης κόλπος* which is named from it. This latter is the bay of which the n.w. headland is formed by the ἄκρα Ταμυράκη,—the western point of a long narrow sandbank joined to the main by an isthmus in about the middle of its extent, called the Ἀχίλλειος δρόμος. But so little was known of the bay even in Strabo's time, from the dangerous navigation, that the local accounts of the distance from *Tamyrace* to the head of the bay varied from 1000 to 3000 *stadæ* (vii. p. 92). Now at the head of the bay (the *Ulu Degnitz* or Dead Sea) is the isthmus connecting the Crimea with the main, of the width of which the accounts also varied from 40 to 360 *stadæ*. (STRABO, l. c.) Of this isthmus Herodotus does not take any notice at all, except it be assumed that it is the site of the *Slare's Dyke* described in § 3, above, against which much may be said. In his view the coast of the Crimea is conceived as running pretty nearly in a straight line



τὴν μὲν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν τὴν αὐτὴν φέρουσαν, εὐόσαν ὀρευνῆν τε  
 χώραν καὶ προκειμένην τὸ ἐς Πόντον, νέμεται τὸ Ταυρικὸν ἔθνος,  
 μέχρι Χερσονήσου τῆς Τρηχέης καλεομένης· αὕτη δὲ ἐς θάλασσαν  
 τὴν πρὸς ἀπηνιώτην ἄνεμον κατήκει. ἔστι γὰρ τῆς Σκυθικῆς τὰ  
 δύο μέρη τῶν οὐρῶν ἐς θάλασσαν φέροντα, τὴν τε πρὸς μεσαμ-  
 βρίην καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ, κατὰπερ τῆς Ἀττικῆς χώρας καὶ  
 παραπλήσια ταύτῃ καὶ οἱ Ταῦροι νέμονται τῆς Σκυθικῆς, ὥς εἰ  
 τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἄλλο ἔθνος καὶ μὴ Ἀθηναῖοι νεμοῖατο τὸν γουνὸν  
 τὸν Σουνιακὸν, μᾶλλον ἐς τὸν πόντον τὴν ἄκρην ἀνέχοντα, τὸν  
 ἀπὸ Θορικοῦ μέχρι Ἀναφλύστου δήμου λέγω δὲ, ὥς εἶναι ταῦτα  
 σμικρὰ μεγάλοισι συμβαλέειν τοιοῦτον ἢ Ταυρικὴ ἐστὶ· δς δὲ  
 τῆς Ἀττικῆς ταῦτα μὴ παραπέπλωκε<sup>371</sup>, ἐγὼ δὲ ἄλλως δηλώσω  
 ὥς εἰ τῆς Ἰηπυγίης ἄλλο ἔθνος, καὶ μὴ Ἰήπυγες, ἀρξάμενοι ἐκ  
 Βρεντεσίου λιμένος, ἀποταμοῖατο μέχρι Τάραντος, καὶ νεμοῖατο  
 τὴν ἄκρην. δύο δὲ λέγων ταῦτα, πολλὰ λέγω παρόμοια, τοῖσι  
 ἄλλοις εἶκε ἢ Ταυρικῇ. Τὸ δ' ἀπὸ τῆς Ταυρικῆς, ἤδη Σκύθαι 100  
 τὸ κατύπερθε τῶν Ταύρων<sup>372</sup> καὶ τὰ πρὸς θαλάσσης τῆς ἡοῆς  
 νέμονται<sup>373</sup>, τοῦ τε Βοσπόρου τοῦ Κιμμερίου τὰ πρὸς ἐσπέρης καὶ  
 τῆς λίμνης τῆς Μαϊήτιδος, μέχρι Ταναΐδος ποταμοῦ δς ἐκιδδοί ἐς  
 μυχὸν τῆς λίμνης ταύτης. ἤδη ὦν ἀπὸ μὲν Ἰστρου, τὰ κατύπερθε  
 ἐς τὴν μεσόγαιαν φέροντα, ἀποκληῖται ἢ Σκυθικὴ ὑπὸ πρώτων  
 Ἀγαθύρων μετὰ δὲ, Νευρῶν ἔπειτα δὲ, Ἀνδροφάγων τελευ-

from the low land at the s.w. of the embouchure of the Borysthenes to the Χερσονήσος τρηχία, the mountainous district forming the European shore of the Cimmerian Bosphorus. After the cape (the Ram's head) is rounded, he imagines the main direction of the coast to be northward, or N. by E., until the mouth of the Tanais and the head of the Sea of Azof is reached. The narrow strait he seems to bring considerably to the north of its true position, and to be quite unaware of the extent and figure of the coast of the Crimea between κριοῦ μέτωπον (the Ram's head) and Panticapæum.

<sup>371</sup> δς δὲ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ταῦτα μὴ παραπέπλωκε. From the circumstance of the author using an illustration derived from the coast of Italy, it has been argued that this passage must have been written by him subsequently to his arrival at Thurii, and intended for the special purpose

of informing the inhabitants of Magna Græcia. The passage in § 15, above, seems likewise to imply a familiarity with Metapontium,—such as might be expected from a person settled in the immediate neighbourhood.

<sup>372</sup> τὸ κατύπερθε τῶν Ταύρων. The manuscripts S and V omit τὸ.

<sup>373</sup> τὰ πρὸς θαλάσσης τῆς ἡοῆς, "the eastern seaboard." The Sea of Azof and the Bosphorus seem to be conjointly described as the eastern sea in opposition to the sea to the west of the Crimea. The Euxine itself was in after times considered to be divided into an easterly and westerly portion by a line drawn from κριοῦ μέτωπον (the Ram's head), the southernmost point of the Crimea, to Cape Carambis in Paphlagonia. It was said that navigators passing between often saw the two points simultaneously. (STRABO, vii. p. 94.)

- 101 ταίων δέ, Μελαγχλαίων. "Ἔστι ὦν τῆς Σκυθικῆς, ὡς εἰσὶν τετραγώνου"<sup>274</sup>, τῶν δύο μερέων κατηκόντων ἐς θάλασσαν, πάντη ἴσον τό τε ἐς τὴν μεσόγαιαν φέρον, καὶ τὸ παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν ἀπὸ γὰρ "Ἰστρου ἐπὶ Βορυσθένα δέκα ἡμέρων ὁδός· ἀπὸ Βορυσθέως τ' ἐπὶ τὴν λίμνην τὴν Μαίητιν, ἐτέρων δέκα· καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἐς μεσόγαιαν ἐς τοὺς Μελαγχλαίους τοὺς κατύπερθε Σκυθῶν οἰκήμενους, εἴκοσι ἡμέρων ὁδός. ἡ δὲ ὁδὸς ἡ ἡμερησίῃ ἀνὰ διηκόσια στάδια συμβέβληται μοι"<sup>275</sup>. οὕτω ἂν εἴη τῆς Σκυθικῆς τὰ ἐπικάρσια"<sup>276</sup>, τετρακισχιλίων σταδίων καὶ τὰ ὄρθια, τὰ ἐς τὴν μεσόγαιαν φέροντα, ἐτέρων τοσούτων σταδίων. ἡ μὲν νῦν γῆ αὕτη ἐστὶ μέγας τοσαύτη.

- 102 Οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι δόντες σφίσι λόγον ὡς οὐκ οἶοι τέ εἰσι τὸν Δαρείου στρατὸν ἰθυμαχίῃ διώσασθαι μῦνοι, ἔπεμπον ἐς τοὺς πλησιοχώρους ἀγγέλους· τῶν δὲ καὶ δὴ οἱ βασιλῆες συνελθόντες ἐβουλεύοντο, ὡς στρατοῦ ἐπελαύνοντος μεγάλου ἦσαν δὲ οἱ συνελθόντες βασιλῆες, Ταύρων, καὶ Ἀγαθύρσων, καὶ Νευρῶν, καὶ Ἀνδροφάγων, καὶ Μελαγχλαίων, καὶ Γελωνῶν, καὶ Βουδίων, καὶ Σαυροματέων"<sup>277</sup>.

<sup>274</sup> ὡς εἰσὶν τετραγώνου, "considered as a square." These words must not be pressed too closely. The writer obviously throws the country of the Tauri entirely out of consideration, and has very vague notions of the dimensions of the territory occupied by the northern neighbours of the Scythians. The main points suggesting the comparison are that he believes each coast line to be 4000 *stadia* in length, and the Melanchlaeni to lie twenty days' journey inland of the Scythians on the banks of the Tanais.

<sup>275</sup> ἡ δὲ ὁδὸς ἡ ἡμερησίῃ ἀνὰ διηκόσια στάδια συμβέβληται μοι. In another place (v. 53) he estimates the distance at 150 *stadia* daily. See the note on that passage.

<sup>276</sup> ἐπικάρσια. This word has occasioned a good deal of difficulty, and given rise to some false conceptions of the figure which Herodotus attributes to Scythia. It is in fact a relative term, and means "at an angle,"—not "at an oblique angle" in contradistinction to a right angle, but generally "at an angle" in contradistinction to that which is in the same line. Thus in the *Odyssey* (ix. 70) the expression ἐφέροντ' ἐπικάρσιαι is applied to the ships heeling over on being

struck by a squall,—as opposed to sailing on an even keel. The streets of Babylon, according to Herodotus's description (i. 180), were built straight: τὰς τε ἄλλας καὶ τὰς ἐπικαρσίας τὰς ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐχούσας, where the word implies merely those turning off from the main streets. So the pontoon-bridge of Xerxes at the Hellespont was so laid that the ships composing it were τοῦ μὲν Πόντου ἐπικαρσίας τοῦ δὲ Ἑλλησπόντου κατὰ ῥόον, "at an angle to the line of coast of the Euxine, but in the line of stream of the canal." In this passage the force of the word consists in its opposition to τὰ ὄρθια, which are the lines drawn from the sea-coast directly inland. The coast lines, being inclined to these, are τὰ ἐπικάρσια, but what the angle of inclination may be is not expressed.

<sup>277</sup> ἦσαν δὲ οἱ συνελθόντες . . . Σαυροματέων. With the exception of the Tauri, these tribes are mentioned in the order in which they come from west to east. The Agathyrsi perhaps may be considered to occupy the site of the Carpathian mountains on both sides, and the others to be mere nomad tribes. A river which takes its rise among the Agathyrsi (the *Maris*) seems to be the Theiss (see § 49); and

Τούτων Ταῦροι μὲν νόμοισι τοιοῖσδε χρέωνται· θύουσι μὲν τῇ 103  
 Παρθένῳ<sup>278</sup> τοῖς τε ναυηγούς καὶ τοὺς ἀν λάβωσι Ἑλλήνων<sup>Habits of the Tauri,</sup>  
 ἐπαναχθέντας<sup>279</sup>, τρόπῳ τοιῷδε καταρξάμενοι, ῥοπάλῳ παλοῦσι  
 τὴν κεφαλὴν· οἱ μὲν δὴ λέγουσι, ὥς τὸ σῶμα ἀπὸ τοῦ κρημνοῦ  
 ὠθέουσι κάτω, (ἐπὶ γὰρ κρημνοῦ ἴδρυται τὸ ἱόν)· τὴν δὲ κεφαλὴν  
 ἀνασταυροῦσι· οἱ δὲ κατὰ μὲν τὴν κεφαλὴν ὁμολογέουσι, τὸ μέντοι  
 σῶμα οὐκ ὠθέσθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ κρημνοῦ λέγουσι, ἀλλὰ γῇ κρύπτεσθαι.  
 τὴν δὲ δαίμονα ταύτην, τῇ θύουσι, λέγουσι αὐτοὶ Ταῦροι<sup>280</sup> Ἰφυγέ-

the circumstance of their being *ἀβρότατοι* and *χρυσόφοροι* serves to distinguish them from the filthy nomads of the plains. If they were mountaineers too, there is a reason for their making a stand against the flying Scythians, and for the latter not attempting to force their way through mountainous regions where their wagons could not have travelled. See below, § 125.

<sup>278</sup> τῇ Παρθένῳ. The site of the temple of this goddess was a promontory in the Crimea immediately to the south of the city Chersonesus, a colony from Heraclea in Pontus, which is mentioned by Scylax of Caryanda, although neither it nor Heraclea itself are by Herodotus (see the next note). It was near the mouth of the bay at the head of which the Russian arsenal *Sebastopol* stands. A line drawn from Sebastopol to the south for about eight miles falls into the head of the bay of Balaclava, anciently called *Συμβόλων λιμὴν*, the chief den of the Tauric wreckers and pirates. Within the peninsula formed by this isthmus (which was called *μικρὰ Χερρόνησος* to distinguish it from the *μεγὰλὴ Χερρόνησος* or the Crimea) were three small harbours, besides the Tauric port, and the bay of Aktiar or Sebastopol. The Tauric shore was considered to extend from the *Συμβόλων λιμὴν* to the town Theodosia (the modern *Caffa*) a distance of 1000 stades. It was singularly well fitted for piracy, the high shores furnishing excellent stations for observing the vessels going up the Euxine, as they passed through the narrowest part of that sea included between the Ram's head and Cape Carambis in Asia. (STRABO, vii. pp. 91, seqq.)

<sup>279</sup> τοὺς ἀν λάβωσι Ἑλλήνων ἐπαναχθέντας. This was a common belief at Athens, and appears to have been inculcated by the dramatic writers. EURI-

PIDES (*Ip̄l. Taur.* 38) makes Iphigenia say of herself:—

Θέω γὰρ, ὄντος τοῦ νόμου καὶ πρὶν πόλει,  
 δι' ἀν κατέλθῃ τῆδε γῆν Ἑλλήν ἀνὴρ.

And yet it is singular that the very arsenal of the Taurians (see the last note) should have been called *συμβόλων λιμὴν*, — a name which clearly indicates commercial relations between them and foreigners. One may be inclined to suspect that it was only the *Ionians* who were treated in the way described in the text, and that a confederacy may have existed for the purpose of monopolizing the traffic with the Sea of Azof which passed through the Cimmerian Bosphorus. If all Greeks had been treated so cruelly, the city Chersonesus would hardly have been founded from Heraclea under the very eye of the Taurians. But Heraclea was essentially *Dorian*, as the inscriptions on its coins show. (HOFMANN, p. 1591.) If a confederacy existed between the Bosphorane Greeks, the Taurians, and the Heracleots, for the purpose of excluding the Ionian Asiatics from the channel traffic, an explanation is afforded of some of Herodotus's most striking omissions. See note 68 on § 21.

<sup>280</sup> λέγουσι αὐτοὶ Ταῦροι. It must not be necessarily concluded from this expression that the writer had himself been on the spot. His ignorance of the outline of the coast (see note 270 on § 9†) proves the contrary decisively. And if he obtained his information from Hellenic traders, the real state of the case would no doubt be that *they* identified the native deity with the Iphigenia of their own mythology, and the Tauri *allowed* the theory. Some such identification would be requisite for the purposes of traffic, as without some common religious bond no covenant of any kind would be held valid. See note 37 on iii. 11.

104  
of the *Agai-  
kyrai*,

105  
of the *Neuri*,



106  
of the *Can-  
nibals*,

νειαν τὴν Ἀγαμέμνονος εἶναι. πολεμίους δὲ ἄνδρας, τοὺς ἂν χειρώσωνται, ποιεῖσι τάδε ἀποταμὼν ἕκαστος κεφαλὴν, ἀποφέρεται ἐς τὰ οἰκία· ἔπειτα ἐπὶ ξύλου μεγάλου ἀναπείρας ἰστᾶ ὑπὲρ τῆς οἰκίας ὑπερέχουσιν πολλὸν, μάλιστα δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς καπνοδόκης· φασὶ δὲ τούτους φυλάκους τῆς οἰκίας πάσης ὑπεραιωρέεσθαι ζῶσι δὲ ἀπὸ ληθῆς τε καὶ πολέμου. Ἀγάθυρσοι δὲ ἀβρότατοι ἄνδρες εἰσὶ, καὶ χρυσοφόροι τὰ μάλιστα· ἐπικούινον δὲ τῶν γυναικῶν τὴν μίξιν ποιεῖνται, ἵνα κασόνγητοί τε ἀλλήλων ἔωσι, καὶ οἰκήιοι ἔοντες πάντες, μήτε φθόνῳ μήτ' ἔχθει χρέωνται ἐς ἀλλήλους· τὰ δ' ἄλλα νόμαια θρήϊξε προσκεχωρήκασιν. Νευροὶ δὲ νόμοισι μὲν χρέωνται Σκυθικοῖσι. γενεῇ δὲ μὴ πρότερόν σφεας τῆς Δαρείου στρατηλασίης κατέλαβε ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν χώραν πᾶσαν ὑπὸ ὀφίων.<sup>231</sup> ὀφίας γὰρ σφι πολλοὺς μὲν ἡ χώρα ἀνέφαινε, οἱ δὲ πλεῖνες ἀνωθέν σφι ἐκ τῶν ἐρήμων ἐπέπεσον, ἐς δ, πιεζόμενοι, οἰκησαν μετὰ Βουδίνων<sup>232</sup>, τὴν ἐωυτῶν ἐκλιπόντες. κινδυνεύουσι δὲ οἱ ἄνθρωποι οὗτοι γόητες εἶναι· λέγονται γὰρ ὑπὸ Σκυθῶν καὶ Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἐν τῇ Σκυθικῇ κατοικημένων, ὥς ἔτεος ἐκάστων ἅπαξ τῶν Νευρῶν ἕκαστος λύκος γίνεταί<sup>233</sup> ἡμέρας ὀλίγας, καὶ αὐτίς ὀπίσω ἐς ταῦτα κατίσταται· ἐμὲ μὲν νυν ταῦτα λέγοντες οὐ πείθουσι· λέγουσι δὲ οὐδὲν ἥσσουν, καὶ ὀμνύουσι δὲ λέγοντες. Ἀνδροφάγοι δὲ ἀγριώτατα πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἔχουσι ἥθεα· οὔτε δίκην νομίζοντες οὔτε νόμῳ οὐδενὶ χρεώμενοι· νομάδες δὲ εἰσι· ἐσθῆτα δὲ φορέουσι τῇ Σκυθικῇ ὁμοίην, γλώσσαν δὲ ἰδίην.<sup>234</sup>

<sup>231</sup> ὑπὸ ὀφίων. It has been considered that the basis of this story may be the locusts which sometimes cover the plains of southern Russia.

<sup>232</sup> οἰκησαν μετὰ Βουδίνων. According to SCHAFARIK (*Slavische Alterthümer*, quoted by Mr. Grote, vol. iii. p. 325) a plausible case is to be made out for considering the *Neuri* and *Budini* a Slavonic race. It seems that the names are traceable to Slavonic roots, and that the wooden town (described in § 108) is an exact parallel of the primitive Slavonic towns even down to the twelfth century.

<sup>233</sup> λύκος γίγνεται. This is the superstition of the *wer-wolf*, which seems to have prevailed in all countries where these ferocious animals were common. Its origin is perhaps to be looked for in the peculiar character which mania would be likely to assume in a population living

among forests and accustomed to hear the howling of wolves at night. GARMAN (*Deutsche Mythologie*, p. 621) gives several forms which the superstition takes in different parts of western Europe. In Denmark the *beaver* takes the place of the wolf. In some parts of the east the *tiger* does, and in Abyssinia the *hyena*. But transformation into a wolf as a voluntary act implies a belief in witchcraft super-added to experience of the disease of lycanthropy. VIRGIL (*Bucol.* viii. 97) makes Mœris change himself into a wolf by the help of certain herbs which came from *Pontus*, the head-quarters of witchcraft, and the source perhaps of Herodotus's story.

<sup>234</sup> γλώσσαν δὲ ἰδίην. The word ἔχουσι is to be supplied by inference from *φορέουσι*. See note 190 on i. 59.

ἀνθρωποφαγέουσι δὲ μῦνοι τούτων<sup>285</sup>. Μελάγχλαινοι δὲ εἴματα 107  
 μὲν μέλανα<sup>286</sup> φορέουσι πάντες, ἐπ' ὧν καὶ τὰς ἐπωνυμίας ἔχουσι<sup>of the Melanchlaei,</sup>  
 νόμοισι δὲ Σκυθικοῖσι χρέωνται. Βουδῖνοι δὲ, ἔθνος ἐὼν μέγα καὶ 108  
 πολλόν, γλαυκόν τε πᾶν ἰσχυρῶς ἐστὶ καὶ πυρρόν<sup>of the Budini, among</sup>. πόλιν δὲ<sup>whom exists</sup>  
 ἐν αὐτοῖσι πεπόλισται ξυλίνη, οὖνομα δὲ τῇ πόλει ἐστὶ Γελωνός<sup>a wooden</sup>  
 τοῦ δὲ τείχεος μέγαθος, κῶλον ἑκαστον τριήκοντα σταδίων ἐστὶ<sup>city, Gelo-</sup>  
 ὑψηλὸν δὲ, καὶ πᾶν ξύλινον καὶ οἰκίαι αὐτῶν ξύλιναι, καὶ τὰ<sup>nus, with</sup>  
 ἱρά<sup>temples of</sup> ἐστὶ γὰρ δὴ αὐτόθι Ἑλληνικῶν θεῶν ἱρά, Ἑλληνικῶς κατ-<sup>Hellenic</sup>  
 εσκευασμένα ἀγάλμασί τε καὶ βωμοῖσι καὶ νηοῖσι ξυλίνουσιν καὶ<sup>deities, and</sup>  
 τῷ Διονύσῳ τριετηρίδας ἀνάγουσι, καὶ βακχεύουσι. εἰσὶ γὰρ οἱ<sup>a population</sup>  
 Γελωνοὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον Ἕλληνες· ἐκ τῶν δὲ ἐμπορίων ἐξαναστάντες,  
 οἰκησαν ἐν τοῖσι Βουδίνουσιν καὶ γλώσση τὰ μὲν Σκυθικὴ τὰ δὲ 109  
 Ἑλληνικὴ χρέωνται. Βουδῖνοι δὲ οὐ τῇ αὐτῇ γλώσση χρέωνται  
 καὶ Γελωνοὶ, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ δίαυτα ἢ αὐτῇ· οἱ μὲν γὰρ Βουδῖνοι,  
 ἔοντες αὐτόχθονες, νομάδες τέ εἰσι καὶ φθειροτραγέουσι<sup>287</sup> μῦνοι  
 τῶν ταύτῃ Γελωνοὶ δὲ, γῆς τε ἐργάται, καὶ σιτοφάγοι, καὶ  
 κήπους ἐκτῆμενοι, οὐδὲν τὴν ἰδέην ὁμοιοί, οὐδὲ τὸ χρῶμα· ὑπὸ  
 μέντοι Ἑλλήνων καλέονται καὶ οἱ Βουδῖνοι Γελωνοὶ, οὐκ ὁρθῶς  
 καλεόμενοι. ἡ δὲ χώρα σφέων πᾶσά ἐστι δασέη ἰδρσι παντοίησι·  
 ἐν δὲ τῇ ἰδρ τῇ πλείστῃ ἐστὶ λίμνη μεγάλη τε καὶ πολλή<sup>288</sup>, καὶ  
 ἔλος καὶ κάλαμος περὶ αὐτήν· ἐν δὲ ταύτῃ ἐνύδριες ἀλίσκονται,  
 καὶ κάστορες, καὶ ἄλλα θηρία τετραγωνοπρόσωπα<sup>289</sup>, τῶν τὰ

<sup>285</sup> ἀνθρωποφαγέουσι δὲ μῦνοι τούτων. These words in all the MSS follow the next section.

<sup>286</sup> εἴματα μὲν μέλανα. These are doubtless black sheepskins, a dress which at this day distinguishes a tribe found in the Hindoo Koosh, and procures them the name of *Siah-roosh*, a literal translation of μελάγχλαινοι.

<sup>287</sup> γλαυκόν τε πᾶν ἰσχυρῶς ἐστὶ καὶ πυρρόν. The personal description is very much the same as that given by *TACITUS* of the Germans as a whole: "truces et caerulei oculi: rutilae comae." (*German.* § 4.)

<sup>288</sup> φθειροτραγέουσι. It is to me doubtful whether this word is to be interpreted "are lice-eaters." Where that practice is mentioned (below, § 168), it is described in clearer terms. The seeds of pine-cones were called φθείρες (*Теткеза ad Lycoph.* 1383); and these have been a common

article of food with the Greeks both in ancient and modern times. *HAWKINS* says that the kernels of the stone-pine, now called *κοκκωνόρια*, form an article of exportation from *Elis* to *Zante* and *Cefalonia* (*ap. Walpole's Turkey*, p. 236).

<sup>289</sup> λίμνη μεγάλη τε καὶ πολλή. The whole of the region north of the Caspian between the rivers *Volga* and *Ural* is full of lakes of a marsh-like character, but it seems impossible to fix specially upon any of these as the one contemplated by *Herodotus's* informant.

<sup>290</sup> θηρία τετραγωνοπρόσωπα. What these animals were, which are mentioned together with *otters* and *beavers*, is not easy to say. It can scarcely be doubted that the *ὄρχις* presently spoken of are really the bags of the musk-deer; and perhaps the *θηρία τετραγωνοπρόσωπα* are the seals found in the Caspian and mouths of the *Volga*, the skins of which would

δέρματα περὶ τὰς σισύρνας παραρράπτεται<sup>311</sup>· καὶ οἱ ὄρχιες αὐτοῖσι εἰσι χρήσιμοι ἐς ὑστερέων ἄκισιν.

110

The *Sauromatae* are in the legend connected with the *Amazons*.

Σαυροματέων δὲ πέρι ὧδε λέγεται· ὅτε Ἕλληνας Ἀμαζόσι ἐμαχέσαντο<sup>a</sup>, (τὰς δὲ Ἀμαζόνας καλέουσι οἱ Σκύθαι Οἰόρπατα· δύναται δὲ τὸ οὖνομα τοῦτο κατὰ Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν ἀνδροκτόνοι· ΟΙΟΡ γὰρ καλέουσι τὸν ἄνδρα, τὸ δὲ ΠΑΤΑ κτείνειν<sup>312</sup>.) τότε λόγος, τοὺς Ἕλληνας, νικήσαντας τῇ ἐπὶ Θερμώδοντι μάχῃ, ἀποπλέειν ἄγοντας τρισὶ πλοίοισι τὸν Ἀμαζόνων ὅσας ἡδυνέατο

come by the same route into the hands of the Pontine Greeks as the musk-bags and the otter and beaver skins. It was not to be expected that the merchant should be a natural historian; and hence he might not unnaturally believe that the two articles belonged to the same animal. See note 309 on iii. 107.

<sup>311</sup> περὶ τὰς σισύρνας παραρράπτεται, "are sewed on as a border around the woollen mantles." The Germans, according to TACITUS, attempted to improve the appearance of the skins of land animals by spotting them with seal skin (*German*, § 27); and EURIPIDES makes the female bacchantes produce a similar variety by white wool upon fawn skin:

στικτῶν δ' ἐνδύτᾳ νεβρίδων  
στέφετε λευκοτρίχων πλοκάμων μαλλοῖς.  
*Bacch.* 109.

<sup>a</sup> ὅτε Ἕλληνας Ἀμαζόσι ἐμαχέσαντο. In the *Iliad* (iii. 189) a war takes place between the *Phrygians* and *Amazons* παρ' ὅχθας Σαγγαρίοιο in 'vine bearing' *Phrygia*, i. e. the region of *Apamea*. The *Villoison* Scholiast on the passage makes them daughters of *Ares* and *Armenia*, a *Naiad*.

<sup>312</sup> ΟΙΟΡ γὰρ καλέουσι τὸν ἄνδρα, τὸ δὲ ΠΑΤΑ κτείνειν. It is not at all easy to refer these two words to their analogues in any known language. *Οἶδρ* is compared by RITTER with the Sanscrit *viroh*, which shows the connexion with the Latin *vir*; and this meaning is generally accepted. But there is great apparent difficulty in explaining how παρὰ should mean *to kill*. In the Sanscrit the root of παρὰ would rather suggest the meaning of "dominari," not of "occidere," and according to BOFF, the nominative *pats* still means "husband"—a relation which in early times always involves the notion of lordship—in the Lithuanian dialect. As one solution of a difficulty which has not been satisfac-

torily explained, I should be inclined to believe that *οἰόρπατα* may be the name which the people, whom the Greeks called *Amazons*, gave to *themselves*, and that *they* understood by it "virorum domini," a natural appellation for a martial race to assume. If however their warfare was of a cruel and exterminating character, which it most likely was, this feature would be what would distinguish them in the eyes of other tribes who came into contact with them, and their name, if regarded as significant, might be correspondently interpreted. Hence the same word would possibly mean "virorum dominus," or "virorum occisor," according as it was used by an Amazon or a Scythian. The case of *Melkart* (see note 130 on ii. 44) is illustrative of such a change. The *Tyrians* undoubtedly meant by the name "dominus urbis," while the Greeks understood in *Melicerta* "dominus navigantium." But the question is an extremely difficult one; for one cannot be certain that the language in which the word *οἰόρπατα* was used was pure Scythian. It may very well have belonged to the mixed race which sprang up out of the intercourse of Hellenic colonists and traders with the natives, and, if so, παρὰ may be connected with the word *παταίκοι*. (See note 111 on iii. 37.) I myself believe it is also the root of the word *ἀπάτωρος*, a surname by which *Aphrodite* was worshipped at *Phanagoria*. This was a deity somewhat analogous to the *Lydian Omphale*, and the later Greeks derived her name from *ἀνδρῶν*, the legend being that she invited the giants to her embraces separately, and delivered them over to be murdered by *Heracles*, whom she had previously concealed at hand. (*STRABO*, xi. p. 404.) The *a* of *ἀπάτωρος* is no more an essential part of the word than the first letter of *Anaitis*. See note 278 on ii. 100.

ζωογρήσαι· τὰς δὲ ἐν τῷ πελάγει ἐπιθεμένας, ἐκκόψαι τοὺς ἄνδρας·  
 πλοῖα δὲ οὐ γινώσκειν αὐτὰς, οὐδὲ πηδαλίοισι χρῆσθαι, οὐδὲ  
 ἰστίοισι, οὐδὲ εἰρεσίῃ· ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἐξέκοψαν τοὺς ἄνδρας, ἐφέροντο  
 κατὰ κύμα καὶ ἄνεμον· καὶ ἀπικνέονται τῆς λίμνης τῆς Μαιήτιδος  
 ἐπὶ Κρημνούς· οἱ δὲ Κρημνοὶ εἰσὶ γῆς τῆς Σκυθέων τῶν ἐλευθέ-  
 ρων<sup>110</sup>· ἐνθαῦτα ἀποβᾶσαι ἀπὸ τῶν πλοίων αἱ Ἀμαζόνες, ὥδοι-  
 πόρου ἐς τὴν οἰκομένην· ἐντυχούσαι δὲ πρώτῃ ἵπποφορβίῃ,  
 τοῦτο διήρπασαν, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτων ἵππαζόμεναι, ἐληίζοντο τὰ τῶν  
 Σκυθέων. Οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι οὐκ εἶχον συμβαλέσθαι τὸ πρήγμα· οὔτε  
 γὰρ φωνὴν, οὔτε ἐσθῆτα, οὔτε τὸ ἔθνος ἐγίνωσκον, ἀλλ' ἐν θώματι  
 ἦσαν ὁκόθεν ἔλθοιεν· ἐδόκεον δ' αὐτὰς εἶναι ἄνδρας τὴν αὐτὴν  
 ἡλικίην ἔχοντας, μάχην τε δὴ πρὸς αὐτὰς ἐποיעύντο· ἐκ δὲ τῆς  
 μάχης τῶν νεκρῶν ἐκράτησαν οἱ Σκύθαι, καὶ οὕτω ἔγνωσαν εἰσὺς  
 γυναῖκας· βουλευομένοισι ὧν αὐτοῖσι ἔδοξε κτείνειν μὲν οὐδενὶ  
 τρόπῳ ἔτι αὐτὰς, ἑωυτῶν δὲ τοὺς νεωτάτους ἀποπέμψαι ἐς αὐτὰς,  
 πλῆθος εἰκάσαντας ὅσαι περ ἐκεῖναι ἦσαν, τούτους δὲ στρατοπε-  
 δεύεσθαι πλησίον ἐκεινῶν, καὶ ποιεῖν τάπερ ἂν καὶ ἐκεῖναι  
 ποιεῶσι· ἣν δὲ αὐτοὺς διώκωσι, μάχεσθαι μὲν μὴ, ὑποφεύγειν  
 δέ· ἐπεὰν δὲ παύσωνται, ἐλθόντας αὐτοὺς πλησίον στρατοπεδεύ-  
 εσθαι· ταῦτα ἐβουλευσάντο οἱ Σκύθαι, βουλόμενοι ἐξ αὐτέων  
 παῖδας ἐγγενήσεσθαι. Ἀποπεμφθέντες δὲ οἱ νεηνίσκοι, ἐποίουν<sup>111</sup>  
 τὰ ἐντεταλμένα· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔμαθον αὐτοὺς αἱ Ἀμαζόνες ἐπ' οὐδεμὴ  
 δηλήσει ἀπυγμένους, ἔων χαίρειν προσεχώρεον δὲ πλησιαιτέρῳ τὸ  
 στρατόπεδον τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἐπ' ἡμέρῃ ἐκάστη· εἶχον δὲ οὐδὲν  
 οὐδ' οἱ νεηνίσκοι, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ αἱ Ἀμαζόνες, εἰ μὴ τὰ ὅπλα καὶ  
 τοὺς ἵππους· ἀλλὰ ζῶν ἔζων τὴν αὐτὴν ἐκείνησι, θηρεύοντές τε  
 καὶ ληιζόμενοι. Ἐποίουν δὲ αἱ Ἀμαζόνες ἐς τὴν μεσαμβρίην<sup>112</sup>  
 τοιούνδ' ἐγίνοντο σποράδες κατὰ μίαν τε καὶ δύο, πρόσω δὴ ἀπ'  
 ἀλλήλων, ἐς εὐμαρίην ἀποσκιδνάμεναι· μαθόντες δὲ καὶ οἱ Σκύθαι,  
 ἐποίουν τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον· καὶ τις μουνωθισέων τινὶ αὐτέων ἐνεχρίμ-  
 πτετο, καὶ ἡ Ἀμαζὼν οὐκ ἀπωθέετο, ἀλλὰ περιεῖδε χρῆσασθαι  
 καὶ φωνῆσαι μὲν οὐκ εἶχε, οὐ γὰρ συνέσαν ἀλλήλων, τῇ δὲ χειρὶ

111

112

113

<sup>110</sup> οἱ δὲ Κρημνοὶ εἰσὶ γῆς τῆς Σκυθέων τῶν ἐλευθέρων. These are the same Scythians whom the writer elsewhere calls the *Royal Scythians* (§ 30); and Cremni also has been described before, though no one

would suspect it from this passage. It seems not impossible that the whole story of the Amazons is an insertion in a later draught of the work.

ἔφραζε ἐς τὴν ὑστεραίην ἐλθεῖν ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ χωρίον, καὶ ἕτερον ἄγειν σημαίνουσα δύο γενέσθαι, καὶ αὐτὴ ἐτέρην ἄξειν ὃ δὲ νεηνίσκος ἐπεὶ ἀπῆλθε, ἔλεξε ταῦτα πρὸς τοὺς λοιπούς· τῇ δὲ δευτεραίῃ ἦλθε ἐς τὸ χωρίον αὐτός τε οὗτος, καὶ ἕτερον ἦγε, καὶ τὴν Ἀμαζόνα εἶρε δευτέρην αὐτὴν ὑπομένουσιν οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ νεηνίσκοι ὡς ἐπύθοντο ταῦτα καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐκτιλώσαντο τὰς λοιπὰς τῶν Ἀμαζόνων.

- 114 Μετὰ δὲ, συμμίζαντες τὰ στρατόπεδα οἶκεον ὁμοῦ, γυναῖκα ἔχων ἕκαστος ταύτην τῇ τὸ πρῶτον συνεμίχθη τὴν δὲ φωνὴν τὴν μὲν τῶν γυναικῶν οἱ ἄνδρες οὐκ ἐδυνάετο μαθεῖν, τὴν δὲ τῶν ἀνδρῶν αἱ γυναῖκες συνέλαβον. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνήκαν ἀλλήλων, ἔλεξαν πρὸς τὰς Ἀμαζόνας τάδε οἱ ἄνδρες· “ ἡμῖν εἰσὶ μὲν τοκέες, εἰσὶ δὲ κτήσεις· νῦν ὦν μηκέτι πλεῖνα χρόνον ζῶν τοιούτῃδε ἔχωμεν ἀλλ’ ἀπελθόντες ἐς τὸ πλῆθος διαιτώμεθα· γυναῖκας δὲ ἔχομεν ὑμέας, καὶ οὐδαμέας ἄλλας.” αἱ δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα ἔλεξαν τάδε· “ ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἂν δυναίμεθα οἰκέειν μετὰ τῶν ὑμετέρων γυναικῶν οὐ γὰρ τὰ αὐτὰ νόμια ἡμῖν τε καὶ κείνησί ἐστι· ἡμεῖς μὲν τοξεύομεν τε καὶ ἀκοντίζομεν καὶ ἵππαζόμεθα, ἔργα δὲ γυναικῆα οὐκ ἐμάθομεν αἱ δὲ ὑμετέραι γυναῖκες τούτων μὲν οὐδὲν τῶν ἡμεῖς κατελέξαμεν ποιεῖσι, ἔργα δὲ γυναικῆα ἐργάζονται μένουσαι ἐν τῇσι ἀμάξεισι, οὐτ’ ἐπὶ θήρην ἰοῦσαι οὔτε ἄλλη οὐδαμῇ<sup>294</sup>. οὐκ ἂν ὦν δυναίμεθα ἐκείνησι συμφέρεσθαι. ἀλλ’ εἰ βούλεσθε γυναῖκας ἔχειν ἡμέας καὶ δοκέειν εἶναι δικαιοτάτοι, ἐλθόντες παρὰ τοὺς τοκέας ἀπολάχετε τῶν κτημάτων τὸ μέρος· καὶ ἔπειτα ἐλθόντες οἰκέωμεν ἐπὶ ἡμέων αὐτέων” Ἐπείθοντο καὶ ἐποίησαν ταῦτα οἱ νεηνίσκοι. ἐπεὶ τε δὲ ἀπολαχόντες τῶν κτημάτων τὸ ἐπιβάλλον<sup>295</sup>, ἦλθον ὀπίσω παρὰ τὰς Ἀμαζόνας, ἔλεξαν αἱ γυναῖκες πρὸς αὐτοὺς τάδε· “ ἡμέας ἔχει φόβος τε καὶ δέος, ὅπως χρή οἰκέειν ἐν τῷδε τῷ χώρῳ, τοῦτο μὲν ὑμέας ἀποστερησάσας πατέρων, τοῦτο δὲ τὴν γῆν τὴν ὑμετέρεν δηλησαμένης πολλά· ἀλλ’ ἐπεὶ τε ἀξιοῦτε ἡμέας γυναῖκας ἔχειν, τάδε ποίετε ἅμα ἡμῖν φέρετε, ἐξαναστέωμεν ἐκ τῆς
- 116 γῆς τῆσδε, καὶ περήσαντες Τάναϊν ποταμὸν οἰκέωμεν” Ἐπεί-

<sup>294</sup> οὐτε ἄλλη οὐδαμῇ. This is very different from the habits of the Calmucks of southern Russia at the present time. Their women are described by CLARKE as being uncommonly hardy, and on horseback outstripping their male companions in the race. (*Travels*, i. p. 317.) But

the picture in the text is probably drawn by a Greek, who transfers the habits of his own countrywomen to the Scythian matrons.

<sup>295</sup> τῶν κτημάτων τὸ ἐπιβάλλον, “their share of the property.” See note 370 on i. 106.



θοντο καὶ ταῦτα οἱ νεηνίσκοι· διαβάντες δὲ τὸν Τάναϊν, ὠδοιπόρουσιν πρὸς ἤλιον ἀνίσχοντα τριῶν μὲν ἡμερέων ἀπὸ τοῦ Ταναΐδος ὁδόν, τριῶν δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς λίμνης τῆς Μαϊήτιδος πρὸς βαρὴν ἄνεμον ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐς τοῦτον τὸν χώρον, ἐν τῷ νῦν κατοικηται<sup>296</sup>, οἴκησαν τοῦτον. καὶ διαίτη ἀπὸ τούτου χρέωνται τῇ παλαιῇ τῶν Σαυροματέων αἱ γυναῖκες, καὶ ἐπὶ θήρην ἐπὶ ἵππων ἐκφοιτῶσαι ἅμα τοῖσι ἀνδράσι καὶ χωρὶς τῶν ἀνδρῶν, καὶ ἐς πόλεμον φοιτῶσαι, καὶ στολὴν τὴν αὐτὴν τοῖσι ἀνδράσι φορέουσιν. Φωνῇ δὲ οἱ Σαυρομάται νομίζουσι<sup>297</sup> Σκυθικῇ, σολοικίζοντες αὐτῇ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀρχαίου, ἐπεὶ οὐ χρηστῶς ἐξέμαθον αὐτὴν αἱ Ἀμαζόνες. τὰ περὶ γάμων δὲ ὧδε σφί διακέεται· οὐ γαμέταται παρθένας οὐδε μῆλα, πρὶν ἂν τῶν πολεμίων ἄνδρα ἀποκτείνῃ<sup>298</sup>. αἱ δὲ τινες αὐτέων καὶ τελευτῶσι γηραιαὶ πρὶν γήμασθαι, οὐ δυνάμεναι τὸν νόμον ἐκπλήσαι.

Ἐπὶ τούτων ὦν τῶν καταλεχθέντων ἐθνέων τοὺς βασιλέας ἀλίσμενους ἀπικόμενοι τῶν Σκυθέων οἱ ἄγγελοι, ἔλεγον ἐκδιδάσκοντες ὡς ὁ Πέρσης, ἐπεὶ οἱ τὰ ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῃ τῇ ἐτέρῃ πάντα κατέστραπται, γέφυραν ζεύξας ἐπὶ τῷ αὐχένι τοῦ Βοσπόρου, διαβέβηκε ἐς τήνδε τὴν ἡπειρον διαβάς δὲ, καὶ καταστρεφάμενος Θρηίκας, γεφυροὶ ποταμῶν Ἰστρον, βουλόμενος καὶ τὰδε πάντα ὑπ' ἐωυτῷ ποιήσασθαι· "ὕμεις ὦν μηδανὶ τρόπῳ ἐκ τοῦ μέσου κατήμενοι περιδιδίχτε ἡμέας διαφθαρέντας· ἀλλὰ τῶντ' οὐκ οἴσταντες, ἀντιώζωμεν τὸν ἐπώντα. οὐκὼν ποιήσετε ταῦτα"<sup>299</sup>; ἡμεῖς μὲν πιεζόμενοι, ἢ ἐκλειψόμεν τὴν χώραν ἢ μένοντες ὁμολογήσῃ χρησόμεθα, (τί γὰρ πάθωμεν μὴ βουλομένων ὑμῶν τιμαρῶν;) ὑμῶν δὲ οὐδὲν ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἔσται ἐλαφρότερον ἢκει γὰρ ὁ Πέρσης οὐδὲν τι μᾶλλον ἐπ' ἡμέας ἢ οὐ καὶ ἐπὶ ὑμέας<sup>300</sup>. οὐδέ οἱ καταχρήσει

117

The language of the Sauromatae is a corrupt Scythian.

118

Legation of the Scythians to their barbarian neighbours

<sup>296</sup> ἐν τῷ νῦν κατοικηται. The site somewhat differs from that given in § 21, above. There the Sauromatae are represented as extending along the Tanais on the eastern bank, from the very embouchure of the river for fifteen days' journey northwards. The amount of their extension from the river is not stated in either passage. The first natural boundary would be the Wolga, and that at no great distance; but Herodotus's informant obviously knows nothing of the people, except the general bearing of the country supposed to be occupied by them, and the legend which prevailed among his informants as to their origin.

<sup>297</sup> νομίζουσι, "ordinarily use." From including the sense of χρέωνται the word is put in the same regimen which χρώμεναι would require. See the note 132 on ii. 44, and 181 on § 64, above.

<sup>298</sup> πρὶν ἂν τῶν πολεμίων ἄνδρα ἀποκτείνῃ. HIPPOCRATES makes the qualification for a wife to be the having slain three enemies. (*De aere*, &c., p. 553.) In another place he relates that it is the practice of the Amazons to cripple all their male children by dislocating their knees or their hips at a very early age.

<sup>299</sup> οὐκὼν ποιήσετε ταῦτα; See note 689 on i. 206.

<sup>300</sup> ἢκει γὰρ . . . ἢ οὐ καὶ ἐπὶ ὑμέας.

119  
meets with  
partial suc-  
cess.

ἡμέας καταστρεψάμεν ὑμέων ἀπέχεσθαι. μέγα δὲ ὑμῖν λόγον τῶνδε μαρτύριον ἐρόμεν· εἰ γὰρ ἐπ' ἡμέας μούνοισι ἐστρατηλάττει ὁ Πέρσης, τίσασθαι τῆς πρόσθε δουλοσύνης<sup>301</sup> βουλόμενος, χρὴν αὐτὸν πάντων τῶν ἄλλων ἀπεχόμενον, οὕτω ἵεναι ἐπὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν καὶ ἂν ἐδήλου πᾶσι, ὥς ἐπὶ Σκύθας ἐλαύνει καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄλλους. νῦν δὲ ἐπεὶ τε τάχιστα διέβη τήνδε τὴν ἡπειρον, τοὺς αἰεὶ ἐμποδῶν γινομένους ἡμεροῦται πάντας· τοὺς τε δὴ ἄλλους ἔχει ὑπ' ἐωυτῷ Θρήϊκας, καὶ δὴ καὶ τοὺς ἡμῖν ἔοντας πλησιοχώρους Γέτας." Ταῦτα Σκυθέων ἐπαγγελιομένων, ἐβουλεύοντο οἱ βασιλῆες οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐθνέων ἥκοντες· καὶ σφῶν ἐσχίσθησαν αἱ γνώμαι· ὁ μὲν γὰρ Γελωνὸς, καὶ ὁ Βουδῖνος, καὶ ὁ Σαυρομάτης, κατὰ τῶντ' ὀφειλόμενοι, ὑπέδεκοντο Σκύθησι τιμωρήσιν· ὁ δὲ Ἀγάθυρσος, καὶ Νευρὸς, καὶ Ἀνδροφάγος, καὶ οἱ τῶν Μελαγχλαίων καὶ Ταύρων, τὰδε Σκύθησι ὑπεκρίναντο· "εἰ μὲν μὴ ὑμεῖς ἔατε οἱ πρότερον ἀδικήσαντες Πέρσας καὶ ἄρξαντες πολέμου, τοῦτων δέομενοι τῶν νῦν δέεσθε λέγειν τε ἂν ἐφαίνεσθε ἡμῖν ὀρθά, καὶ ἡμεῖς ὑπακούσαντες τῶντ' ἂν ὑμῖν ἐπρήσσομεν· νῦν δὲ ὑμεῖς τε ἐς τὴν ἐκείνων ἐσβαλόντες γῆν ἄνευ ἡμέων, ἐπεκρατέετε Περσέων ὅσον χρόνον ὑμῖν ὁ θεὸς παρεδίδου καὶ ἐκεῖνοι, ἐπεὶ σφῶν αὐτὸς θεὸς ἐγείρει, τὴν ὁμοίην ὑμῖν ἀποδιδούσι· ἡμεῖς δὲ οὔτε τι τότε ἠδικήσαμεν τοὺς ἄνδρας τούτους οὐδὲν, οὔτε νῦν πρότεροι πειρησόμεθα ἀδικεῖν· ἢ μέντοι ἐπὶ καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἄρξῃ τε ἀδικέων, καὶ ἡμεῖς οὐ πεισόμεθα<sup>302</sup>. μέχρι δὲ τοῦτο ἴδωμεν<sup>303</sup>, μένομεν παρ' ἡμῖν αὐτοῖσι· ἡκεῖν γὰρ δοκέομεν οὐκ ἐπ' ἡμέας Πέρσας, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοὺς αἰτίους τῆς ἀδικίης γενομένους."

The pleonastic use of οὐ in this passage seems to arise from the desire of the speaker to remind the person he addresses that the main proposition is a negative one. Compare v. 94: ἀποδεικνύντες λόγῳ οὐδὲν μᾶλλον Αἰόλευσι μετεδὸν τῆς Ἰλίδος χάρις ἢ οὐ σφί καὶ τοῖσι ἄλλοις κ.τ.λ., and vii. 16: φανήναι δὲ οὐδὲν μᾶλλον μοι δεῖται ἔχοντι τὴν σὴν ἐσθλότητα ἢ οὐ καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν.

<sup>301</sup> τῆς πρόσθε δουλοσύνης. This expression refers to the subjugation of the Medes by the Scythians related in i. 103—105, and above, § 12. That inroad is made the ostensible cause of the expedition of Darius (§ 1, above).

<sup>302</sup> οὐ πεισόμεθα. The manuscript S

has οὐκ οἰσόμεθα. The text has caused a good deal of difficulty to the commentators, and various conjectures have been proposed. But the expression seems exactly correspondent with the English idiom, "we will not be passive," and not to demand any change.

<sup>303</sup> μέχρι . . . ἴδωμεν. This use of μέχρι in the sense of 'until' with a verb in the subjunctive is uncommon, but not unprecedented. SOPHOCLES has

μέχρις μυχὸς κίχουσι νερέου θεοῦ.  
(*Aj.* 571.)

XENOPHON (*Hist.* i. 1. 3) uses it with an indicative: μέχρις οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπέπλεονσαν.

Ταῦτα ὡς ἀπενειχθέντα ἐπύθοντο οἱ Σκύθαι, ἐβουλεύοντο ἰθυ- 120  
μαχίην μὲν μηδεμίαν ποιεέσθαι ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανέος, (ὅτι δὴ σφί οὗτοι The Scythians deter-  
γε σύμμαχοι οὐ προσεγγίζοντο,) ὑπεξιώντες δὲ [καὶ ὑπεξελαίνον- mine on  
τες<sup>304</sup>] τὰ φρέατα τὰ παρεξίονεν αὐτοὶ καὶ τὰς κρήνας συγχοῦν, a plan of  
τὴν πόλιν τε ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἐκτρίβειν<sup>305</sup>, διχοῦ σφέας διελόντες· καὶ They form  
πρὸς μὲν τὴν μίαν τῶν μοιρέων τῆς ἐβασίλευε Σκώπασις, προσ- three divi-  
χωρέειν Σαυρομάτας· τούτους μὲν δὴ ὑπάγειν, ἣν ἐπὶ τοῦτο τρά- sions under  
πηται ὁ Πέρσης, ἰθὺ Τανάϊδος ποταμοῦ παρὰ τὴν Μαίητιν λίμνην, Scopasis,  
ὑποφεύγοντας, ἀπελαύνοντός τε τοῦ Πέρσεω, ἐπιόντας διώκειν. Idanthyrsus,  
αὕτη μὲν σφί μία ἦν μοῖρα τῆς βασιλῆης<sup>306</sup>, τεταγμένη ταύτην and Tas-  
τὴν ὁδὸν ἥπερ εἴρηται· τὰς δὲ δύο τῶν βασιλῆων, τὴν τε μεγάλην acis.  
τῆς ἤρχε Ἰδάνθυρσος<sup>307</sup> καὶ τὴν τρίτην τῆς ἐβασίλευε Τάξakis,  
συνελθούσας ἐς τὰντὸ, καὶ Γελωνῶν τε καὶ Βουδίνων προσγινο- Plan of the  
μένων, ἡμέρης καὶ τούτους ὁδῷ προέχοντας τῶν Περσέων ὑπεξ- campaign.  
άγειν, ὑπιόντας τε καὶ ποιεῖντας τὰ βεβουλευμένα. πρῶτα μὲν νυν  
ὑπάγειν σφέας ἰθὺ τῶν χωρέων τῶν ἀπειταμένων τὴν σφετέρην  
συμμαχίην, [ἵνα καὶ τούτους ἐκπολεμώσωσι<sup>308</sup>,] εἰ δὲ μὴ ἐκόντες  
γε ὑπέδυσαν τὸν πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς Πέρσας, ἀλλ' ἄκοντας ἐκπολε-  
μῶσαι· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ὑποστρέφειν ἐς τὴν σφετέρην, καὶ ἐπιχειρεῖν  
ἦν δὴ βουλευομένοισι δοκεῖ. Ταῦτα οἱ Σκύθαι βουλευσάμενοι 121  
ὑπηγυῖαν τὴν Δαρείου στρατιήν, προδρόμους ἀποστείλαντες τῶν They send  
ἱππέων τοὺς ἀρίστους· τὰς δὲ ἀμάξας ἐν τῇσί σφί διαιτᾶτο τὰ a body of  
skirmishers,

<sup>304</sup> [καὶ ὑπεξελαίνοντες]. These words appear to me to be an alternative reading for ὑπεξιώντες, which have crept from the margin into the text.

<sup>305</sup> τὴν πόλιν ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἐκτρίβειν. This is apparently the notion of a Greek, who knew enough of the nature of Scythia to be aware that the plains were covered with grass instead of grain, but not enough of their extent to be aware how impossible such a course would be. The water too, in the part of the country Herodotus has in view, would scarcely be spring water, but derived either from natural pools or artificial tanks.

<sup>306</sup> τῆς βασιλῆης. If this word means the "kingdom of Scythia," and τῶν βασιλῆων "the Royal Scythians," it would seem that in the mind of the narrator the tribes between these and the Ister did not offer any resistance. Perhaps they are not noticed because in a situation of infe-

riority to the Royal Tribe. (See § 20, above.)

<sup>307</sup> Ἰδάνθυρσος. This person is represented as the nephew of Anacharis in a story for which one Timneas, who was probably a functionary holding a post analogous to that of a foreign consul at one of the Hellenic commercial settlements, is quoted as an authority. (See § 76 and note 214, above.) Possibly he may also be the source of the account of Darius's campaign which follows.

<sup>308</sup> [ἵνα καὶ τούτους ἐκπολεμώσωσι]. It is not easy to conceive that these words can have stood in the text contemporaneously with the phrase ἀλλ' ἄκοντας ἐκπολεμῶσαι. I imagine that the sentence originally ended with them, but that afterwards the author substituted the words which follow them; and that their existence at present arises from the combination of two different editions.

and remove  
their fami-  
lies north-  
wards.

τέκνα τε καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες πᾶσαι<sup>309</sup>, καὶ τὰ πρόβατα, πλὴν ὅσα σφί  
ἐς φορβὴν ἱκανὰ ἦν τοσαῦτα ὑπολιπόμενοι, τὰ ἄλλα ἅμα τῇσι  
ἀμάξῃσι προέπεμψαν ἐντειλάμενοι αἰεὶ τὸ πρὸς βορρῶν ἐλαίειναι.  
ταῦτα μὲν δὴ προκομίζετο.

## 122

Three days'  
march from  
the Ister,  
the Persians  
find the  
Scythian  
light divi-  
sion, and  
pursue  
them across  
the Tanais  
through the  
region of  
the Sauroma-  
tæ to the

Τῶν δὲ Σκυθῶν οἱ πρόδρομοι ὥς εἶδον τοὺς Πέρσας ὅσον τε  
τριῶν ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν ἀπέχοντας ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰστροῦ, οὗτοι μὲν τούτους  
εὐρόντες, ἡμέρης ὁδῷ προέχοντες ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο, τὰ ἐκ τῆς γῆς  
φυόμενα λεαίνοντες. οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ὥς εἶδον ἐπιφανέεισαν τῶν  
Σκυθῶν τὴν ἵππον, ἐπήϊσαν κατὰ στίβον αἰεὶ ὑπαγόντων καὶ  
ἔπειτα, πρὸς γὰρ τὴν μίαν τῶν μοιρῶν ἴθυσαν, οἱ Πέρσαι ἐδίωκον  
πρὸς ἥῳ τε καὶ τοῦ Τανάϊδος διαβάντων δὲ τούτων τὸν Τάναϊν  
ποταμὸν, οἱ Πέρσαι ἐπιδιαβάντες ἐδίωκον<sup>310</sup>. ἐς τὸ τῶν Σαυρομα-  
τέων τὴν χώραν διεξελλόντες ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὴν τῶν Βουδίνων

## 123

wooden  
town of  
the Budini,  
which they  
burn. Going  
on still further  
they reach  
the desert,  
which is  
seven days  
across.

Ἄσπον μὲν δὴ χρόνον οἱ Πέρσαι ἤσαν διὰ τῆς Σκυθικῆς καὶ τῆς  
Σαυρομάτιδος χώρας, οἱ δὲ εἰχον οὐδὲν σίνεσθαι<sup>311</sup>, ἅτε τῆς χώρας  
ἐούσης χέρσου<sup>312</sup>. ἐπεὶ τε δὲ ἐς τὴν τῶν Βουδίνων χώραν ἐσέβαλον,  
ἐνθαῦτα δὴ ἐντυχόντες τῷ ξυλίνῳ τείχει<sup>313</sup>, ἐκλελουπύτων τῶν  
Βουδίνων καὶ κεκενωμένου τοῦ τείχεος πάντων, ἐνέπρησαν αὐτὸ  
τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσαντες εἶποντο αἰεὶ τὸ πρόσω κατὰ στίβον, ἐς δὲ  
διεξελλόντες ταύτην ἐς τὴν ἐρήμον ἀπίκοντο· ἡ δὲ ἐρήμος αὕτη  
ὑπὸ οὐδαμῶν νέμεται ἀνδρῶν κέεται δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς Βουδίνων χώρας  
ἐούσα πλήθος<sup>314</sup> ἑπτὰ ἡμερῶν ὁδοῦ· ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς ἐρήμου Θυσσα-  
γέται οἰκεῖουσιν· ποταμοὶ δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν τέσσερες μεγάλοι ρέοντες διὰ  
Μαιητέων ἐκδιδοῦσιν ἐς τὴν λίμνην τὴν καλεομένην Μαιήτιν, τοῖσι

<sup>309</sup> ἐν τῇσὶ σφί διαιτῶτο τὰ τέκνα τε καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες πᾶσαι. See the note 197 on § 69.

<sup>310</sup> οἱ Πέρσαι ἐπιδιαβάντες ἐδίωκον. From the Ister to the Sea of Azof is reckoned by Herodotus to be a twenty days' journey εὐζώνων ἀνδρῶν, for whom the distance allowed is 200 stadia daily (§ 101). This is far more than could be performed by an army for twenty days together, under any circumstances of pressure. But the real distance is such, that according to RENNELL's estimate no less than fifty days would be requisite for an army to march even to the embouchure of the Tanais (p. 113). From the embouchure the country of the Sauromatæ extends for fifteen days northwards in Herodotus's

view (§ 21). This would bring the borders of the Budini about to the region of Woronetz, from which Clarke reached the Sea of Azof in seventeen days. RENNELL (p. 90) believes the Oarus of the text to be the Wolga, which to a casual observer might appear in the higher part of its course to run towards the Sea of Azof.

<sup>311</sup> σίνεσθαι. See note on ix. 13.

<sup>312</sup> τῆς χώρας ἐούσης χέρσου. See above, § 21.

<sup>313</sup> τῷ ξυλίνῳ τείχει. See above, § 108.

<sup>314</sup> πλήθος, "extent." The word is used in precisely the same sense in i. 203, where Caucasus is said to be ὁρῶν πλεῖστον μέγετος.

οὐνόματα κέεται τάδε, Λύκος, \*Οαρος, Τάναϊς, Σύργις<sup>315</sup>. Ἐπεὶ 124  
 ὦν ὁ Δαρείος ἦλθε ἐς τὴν ἐρήμον, παυσάμενος τοῦ δρόμου ἵδρυσε  
 τὴν στρατιὴν ἐπὶ ποταμῷ Ὀάρῳ· τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσας ὀκτὼ τείχεα  
 ἐτείχεε μεγάλα ἴσον ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἀπέχοντα, σταδίου ὡς ἐξήκοντα  
 μάλιστα κη τῶν ἐτι ἐς ἐμὲ τὰ ἐρείπια σῶα ἦν<sup>316</sup>. ἐν ᾧ δὲ οὗτος  
 πρὸς ταῦτα ἐτράπετο, οἱ διωκόμενοι Σκύθαι περιελθόντες τὰ  
 κατύπερθε ὑπέστρεφον ἐς τὴν Σκυθικὴν ἀφανισθέντων δὲ τού-  
 των τὸ παράπαν, ὡς οὐκέτι ἐφαντάζοντό σφι, οὕτω δὲ ὁ Δαρείος  
 τείχεα μὲν ἐκεῖνα ἡμέρῃα μετήκε, αὐτὸς δὲ ὑποστρέψας ἦε πρὸς  
 ἐσπέρην, δοκέων τούτους τε πάντας τοὺς Σκύθας εἶναι καὶ πρὸς  
 ἐσπέρην σφέας φεύγειν<sup>317</sup>. The Scythians disappear, and Darius returns westward to Scythia.

Ἐλαύνων δὲ τὴν ταχίστην τὸν στρατὸν, ὡς ἐς τὴν Σκυθικὴν 125  
 ἀπῆκετο, ἐνέκυρσε ἀμφοτέρῃσι τῇσι μοίρῃσι τῶν Σκυθῶν, ἐντυ-  
 χῶν δὲ, ἐδίωκε ὑπεκφέροντας ἡμέρῃς ὀδῶ· καὶ, οὐ γὰρ ἀνίει<sup>318</sup>  
 ἐπιὼν ὁ Δαρείος, οἱ Σκύθαι κατὰ τὰ βεβουλευμένα ὑπέφευγον ἐς  
 τῶν ἀπειπαμένων τὴν σφετέρην συμμαχίην· πρώτην δὲ, ἐς τῶν  
 Μελαγχλαίων τὴν γῆν· ὡς δὲ ἐσβαλόντες τούτους ἐτάραξαν οἱ  
 Caicus (PAUSANIAS, viii. 4. 7); that of *Ægyptus* in Arcadia (Id. viii. 16. 3); and others. In cases like these the degradation of the mound would produce at a distance the appearance of a fortification, which would easily suggest its connexion with any oral tradition of an invader. A similar cause doubtless originated the popular belief mentioned by CLARKE (vol. i. p. 358), as prevailing in southern Russia, "that *Alexander the Great* passed the Don, and built a city or a citadel upon the river, at a place called Zimlanakais, 900 miles above the town of Tcherkaesk." See note 300 on ii. 128.

<sup>315</sup> Σύργις. The manuscripts S and V have Σύργης, but that is the only variation. Schäfer alters to Τρύγίς, because obviously the same river is meant in § 58, where all the MSS have Τρύγίς, except one, which has Τρύγης. But this change obliterates one evidence of the original state of the text. See the note 266 on § 97, above.

<sup>316</sup> τῶν ἐτι ἐς ἐμὲ τὰ ἐρείπια σῶα ἦν. This passage has been cited to shew the extent of the author's travels. But the extremely indistinct character of the description precludes (in my opinion) the inference that he was an eye-witness himself. There is no mention of the material of which these buildings were made, whether stone, brick, wood, or earth. The same expression occurs above (i. 181) also under suspicious circumstances. See note 610. With regard to the ruins themselves, they may possibly have been the stone walls which in some cases surrounded the barrows that cover these plains. "In some cases," probably where the mound was composed of a lighter earth, "it has sunk and left hollow places encircled by a kind of fosse." (CLARKE, vol. i. p. 277.) The tomb of *Halyattes* was surrounded by a 'maceria' of large stones (i. 93). So was that of *Auge* in the plain of the

<sup>317</sup> καὶ πρὸς ἐσπέρην σφέας φεύγειν. There is no reason given by the author why Darius should have supposed that the Scythians had gone westwards. But apparently the narrator supposes him on the western bank of the Oarus, with the desert beyond him northwards. Nothing however can be more vague than the topography.

<sup>318</sup> ἀνίει. Gaisford prints ἀνίει, which most of the MSS have. But S and V have the common form, as is the case with all in § 162. All but one have it in ii. 113, and that one has ἀνίει. See the note on ix. 13, *telivero*.

Neuri, to the confines of the Agathyrai.

The Agathyrai show a bold front, and the Scythians pass from the Neuri into their own land.

τε Σκύθαι καὶ οἱ Πέρσαι, κατηγέοντο οἱ Σκύθαι ἐς τῶν Ἀνδροφάγων τοὺς χώρους· παραχθέντων δὲ καὶ τούτων, ὑπήγον ἐπὶ τὴν Νευρίδα· ταρασσομένων δὲ καὶ τούτων<sup>319</sup>, ἦσαν ὑποφεύγοντες οἱ Σκύθαι ἐς τοὺς Ἀγαθύρσους· Ἀγαθύρσοι δὲ ὀρέοντες καὶ τοὺς ὁμοῦρους φεύγοντας ὑπὸ Σκυθέων καὶ τεταραγμένους, πρὶν ἢ σφὶ ἐμβαλέειν τοὺς Σκύθας, πέμψαντες κήρυκα ἀπηγόρευον Σκύθησι μὴ ἐπιβαίνειν τῶν σφετέρων οὖρων, προλέγοντες ὥς εἰ πειρήσονται ἐσβαλόντες, σφίσι πρῶτα διαμαχήσονται. Ἀγαθύρσοι μὲν προείπαντες ταῦτα ἐβοήθειον ἐπὶ τοὺς οὖρους, ἐρύκειν ἐν νῶ ἔχοντες τοὺς ἐπιόντας. Μελάγχλαινοι δὲ καὶ Ἀνδροφάγοι καὶ Νευροὶ, ἐσβαλόντων τῶν Περσέων ἅμα Σκύθησι, οὔτε πρὸς ἀλλήν ἐτράποντο ἐπιλαθόμενοι· τε τῆς ἀπειλῆς ἔφειγον αἰεὶ τὸ πρὸς βορρῇ ἐς τὴν ἐρήμον τεταραγμένοι· οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι ἐς μὲν τοὺς Ἀγαθύρσους οὐκέτι ἀπείπαντας<sup>320</sup> ἀπικνέοντο· οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῆς Νευρίδος χώρας ἐς τὴν σφετέρην κατηγέοντο τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι.

## 126

Darius challenges Idanthyraus to a pitched battle.

Ὡς δὲ πολλὸν τοῦτο ἐγίνετο καὶ οὐκ ἐπαύετο, πέμψας Δαρείος ἱππέα παρὰ τὸν Σκυθέων βασιλέα Ἰδάνθυρσον<sup>321</sup> ἔλεγε τάδε· "δαιμόνιε ἀνδρῶν, τί φεύγεις αἰεὶ ἔξῃ τοι τῶνδε τὰ ἕτερα ποίεεις; εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἀξιώχρεως<sup>322</sup> δοκέεις εἶναι σεωντῶ τοῖσι ἐμοῖσι πρήγμασι ἀντιωθῆναι, σὺ δὲ στάς τε καὶ παυσάμενος πλάνης μάχεσθαι· εἰ δὲ συγγινώσκειαι εἶναι ἡσσων, σὺ δὲ καὶ οὕτω παυσάμενος τοῦ δρόμου δεσπότη τῷ σὺ δῶρα φέρων γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ ἐλθὲ ἐς

<sup>319</sup> ὑπήγον ἐπὶ τὴν Νευρίδα . . . τούτων. This clause is wanting in S, apparently from the oversight of the copyist.

<sup>320</sup> οὐκέτι ἀπείπαντας. A good deal of difficulty arises out of these words if ἀπειρεῖν is to be taken in the sense of ἀπαγορεύειν (as it is in iii. 153), for the next sentence seems to prove that the Agathyrai did *not* change their mind, and that therefore the Scythians passed from Neuri into their own country. Accordingly it has been proposed to read ἀπείπαντας οὐκέτι ἀπικνέοντο. But a good sense will be elicited from the text as it stands by taking ἀπειρεῖν in a sense which is not unusual in other authors, "to give in" or "succumb." The Melanchlaeni, Androphagi, and Neuri had all professed their intention of resisting the invader if he came against them (above, § 119). But when the brunt arrived, they, ἐπιλαθόμε-

νοι τῆς ἀπειλῆς (an expression which refers to their threatened resistance to the Persians), *succumbed* and fled northwards. Then the Scythians and Persians reached the Agathyrai, and found *no longer* a poltroon people to deal with. Accordingly, out of Neuri the former retreated before the Persians into their own land. The phrase οὐκέτι ἀπείπαντας has a special reference to the preceding expression ἐπιλαθόμενοι τῆς ἀπειλῆς. Translate: "And the Scythians reached indeed the Agathyrai, but *there* was an end of giving in, and they on their side out of the Neurid territory led the Persians on into their own."

<sup>321</sup> Ἰδάνθυρσον. See the note 215 on § 76.

<sup>322</sup> ἀξιώχρεως. This is the reading of the majority of the MSS. Gaisford, with two, gives the Ionic form ἀξιώχρεος.

λόγους." Πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Σκυθέων βασιλεὺς Ἰδάνθυρσος ἔλεγε 127  
 τάδε " οὕτω τὸ ἔμὸν ἔχει, ὦ Πέρσα· ἐγὼ οὐδένα καὶ ἀνθρώπων <sup>His answer.</sup>  
 δέσας ἔφυγον, οὔτε πρότερον οὔτε νῦν σε φεύγω· οὐδὲ τι νεώτερόν  
 εἰμι ποιήσας νῦν ἢ καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ ἐώθεα ποιεῖν. ὁ τι δὲ οὐκ αὐτίκα  
 μάχομαι τοι, ἐγὼ καὶ τοῦτο σημαίνω ἡμῖν οὔτε ἄσπεα οὔτε γῆ  
 πεφυτευμένη ἐστὶ, τῶν πέρι δέισαντες μὴ ἀλφῇ ἢ καρῇ, ταχύτερον  
 συμμιλοιομεν ἂν ἐς μάχην ὑμῖν εἰ δὲ δέοι πάντως <sup>325</sup> ἐς τοῦτο κατὰ  
 τάχος ἀπικνέεσθαι, τυγχάνουσι ἡμῖν ἔοντες τάφοι πατρώιοι, φέρετε,  
 τούτους ἀνευρόντες συγχέειν πειρᾶσθε αὐτούς· καὶ γνῶσεσθε τότε,  
 εἴτε ὑμῖν μαχισόμεθα περὶ τῶν τάφων εἴτε καὶ οὐ μαχισόμεθα <sup>326</sup>.  
 πρότερον δὲ, ἦν μὴ ἡμέας λόγος αἰρῇ, οὐ συμμιζομένε τοι. ἀμφὶ  
 μὲν μάχῃ τοσαῦτα εἰρήσθω· δεσπότης δὲ ἐμοὺς ἐγὼ Δία τε νομίζω  
 τὸν ἔμὸν πρόγονον, καὶ Ἰστίην <sup>327</sup> τὴν Σκυθέων βασιλειαν, μούνοισ  
 εἶναι. σοὶ δὲ ἀντὶ μὲν δώρων γῆς τε καὶ ὕδατος δῶρα πέμψω  
 τοιαῦτα οἷά σοι πρέπει ἐλθεῖν ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ ὅτι δεσπότης ἔφησας  
 εἶναι ἐμὸς, κλαλεῖν λέγω." [τοῦτό ἐστι ἢ ἀπὸ Σκυθέων ῥήσις <sup>328</sup>.]  
 ὁ μὲν δὴ κήρυξ οἰχώκεε ἀγγελέων ταῦτα Δαρεῖω.

Οἱ δὲ Σκυθέων βασιλεῖς ἀκούσαντες τῆς δουλοσύνης τὸ οὔνομα, 128  
 ὀργῇ ἐπλήσθησαν. τὴν μὲν δὴ μετὰ Σαυροματέων μοῖραν ταχθεῖ- <sup>The Scythians try to cut off the Persian foragers,</sup>  
 σαν τῆς ἡρχε Σκώπασις πέμπουσι, Ἰωσι κελεύοντες ἐς λόγους  
 ἀπικέσθαι, τοῖτοισι οἱ τὸν Ἰστρον ἐξευγμένον ἐφρούρουσιν αὐτῶν

<sup>325</sup> πάντως. See note on vi. 9.

<sup>326</sup> περὶ τῶν τάφων εἴτε καὶ οὐ μαχισόμεθα. This clause is omitted in S, obviously from the eye of the transcriber being deceived.

<sup>327</sup> Ἰστίην. See § 68.

<sup>328</sup> ἢ ἀπὸ Σκυθέων ῥήσις. The ordinary salutation of civility among the Greeks was *χαίρει* or *χαίρειν* *κελεύω*. The expression *κλαλεῖ* or *οἰμῶς* in the place of it would be considered as the pitch of ruffianly ill-breeding,—the behaviour of a Scythian, to whom the refined Greeks attributed every description of coarseness of which they had any account. (See i. 201 and 216, and note 83, above.) Hence it was proverbially described as ἢ ἀπὸ Σκυθέων ῥήσις. A humorous delineation of barbarian manners (somewhat in the same spirit as the representation of those of England in a French vaudeville) is given by ARISTOPHANES in the *Birds* (vv. 1566, seqq.). The unhappy *Triballus*, the barbarian god, who is united

with Poseidon and Heracles in the legation to Nephelococcygia, does every thing which can display a clownish ignorance of social conventionalities. He comes on the stage with his mantle thrown over the wrong shoulder,—a proceeding which would produce nearly the same sense of absurdity in an Athenian audience as the reversal of the nether garments might in a modern. In the course of the transactions which follow, and in which every advantage is taken of his ignorance of the Greek language, among other 'hits' he is asked the question: ὁ Τριβαλλος, οἰμῶς εἰν δοκεῖ σοι; to which insulting question he cheerfully replies in the affirmative. Bias of Priene, although no less desirous than Idanthyrus in the text to exhibit his contempt for the threats of his enemy Halyattes, avoided the Σκυθέων ῥήσις by a periphrasis: ἐγὼ δὲ Ἄλυδττην κελεύω κρόμμυα ἐσθίειν. (DIOGENES LAERTIUS, i. 83.)

who are  
always  
forced back  
on the Per-  
sian infan-  
try.

129

The braying  
of the asses  
is a great  
protection  
to the Per-  
sians.

δὲ τοῖσι ὑπολειπομένοισι ἔδοξε πλανᾶν μὲν μηκέτι Πέρσας, σῖτα δὲ ἐκάστοτε ἀναιρεομένοισι<sup>327</sup> ἐπιτίθεσθαι κωμώντες ὦν σῖτα ἀναιρεομένους τοὺς Δαρείου ἐπολεῦν τὰ βεβουλευμένα. ἡ μὲν δὲ ἵππος τὴν ἵππον αἰεὶ τρέπεσκε ἡ τῶν Σκυθῶν οἱ δὲ τῶν Περσέων ἱππῶται φεύγοντες ἐσέπνιπτον ἐς τὸν πεζόν ὃ δὲ πεζὸς ἂν ἐπεκούρε· οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι ἐσαράξαντες τὴν ἵππον ὑπέστρεφον, τὸν πεζὸν φοβεόμενοι. ἐποιεῖντο δὲ καὶ τὰς νύκτας παραπλησίως προσβολὰς οἱ Σκύθαι. Τὸ δὲ τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι τε ἢν σύμμαχον καὶ τοῖσι Σκύθησι ἀντίξουν ἐπιτιθεμένοισι τῷ Δαρείου στρατοπέδῳ, θῶμα μέγιστον ἔρεω τῶν τε ὄνων ἢ φωνῇ καὶ τῶν ἡμίονων τὸ εἶδος. οὔτε γὰρ ὄνον οὔτε ἡμίονον γῇ ἡ Σκυθικῇ φέρει, ὥς καὶ πρότερόν μοι δεδήλωται<sup>328</sup>. οὐδὲ ἔστι ἐν τῇ Σκυθικῇ πάσῃ χώρῃ τὸ παράπαν οὔτε ὄνος, οὔτε ἡμίονος, διὰ τὰ ψύχρα. ὑβρίζοντες<sup>329</sup> ὦν οἱ ὄνοι ἐτάρασσον τὴν ἵππον τῶν Σκυθῶν πολλάκις δὲ, ἐπελαυνόντων ἐπὶ τοὺς Πέρσας, μεταξὺ ὅκως ἀκούσειαν οἱ ἵπποι τῶν ὄνων τῇ φωνῇ, ἐταράσσοντό τε ὑποστρεφόμενοι καὶ ἐν θώματι ἔσκον ὀρθὰ ἰστάντες τὰ ὄτα· ἅτε οὔτε ἀκούσαντες πρότερον φωνῇ τοιαύτῃ οὔτε ἰδόντες τὸ εἶδος. ταῦτα μὲν νυν ἐπὶ σμικρὸν τι ἐφέροντο τοῦ πολέμου<sup>330</sup>.

130

The Scythians  
send  
some sym-  
bolical pre-

Οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι ὅκως τοὺς Πέρσας ἴδοιεν τεθορυβημένους, ἵνα παραμένοντες ἐπὶ πλέω χρόνον ἐν τῇ Σκυθικῇ καὶ παραμένοντες ἀνίπατο, τῶν πάντων ἐπιδευέες ἔοντες<sup>331</sup>, ἐπολεῦν τοιάδε· ὅκως τῶν

<sup>327</sup> *σῖτα ἀναιρεομένοισι*, "while cutting forage." Some difficulty has been occasioned by this phrase being confounded with *σῖτον ἀρεῖσθαι*, which is used by the author (iii. 26; vii. 120) for taking food as at a meal time. *σῖτα* is used in the general sense of *edibles* (v. 34).

<sup>328</sup> *ὅς καὶ πρότερόν μοι δεδήλωται*. See above, § 28. What Herodotus says however is not exactly that the country does not produce ass or mule, but that they will not stand the winter. As the Hyperboreans were said to sacrifice asses to Apollo (PINDAR, *Pyth.* x. 55), this reason can hardly be the real one for their absence. A better one may be found in the fact of the unbounded pasturage of the Scythian plains, which afforded ample supplies for the nobler and more useful animal,—the horse.

<sup>329</sup> *ὕβριζοντες*, "by braying." There seems little reason to suppose that here the animals are considered as under the

influence of sexual desire, and still less that, if so, Herodotus has in his eye the expression of Pindar in the passage just quoted: *γελᾷ θ' ὄρων ὄβριον ὀρθῶς κνωδῶλον*. The animals in that passage are represented as being sacrificed.

<sup>330</sup> *ταῦτα μὲν νυν ἐπὶ σμικρὸν τι ἐφέροντο τοῦ πολέμου*. This phrase is a very difficult one, but the sense seems to be, "These results now to a certain small extent they achieved in the war." The expression *οὐδὲν φέρειν* is used in vii. 211 for "to achieve no advantage." The only pretence to success the Persians had was, that the Scythians were baffled by their infantry; but this appears to have always been the case. On the other hand their cavalry was always driven in by the ancestors of the Cossacks. Each side therefore had some advantages, on a very small scale, to boast of.

<sup>331</sup> *τῶν πάντων ἐπιδευέες ἔοντες*. Whatever may be the degree of credit to be



προβάτων τῶν σφετέρων αὐτῶν καταλίπειν μετὰ τῶν νομένων, sents to the Persians,  
αὐτοὶ ἂν ὑπεξήλυνον ἐς ἄλλον χώραν οἱ δὲ ἂν Πέρσαι ἐπελθόντες  
ἐλάβεσκον τὰ πρόβατα, καὶ λαβόντες ἐπήρνοντο ἂν τῷ πεπονημένῳ.  
Πολλάκις δὲ τοιούτου γινομένου, τέλος Δαρειῶς τε ἐν ἀπορίῃσι 131  
εἶχετο, καὶ οἱ Σκυθῶν βασιλεῖς μαθόντες τοῦτο, ἔπεμπον κήρυκα  
δῶρα Δαρείῳ φέροντα, ὄρνιθά τε καὶ μῦν<sup>332</sup> καὶ βάτραχον<sup>333</sup> καὶ  
οἶστοὺς πέντε Πέρσαι δὲ τὸν φέροντα τὰ δῶρα ἐπειρώτεον τὸν  
νόον τῶν διδομένων ὁ δὲ οὐδὲν ἔφη οἱ ἐπεστάλθαι ἄλλο ἢ δόντα  
τὴν ταχίστην ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι αὐτοὺς δὲ τοὺς Πέρσας ἐκέλευε,  
εἰ σοφοὶ εἰσι, γῶναι τὸ ἐθέλει τὰ δῶρα λέγειν. ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες 132  
οἱ Πέρσαι, ἐβουλεύοντο. Δαρείου μὲν νυν ἡ γνώμη ἦν, Σκύθας which are variously interpreted.  
ἑωυτῷ διδόναι σφέας τε αὐτοὺς καὶ γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ· εἰκάζων<sup>334</sup> τῇδε,  
ὥς μῦς μὲν ἐν γῇ γίνεται καρπὸν τὸν αὐτὸν ἀνθρώπῳ σιτεύμενος,  
βάτραχος δὲ ἐν ὕδατι, ὄρνις δὲ μάλιστα ἔοικε ἵππῳ<sup>335</sup>. τοὺς δὲ

attached to Herodotus's account of the Scythian campaign, it seems (in spite of the Behistun Inscription) to have been a prevalent notion that Darius was, in some Scythian expedition, reduced to great straits. In Aturia there was a village called Γαυγάμηλα (which word signified in Greek *Καμήλων οἶκος*), where the battle of Arbela was really fought. It was said to have been so named by Darius; and its revenue appropriated to the support of *the Camel* which did the best service in the transport of his baggage and provisions during the march διὰ τῆς ἐρήμου Σκυθίας. (STRABO, xvi. c. 1, p. 334.) This however is perhaps a later Greek story to account for the name.

<sup>332</sup> καὶ μῦν. ATHENÆUS, in quoting this story, omits all mention of 'the mouse' as one of the presents, and makes only one arrow to be sent (viii. p. 334). The story, as told by PNEUMOTIDES (*Clemens Alexandrinus, Stromm.* v. § 46), made the presents a mouse, a frog, a bird, an arrow, and a plough, and the parties who interpreted the meaning favourably and unfavourably to have been respectively *Orontopages* and *Xiphodres*. (See note 494 on ii. 160.) He also called the Scythian king *Idanthures* instead of *Idanthyrus*. The animal called a mouse was probably that which goes by the local name of *suslic*, and abounds throughout the whole of the steppes of southern Russia, but especially in the neighbourhood of the Don. It is about the size of a small weasel, and of a

yellow colour, and it is remarkable for the incredible rapidity with which it burrows, sinking first of all a small cylindrical hole perpendicularly to the depth of three feet, and from the bottom of this running out a level, rather in an ascending direction to avoid the water. At the extremity it hoards corn and roots for winter consumption. (CLARKE, i. p. 330.)

<sup>333</sup> καὶ βάτραχον. EUSTATHIUS gives the form *βάτρακος* among the peculiarities of Herodotus's idiom. But all the MSS have the common form. Nevertheless the Villosion Scholiast on *Iliad* iv. 243 confirms the statement of Eustathius, and adds that Herodotus says *μονόκυθρον* instead of *μονόχυτρον*. Neither of these words are found in the existing codices. See notes 323 and 332 on Book i.

<sup>334</sup> εἰκάζων. The construction is the same as if instead of saying *Δαρείου ἡ γνώμη ἦν*, the author had put its equivalent *Δαρείος ἐνόμιζε*.

<sup>335</sup> ὄρνις δὲ μάλιστα ἔοικε ἵππῳ, i. e. as both the one and the other symbolize "swiftness," the characteristic of the Scythians. The perception of this equivalence would be more likely in a Persian; as the birdlike tail and wings with which the figure of Ormuzd is invested in the Behistun Sculptures, seem to have this meaning; and Herodotus asserts that in the sacrifice of the *horse* to the Sun, the Massagetæ rested upon the same notion (i. 216). See the note on that passage, and compare ISAIAH xxx. 17.

δίοτους, ὡς τὴν ἑωυτῶν ἀλκὴν παραδιδούσι. αὕτη μὲν Δαρεῖος ἡ γνώμη ἀπεδέδεκτο· συνεστήκει δὲ ταύτῃ τῇ γνώμῃ ἡ Γωβρύεος <sup>336</sup>, τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἐπτά ἐνὸς τῶν τὸν Μάγον κατελόντων, εἰκάζοντας τὰ δῶρα λέγειν “ ἦν μὴ θρυβες γενόμενοι ἀναπτήσθε ἐς τὸν οὐρανόν, ὦ Πέρσαι, ἡ μύες γενόμενοι κατὰ τῆς γῆς καταδύητε, ἡ βάτραχοι γενόμενοι ἐς τὰς λίμνας ἐσπηδήσητε, οὐκ ἀπονοστήσετε ὀπίσω ὑπὸ τῶνδε τῶν τοξευμάτων βαλλόμενοι.” Πέρσαι μὲν δὲ οὕτω τὰ δῶρα εἰκαζον.

133

They endeavour to persuade the Ionians not to keep the bridge over the Ister beyond the sixty days they were ordered.

Ἡ δὲ Σκυθέων μία μοῖρα ἡ ταχθεῖσα πρότερον μὲν παρὰ τὴν Μαίητιν λίμνην φρουρέειν <sup>337</sup> τότε δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰστρον Ἰωσι ἐς λόγους ἐλθεῖν, ὡς ἀπίκετο ἐπὶ τὴν γέφυραν ἔλεγε τάδε “ ἄνδρες Ἴωνες, ἐλευθερίην ὑμῖν ἤκομεν φέροντες, ἥνπερ γε ἐθέλητε ἐσακοῦειν. πυθνανόμεθα γὰρ Δαρεῖον ἐντείλασθαι ὑμῖν, ἐξήκοντα ἡμέρας μούνας φρουρήσαντας τὴν γέφυραν, αὐτοῦ μὴ παραγινόμενου ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ, ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι ἐς τὴν ὑμετέρεην· νῦν ὦν ὑμεῖς τάδε ποιεῖντες, ἐκτὸς μὲν ἔσσεσθε πρὸς ἐκείνου αἰτίας· ἐκτὸς δὲ πρὸς ἡμέων τὰς προκειμένας ἡμέρας παραμέναντες τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου ἀπαλλάσσεσθε.” οὗτοι μὲν νυν, ὑποδεξαμένων Ἰώνων ποιήσειν ταῦτα, ὀπίσω τὴν ταχίστην ἐπέειγοντο.

134

The eyes of the Persians are opened to their danger,

Πέρσῃσι δὲ, μετὰ τὰ δῶρα τὰ ἐλθόντα Δαρεῖος, ἀντετάχθησαν οἱ ὑπολειφθέντες Σκύθαι πεζῶ καὶ ἵπποισι, ὡς συμβαλέοντες. τεταγμένοισι δὲ τοῖσι Σκύθησι λαγὸς ἐς τὸ μέσον διῆξε· τῶν δὲ ὡς ἕκαστοι ὥρεον τὸν λαγὸν ἐδίωκον· ταραχθέντων δὲ τῶν Σκυθέων καὶ βοῇ χρεωμένων, εἶρετο ὁ Δαρεῖος τῶν ἀντιπολεμίων <sup>338</sup> τὸν θόρυβον πυθόμενος δὲ σφεας τὸν λαγὸν διώκοντας <sup>339</sup>, εἶπε ἄρα <sup>340</sup>

<sup>336</sup> συνεστήκει ταύτῃ τῇ γνώμῃ ἡ Γωβρύεος, “with this opinion that of Gobryas was at direct issue.” See the note on vii. 142. That Gobryas should appear in this confidential relation to Darius is quite in accordance with the genuine Persian traditions. See the notes 199 and 200 on iii. 70.

<sup>337</sup> ἡ ταχθεῖσα πρότερον παρὰ τὴν Μαίητιν λίμνην φρουρέειν. See § 120. But from the description in § 122 it would seem that this division had been driven by the Persians in their march from the Ister to the Oarus, and had not disappeared from before them until the edge of the desert was reached, and Darius began to build his forts (§ 124). This would

render it perfectly impossible for it to reach the Ister within the sixty days from Darius's transit (see note 310 on § 122), which is certainly implied in *this* section.

<sup>338</sup> ἀντιπολεμίων. One MS (S) has ἀντιπολέμων. See note 364, below.

<sup>339</sup> πυθόμενος δὲ σφεας τὸν λαγὸν διώκοντας, “and learning respecting them that they were pursuing the hare.”

<sup>340</sup> ἄρα. This word indicates a tacit conclusion upon some one of the circumstances related. To whom did Darius address his remark? Why, no doubt, to the same persons to whom he was accustomed to say the other things which are reported of him. This thought in the mind of the narrator shows itself by the

πρὸς τοῦσπερ ἑώθεε καὶ τὰ ἄλλα λέγειν “οὔτοι ἄνδρες ἡμέων πολλὸν καταφρονέουσιν· καί μοι νῦν φαίνεται Γωβρύης εἶπαι περὶ τῶν Σκυθικῶν δώρων ὀρθῶς. ὥς ὢν οὕτως ἤδη δοκεόντων καὶ αὐτῷ μοι ἔχειν, βουλῆς ἀγαθῆς δεῖ ὅπως ἀσφαλῶς ἡ κομιδὴ ἡμῶν ἔσται τὸ ὀπίσω.” πρὸς ταῦτα Γωβρύης εἶπε “ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐγὼ and Gobryas suggests a stratagem for securing their retreat,  
 σχεδὸν μὲν καὶ λόγῳ ἡπιστάμην τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν τὴν ἀπορίην<sup>341</sup>, ἐλθὼν δὲ μᾶλλον ἐξέμαθον, ὁρέων αὐτοὺς ἐμπαίζοντας ἡμῶν. νῦν ὢν μοι δοκεῖ, ἐπὶ τὰ τάχιστα νῦξ ἐπέλθῃ, ἐκκαύσαντες τὰ πυρὰ ὥς καὶ ἄλλοτε ἑώθαμεν ποιέειν, τῶν στρατιωτέων τοὺς ἀσθενεστάτους ἐς τὰς τάλαιπωρίας ἐξαπατήσαντας καὶ τοὺς ὄνους πάντας καταδήσαντας, ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι πρὶν ἢ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰστρον ἰθῦσαι Σκύθας λύσοντας τὴν γέφυραν, ἢ καὶ τι Ἰωσι δόξαι τὸ ἡμέας οἷον τε ἔσται ἐξεργάσασθαι<sup>342</sup>.” Γωβρύης μὲν ταῦτα συν- 135  
 εβούλευε· μετὰ δὲ, νῦξ τε ἐγένετο καὶ Δαρεῖος ἐχράτο τῇ γνώμῃ ταύτῃ<sup>343</sup>. τοὺς μὲν καματηροὺς τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ τῶν ἦν ἐλάχιστος which is acted upon, and succeeds, the Persians stealing a march towards the later,  
 ἀπολλυμένων λόγος, καὶ τοὺς ὄνους πάντας καταδήσας, κατέλιπε αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ<sup>344</sup> ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ. κατέλιπε δὲ τοὺς τε ὄνους καὶ τοὺς ἀσθενεῖς τῆς στρατιῆς τῶνδε εἵνεκεν ἵνα οἱ μὲν ὄνοι βοὴν παρέχωνται· οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποι ἀσθενεῖς μὲν εἵνεκεν κατελίποντο, προφάσιος δὲ τῆσδε· δηλαδὴ αὐτὸς μὲν σὺν τῷ καθαρῷ τοῦ στρατοῦ<sup>345</sup> ἐπιθήσεσθαι μέλλοι τοῖσι Σκύθησι, οὔτοι δὲ τὸ στρατό-  
 πεδον τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ῥυοῖατο<sup>346</sup>. ταῦτα τοῖσι ὑπολειπομένοισι ὑποθέμενος ὁ Δαρεῖος καὶ πυρὰ ἐκκαύσας, τὴν ταχίστην ἐπέειπετο ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰστρον· οἱ δὲ ὄνοι ἐρημωθέντες τοῦ ὁμίλου, οὕτω μὲν δὴ

Interposition of the particle, thereby producing a shade of meaning too delicate to be expressed directly by a translation. It will be observed that commonly the interlocutor is distinctly named.

<sup>341</sup> τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν τὴν ἀπορίην, “the difficulty of dealing with these men.” A similar expression is used above (§ 83): τῶν Σκυθῶν τὴν ἀπορίην.

<sup>342</sup> ἢ καὶ τι Ἰωσι δόξαι τὸ ἡμέας οἷον τε ἔσται ἐξεργάσασθαι. The cautiousness of the speaker, although distinctly expressing his apprehensions, not to utter words of ill-omen, is to be remarked.

<sup>343</sup> νῦξ τε ἐγένετο καὶ Δαρεῖος ἐχράτο τῇ γνώμῃ ταύτῃ. “as night set in, Darius immediately carried this plan out.” See note 472 on § 181, below.

<sup>344</sup> αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ. See note 69 on iii.

25.

<sup>345</sup> σὺν τῷ καθαρῷ τοῦ στρατοῦ, “with the effective part of the army.” In i. 211 the same thing is expressed by ὁ καθαρὸς στρατός.

<sup>346</sup> δηλαδὴ αὐτὸς μὲν κ.τ.λ. The substitution of the word δηλαδὴ for ὅτι, which would be the more regular construction, gives a great increase of life to the expression. It is, like the French *voilà*, a word implying an accompanying gesture. Translate: “And the men were left behind on account indeed of their crippled state, but to help out this pretext, ‘Here was he going in person with the flower of the army to attack the Scythians, and these should in the mean time guard the camp!’”

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whither they are followed by the three divisions of the Scythians and their allies,

μᾶλλον πολλὰ ἔσαν τῆς φωνῆς<sup>347</sup>. ἀκούσαντες δὲ οἱ Σκύθαι τῶν δυνων, πάγχυ κατὰ χάρην ἠλπιζον τοὺς Πέρσας εἶναι. Ἡμέρης δὲ γενομένης, γνόντες οἱ ὑπολειφθέντες ὡς προδοδομένοι εἶεν ὑπὸ Δαρείου, χεῖράς τε προετείνοντο τοῖσι Σκύθησι καὶ ἔλεγον τὰ κατήκοντα· οἱ δὲ ὡς ἤκουσαν ταῦτα, τὴν ταχίστην συστραφέντες, αἶ τε δύο μοῖραι τῶν Σκυθῶν καὶ ἡ μία<sup>348</sup>, Σαυρομάται καὶ Βουδῖνοι καὶ Γελωνοὶ, ἐδῶκον τοὺς Πέρσας ἰθὺ τοῦ Ἰστρου ἅτε δὲ τοῦ Περσικοῦ μὲν τοῦ πολλοῦ ἐόντος πεζοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ τὰς ὁδοὺς οὐκ ἐπισταμένον, ὥστε οὐ τετμημένων τῶν ὁδῶν, τοῦ δὲ Σκυθικοῦ ἱππότηω καὶ τὰ σύντομα τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐπισταμένου, ἀμαρτύνοντες ἀλλήλων, ἐφθησαν πολλὰ οἱ Σκύθαι τοὺς Πέρσας ἐπὶ τὴν γέφυραν ἀπικόμενοι, μαθόντες δὲ τοὺς Πέρσας οὐκ ἂν ἀπινγμένους ἔλεγον πρὸς τοὺς Ἴωνας ἐόντας ἐν τῇσι νηυσὶ “ἄνδρες Ἴωνες, αἶ τε ἡμέραι ὑμῖν τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ διοίχνηται, καὶ οὐ ποιεέτε γε δίκαια ἔτι παραμένοντες· ἀλλ’, ἐπεὶ πρότερον δειμαίνοντες ἐμένετε, νῦν λύσαντες τὸν πόρον τὴν ταχίστην ἅπιτε χαίροντες ἐλεύθεροι, θεοῖσι τε καὶ Σκύθησι εἰδότες χάριν· τὸν δὲ πρότερον ἐόντα ὑμῶν δεσπότην ἡμεῖς παραστησόμεθα<sup>349</sup> οὕτω, ὥστε ἐπὶ μηδαμῶς ἔτι ἀνθρώπους αὐτὸν στρατεύσασθαι.”

who try to induce the Ionians to break up the bridge.

137

Miltiades votes for the measure, but Histiaeus against it,

Πρὸς ταῦτα οἱ Ἴωνες ἐβουλεύοντο. Μιλτιάδεω μὲν τοῦ Ἀθηναίου στρατηγέοντος<sup>350</sup> καὶ τυραννεύοντος Χερσονησιτῶν<sup>351</sup> τῶν ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῃ ἦν γνώμη, πείθεσθαι Σκύθησι καὶ ἐλευθεροῦν Ἴωνίνην<sup>352</sup>. Ἰστιάου δὲ τοῦ Μιλησίου ἐναντίῃ ταύτῃ, λέγοντος ὥς

<sup>347</sup> ἔσαν τῆς φωνῆς. The genitive case is not to be taken with μᾶλλον, but after the pronoun *τι* understood. The idea expressed by the use of the genitive is that of a store of noise laid up within the animal, a portion of which is emitted at each time the creature brays.

<sup>348</sup> καὶ ἡ μία. This is the division of Scopasis, which (in § 133) is represented as having marched to the Ister, and which now therefore must have returned and reunited itself with the other two divisions.

<sup>349</sup> παραστησόμεθα. It is not easy to reconcile this use of the word with the one in iii. 155, *παρίστασθαι*, or *παριστάναι* *ἐαυτοὺς* being the appropriate phrase for “yielding” or “submitting.” Perhaps the true solution of the difficulty is that the phrase is here used by the Scythians in bitter irony, with a reference to the

claim of Darius to their allegiance (§ 126, *δεσπότην τῇ σὺ δῶρα φέρων*). Translate: “And for that former master of yours, we will render ourselves up to him in such shrewd sort, that against no man any where, in time to come, shall be march in person.”

<sup>350</sup> στρατηγέοντος. See note 365 on § 141.

<sup>351</sup> Χερσονησιτῶν. One MS (S) has *Χερσονησιτών*, which is perhaps the true reading. STEPHANUS BYZANTINUS, *sub v.*, says that the inhabitants of this town were called *Χερσονησιῶται*,—the original derivation of the word being apparently lost sight of, and the analogy afforded by the names of other towns followed.

<sup>352</sup> ἐλευθεροῦν Ἴωνίνην. Miltiades was by ancestral traditions attached to the Lydian dynasty. (See vi. 37.) He was

νῦν μὲν διὰ Δαρείου ἕκαστος αὐτῶν τυραννεύει πόλις· τῆς Δαρείου δὲ δυνάμις κατααιρεθείσης, οὔτε αὐτὸς Μιλησίων οἷός τε ἔσται<sup>333</sup> ἄρχειν οὔτε ἄλλον οὐδένα οὐδαμῶν βουλήσασθαι γὰρ ἐκάστην τῶν πολλῶν δημοκρατέσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τυραννεύεσθαι. Ἰστιαίου δὲ γνώμην ταύτην ἀποδεκνυμένου, αὐτίκα πάντες ἦσαν τετραμμένοι πρὸς ταύτην τὴν γνώμην, πρότερον τὴν Μιλιτιάδῃ αἰρεόμενοι. Ἦσαν δὲ οὗτοι<sup>334</sup> οἱ διαφέροντες τε τὴν ψῆφον καὶ ἔοντες λόγου

and his  
opinion pre-  
vails.

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therefore naturally an enemy of that by which it had been overthrown. Besides this, he was much more at the mercy of the Scythians (see vi. 40) than was the case with the Ionians.

<sup>333</sup> ἔσται. This is the reading of all the MSS, but the irregularity of the construction is so great and so gratuitous, that I should almost be disposed to adopt the conjectural emendation of Bekker, ἔσεσθαι.

<sup>334</sup> ἦσαν δὲ οὗτοι. This list is at first sight a remarkable one when compared with the description of the force in general terms as "the Ionians," for it appears from it that the Hellespontine dynasts were not only a great majority numerically, but that one of them, Miltiades, was the *στρατηγὸς* of the fleet (§ 137). But the influence of Histieus shows that Miltiades's position was more due to his professional skill than to his political weight; and though there are several Hellespontine dynasts named, Histieus's vote probably outweighed all of them put together, if, as will appear probable, he represented all the Ionian cities not named in the list. That the Ionian contingent was very greatly superior to all the rest cannot be doubted, from the infinitely greater commercial importance of the towns. And hence it is not difficult to understand why the aggregate force should be called "the Ionian." See note on vi. 8, αἵται μὲν Ἴωνες ἦσαν.

If too the list be compared with that of the Ionian and Æolian cities given above (i. 142 and 149), there are some remarkable points to be noted. Out of the Ionian cities eight remain unnoticed. Two of them are on the Carian coast, *Myus* and *Priene*. From the size and position of these it seems reasonable to suppose that they were in a state of dependence on the tyrant of Miletus, held by him as a fief of the Persian king, Miletus being one of the cities

which very early entered into an alliance with Cyrus (ἦσαν ἐν σκέπῃ τοῦ φόβου ὅρκιον ποιησάμενοι, i. 143. See the notes on i. 141 and vi. 8). Of *Teos* Herodotus relates, that the inhabitants deserted their city and went *en masse* to Abdera, leaving their empty walls to the conqueror (i. 168). But there remain five cities, mostly of great importance, the fortunes of which can only be gathered from the scanty notice in i. 169. Is it to be supposed that they were held as fiefs by some of the four tyrants mentioned, and that the hint of Histieus bore upon this circumstance? Of the four Ionian cities which are named, *Miletus*, and *Chios* its close ally (see note 67 on i. 19), appear to have made terms with the Persian king without any hostility being exhibited. The latter obtained a footing on the main in return for the extradition of a Persian refugee (i. 160). The tyrant of *Samos* too was a creature of Persia (iii. 144—9); and for *Phocæa*, see the note 367, below.

The mention of *Cuma* alone among the Æolian cities goes to the same point. With the exception of *Smyrna* (which perhaps was considered as Ionian, and placed in the same category with Ephesus, Colophon, Lebedus, Clazomenæ, and Erythræ, by the Persians), there is no continental Æolian town of any importance in the list given i. 149. The tyrant of *Cuma* may therefore very reasonably be supposed to have had a jurisdiction over all of them. And that something was done to earn such a trust, seems extremely likely from the story of the extradition of Pactyas (i. 160). Parties were divided on that subject. It was commanded by an oracle; and in spite of the commentary on this which Aristodicus elicited, the Cumæans, although they did not give up the refugee, sent him where he was given up. As for the Æolian islanders, they—from whatever cause—were not afraid of Cyrus. See i. 161.

List of the chiefs who took part in the discussion.

πρὸς βασιλῆος Ἑλλησποντίων μὲν τύραννοι, Δάφνις τε Ἀβυδη-  
νός, καὶ Ἴπποκλος Λαμφακηνός, καὶ Ἡρόφαντος Παριηνός, καὶ  
Μητρώδωρος Προκουνήσιος, καὶ Ἀρισταγόρης Κυζικηνός, καὶ  
Ἀρίστων Βυζάντιος· οὗτοι μὲν ἦσαν οἱ ἐξ Ἑλλησπόντου. ἀπ'  
Ἰωνίης δὲ Στράτις τε Χίος<sup>335</sup>, καὶ Αἰάκης Σάμιος<sup>336</sup>, καὶ  
Λαοδάμας Φωκαεὺς<sup>337</sup>, καὶ Ἰστιαῖος Μιλήσιος, τοῦ ἦν γνώμη ἡ  
προκειμένη ἐναντὶ τῇ Μιλιτιάδῳ. Αἰολέων δὲ παρὴν λόγιμος  
μοῦνος Ἀρισταγόρης<sup>338</sup> Κυμαῖος.

139

They art-  
fully de-  
ceive the  
Scythians,  
who move  
off in order  
to intercept  
the Per-  
sians,

Οὗτοι ὦν ἐπεὶ τε τὴν Ἰστιάου αἰρέοντο γνώμην, ἔδοξέ σφι  
πρὸς ταῦτα<sup>339</sup> τάδε ἔργα τε καὶ ἔπεα προσθεῖναι· τῆς μὲν γεφύρης  
λύειν τὰ κατὰ τοὺς Σκύθας ἔοντα, λύειν δὲ ὅσον τόξον ἐξικνέ-  
ται· ἵνα καὶ ποίειν τι δοκέωσι ποιεῦντες μηδὲν, καὶ οἱ Σκύθαι μὴ  
πειράτο<sup>340</sup> βιώμενοι [καὶ βουλόμενοι<sup>341</sup>] διαβῆναι τὸν Ἴστρον  
κατὰ τὴν γέφυραν· εἰπεῖν τε λύοντας τῆς γεφύρης τὸ ἐς τὴν  
Σκυθικὴν ἔχον, ὥς πάντα ποιήσουσι τὰ Σκύθησί ἐστι ἐν ἡδονῇ.  
ταῦτα μὲν προσέθηκάν τῃ γνώμῃ· μετὰ δὲ, ἐκ πάντων ὑπεκρίνατο  
Ἰστιαῖος τάδε λέγων· “ἄνδρες Σκύθαι, χρηστὰ ἤκετε φέροντες  
καὶ ἐς καιρὸν ἐπέγεσθε καὶ τά τε ἀπ' ὑμέων ἡμῖν χρηστῶς  
οδοῦται<sup>342</sup> καὶ τὰ ἀπ' ἡμέων ἐς ὑμέας ἐπιτηδῶς ὑπηρετέεται· ὥς

<sup>335</sup> Στράτις τε Χίος. See viii. 132.

<sup>336</sup> Αἰάκης Σάμιος. This Æaces ap-  
pears (from vi. 13) to have been the son  
of Syloson, Polycrates's brother (iii. 139).

<sup>337</sup> Λαοδάμας Φωκαεὺς. It must be  
supposed that after the return of “above  
half of the population” to Phocæa (as  
described in i. 164. 5), the town would be  
held in the strictest control by the Per-  
sians. A military despotism would be  
the only possible government for a popu-  
lation which had just before massacred the  
garrison which occupied the city. No  
doubt that Laodamas was in the position  
of an *ἐπίτροπος* to the great Persian officer  
who commanded in chief the army which  
occupied Asia Minor. See the notes on  
iii. 127 and 141. The same may be said  
of the Samian chief, who governed a popu-  
lation (probably of a mixed character)  
which had been brought to colonize Samos  
after the extermination of all the inhabi-  
tants a very short time before (iii. 149).

<sup>338</sup> Ἀρισταγόρης. The son of Hera-  
clides. See v. 37.

<sup>339</sup> πρὸς ταῦτα. The majority of the  
MSS which Gaisford follows have πρὸς

ταῦτη, i.e. τῇ Ἰστιάου γνώμῃ. But S  
and V have πρὸς ταῦτα, “under these  
circumstances,” which appears preferable.

<sup>340</sup> ἵνα καὶ ποίειν τι δοκέωσι . . . καὶ οἱ  
Σκύθαι μὴ πειράτο. The change of  
moods arises from the one act being the  
direct and natural result, the other only a  
possible and distant one. See the note  
40 on i. 9. It was not certain that the  
Scythians would wish to cross the river  
by main force, but the operation of the  
Ionians was to prevent them if they  
should.

<sup>341</sup> καὶ βουλόμενοι. These words are  
omitted in F. It seems probable that  
βουλόμενοι was an alternative reading for  
βιόμενοι, and thus crept from the margin  
into the text.

<sup>342</sup> τὰ ἀπ' ὑμέων ἡμῖν χρηστῶς οδοῦται,  
κ.τ.λ., “your part of the matter is set  
a-going in a spirit of kindness to us, and  
our part of it is performing in a way to  
play into your hands.” οδοῦται is “to put  
a person in the way” to a thing. Thus  
Æschylus (*Agam.* 184) says, τὸν φρονεῖν  
βροτοὺς δόσαντα, and (*Prom.* 497) δυσ-  
τέκμαρτον εἰς τέχην ἔδωκε θεοτόξος.

γὰρ ὁρᾶτε, καὶ λύομεν τὸν πόρον καὶ προθυμίην πᾶσαν ἔχομεν, θέλοντες εἶναι ἐλεύθεροι· ἐν ᾧ δὲ ἡμέες τάδε λύομεν, ὑμέας καιρὸς ἐστὶ διζῆσθαι ἐκείνους, εὐρόντας δὲ, ὑπὲρ τε ἡμέων καὶ ὑμέων αὐτῶν τίσασθαι οὕτως ὥς κείνους πρέπει.”

Σκύθαι μὲν τὸ δεύτερον Ἰωσι πιστεύσαντες λέγειν ἀληθέα, 140  
 ὑπέστρεφον ἐπὶ ζήτησιν τῶν Περσέων καὶ ἡμάρτανον πάσης τῆς <sup>but miss them.</sup>  
 ἐκείνων διεξόδου. αἷτιοι δὲ τούτου αὐτοὶ οἱ Σκύθαι ἐγένοντο, τὰς νομάς τῶν ἵππων τὰς ταύτῃ διαφθείραντες καὶ τὰ ὕδατα συγχώσαντες<sup>353</sup>. εἰ γὰρ ταῦτα μὴ ἐποίησαν, παρείχε ἂν σφι, εἰ ἐβούλοντο, εὐπετέως ἐξευρέειν τοὺς Πέρσας· νῦν δὲ, τά σφι ἐδόκεε ἀριστα βεβουλεύσθαι κατὰ ταῦτα ἐσφάλισαν. Σκύθαι μὲν νυν τῆς σφετέρης χώρας τῇ χιλὸς τε τοῖσι ἵπποισι καὶ ὕδατα ἦν, ταύτῃ διεξιόντες ἐδίζηντο τοὺς ἀντιπολεμίους<sup>354</sup>, δοκέοντες καὶ ἐκείνους διὰ τοιούτων τὴν ἀπόδρῃσιν ποικέσθαι· οἱ δὲ δὴ Πέρσαι τὸν πρότερον ἐωυτῶν γενόμενον στίβον, τοῦτον φυλάσσοντες ἤσαν καὶ οὕτω μόγις εὗρον τὸν πόρον· οἳ δὲ νυκτός τε ἀπικόμενοι καὶ <sup>The Persians reach the bank of</sup>  
 λευμένης τῆς γεφύρης ἐντυχόντες, ἐς πᾶσαν ἀρρωδίην ἀπικατο μὴ σφεας οἱ Ἴωνες ἔωσι ἀπολελοιπότες. Ἦν δὲ περὶ Δαρείου ἀνὴρ 141  
 Αἰγύπτιος, φωνῶν μέγιστον ἀνθρώπων τοῦτον [δὴ] τὸν ἄνδρα <sup>the river by night,</sup>  
 καταστάντα ἐπὶ τοῦ χεῖλεος τοῦ Ἰστρου, ἐκέλευε Δαρείος καλέειν <sup>and Darius causes Histieus to be hailed, and the bridge put together.</sup>  
 Ἰστιαῖον Μιλήσιον<sup>355</sup>. ὁ μὲν δὴ ἐποίηε ταῦτα· Ἰστιαῖος δὲ ἐπακούσας τῷ πρώτῳ κελεύσματι, τὰς τε νέας ἀπάσας παρείχε διαπορθμεύειν τὴν στρατιὴν καὶ τὴν γέφυραν ἔξευξε. Πέρσαι μὲν 142  
 ὦν οὕτω ἐκφεύγουσι· Σκύθαι δὲ διζήμενοι, καὶ τὸ δεύτερον ἤμαρτον <sup>ther.</sup>

In vi. 73, ὡς εὐαδῶθι τὸ εἰς Δημάρτον πρῆγμα, “as the business with Demartus was got into good train.”

<sup>353</sup> τὰς νομάς τῶν ἵππων τὰς ταύτῃ διαφθείραντες καὶ τὰ ὕδατα συγχώσαντες. See the note 305 on § 120.

<sup>354</sup> ἀντιπολεμίους. Here two manuscripts (S and V) have the reading ἀντιπολέμους. In vii. 236 all have that reading, and so they have in viii. 68. On the other hand in § 134, above, only one (S) has the reading ἀντιπολέμων, the others all giving ἀντιπολεμίων. So impossible is any decision as to the Herodotean usage of peculiar forms.

<sup>355</sup> καλέειν Ἰστιαῖον Μιλήσιον. The prominent place which is assigned to the Ionians, and among them to Histieus, and the great importance of Miletus at

the time, combined with the circumstance that Miletus alone of all the Asiatic Greeks seems from the very beginning to have entered into an alliance with the Persian power, make it rather a remarkable circumstance that Miltiades should be represented as the στρατηγὸς of the united fleet, he not being even an Ionian. One is inclined to think that possibly this feature of the story, and also that in which he appears to such advantage as a Greek patriot (§ 137) may have been enhanced by the family traditions of his descendants in Athens. His position was perhaps rather that of the *chief navigator*, as he might easily be familiar with the coast of the Euxine and the dominant winds and currents. (See note 354, above.)

The Scythian character of the Ionians.

τῶν Περσέων. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ὡς ἔοντας Ἰωνας ἐλευθέρους, κακί-  
στοις τε καὶ ἀνανδροτάτοις κρίνουσι εἶναι ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων  
τοῦτο δὲ ὡς δούλων [Ἰώνων] τὸν λόγον ποιούμενοι, ἀνδράποδα  
φιλοδέσποτά φασι εἶναι καὶ ἄδρηστα μάλιστα. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ  
Σκύθησι ἐς Ἰωνας ἀπέριπται <sup>366</sup>.

143

Darius marches through Thrace, and arrives at Sestos, whence he crosses, leaving Megabazus with 80,000 men to reduce the Hellespontines. Two anecdotes of this

Δαρείος δὲ διὰ τῆς Θρηκίης πορευόμενος, ἀπῆκετο ἐς Σηστόν  
τῆς Χερσονήσου. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ αὐτὸς μὲν διέβη τῇσι νηυσὶ ἐς τὴν  
Ἀσίην, λείπει δὲ στρατηγὸν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ Μεγάβαζον <sup>367</sup>, ἄνδρα  
Πέρσῃν τῷ Δαρείῳ κοτε ἔδωκε γέρας τοιούδε εἶπας ἐν Πέρσῃσι  
ἔπος· ὠρμημένου Δαρείου ροιάς τρώγειν, ὡς ἀνοίξε τάχιστα τὴν  
πρώτην τῶν ροιέων εἶρετο αὐτὸν ὁ ἀδελφεὸς Ἀρτάβατος, ὃ τι  
βούλοιτ' ἂν οἱ τοσοῦτο πλῆθος γενέσθαι ὅσοι ἐν τῇ ροιῇ κόκκοι ;  
Δαρείος δὲ εἶπε, Μεγαβάζους ἂν οἱ τοσοῦτους ἀριθμὸν γενέσθαι  
βούλεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ὑπήκουον. ἐν μὲν δὴ Πέρσῃσι  
ταῦτά μιν εἶπας ἐτίμα· τότε δὲ αὐτὸν ὑπέλιπε στρατηγὸν ἔχοντα

144

Megabazus.

τῆς στρατιῆς τῆς ἐνωτοῦ ὀκτὼ μυριάδας. Οὗτος δὲ ὁ Μεγάβαζος  
εἶπας τότε τὸ ἔπος <sup>368</sup> ἐλείπετο ἀθάνατον μνήμην πρὸς Ἑλλησπον-  
τίων. γενόμενος γὰρ ἐν Βυζαντίῳ, ἐπύθετο ἑπτακαίδεκα ἔτεσι  
πρότερον Καλχηδονίους κτίσαντας τὴν χώραν Βυζαντίων πυθό-  
μενος δὲ ἔφη, “Καλχηδονίους τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον τυγχάνειν ὄντας  
τυφλοῦς” οὐ γὰρ ἂν τοῦ καλλίονος παρείντος κτίζειν χώραν, τὸν  
αἰσχίονα ἐλέσθαι, εἰ μὴ ἦσαν τυφλοί<sup>369</sup>. οὗτος δὲ ὢν τότε ὁ  
Μεγάβαζος στρατηγὸς λειφθεὶς ἐν τῇ χώρῃ Ἑλλησποντίων, τοὺς  
μὴ μηδίζοντας κατεστρέφετο.

<sup>366</sup> ἀπέριπται. The same expression is used i. 153: ταῦτα ἐς τοὺς πάντας Ἕλληνας ἐπέρριψε ὁ Κύρος τὰ ἔκα, and vii. 13: δευτέρω ἀπερρίψαι ἔκα, and viii. 92: ταῦτα ἀπέριψε ἐς Θεμιστοκλέα. In all these cases it is applied to contemptuous language.

<sup>367</sup> Μεγάβαζον. EUSTATHIUS relates the story which presently follows of a Megabazus. But it must not be too hastily assumed that the names are convertible, or that the Persian mentioned here and in v. 10. 12. 24, &c., is the same with the Megabazus selected by Gobryas to assist in the conspiracy against the Magian (iii. 70). For with regard to the story, it is told by PLUTARCH (*Apophth.* Reg. p. 173) to the credit neither of

Megabazus nor Megabyzus, but of Zopyrus. And if the authority Herodotus is here following took the two names to represent the same person, it is strange that he should be introduced here by a description, but one which has no reference to the conspiracy.

<sup>368</sup> εἶπας τότε τὸ ἔπος. This *mos* was in later times attributed to the Delphic oracle. See notes 116 on i. 32; 519 on i. 155; and 494 on ii. 160.

<sup>369</sup> οὐ γὰρ ἂν τοῦ καλλίονος παρείντος κτίζειν χώραν, κ.τ.λ. These words are not to be considered as a part of the saying of Megabazus, but as a commentary of the narrator, suggesting the train of thought which led Megabazus to say what he did.



Οὗτος μὲν νυν ταῦτα ἔπρασσε τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τοῦτον χρόνον 145  
 ἐγίνετο ἐπὶ Λιβύην ἄλλος στρατιῆς μέγας στόλος, διὰ πρόφασιν  
 τὴν ἐγὼ ἀπηγγέσομαι προδιηγησάμενος πρότερον τάδε τῶν ἐκ  
 τῆς Ἀργοῦς ἐπιβατέων παιδῶν παῖδες <sup>370</sup>, ἐξελασθέντες ὑπὸ Πε-  
 λασγῶν τῶν ἐκ Βραυρῶνος ληϊσαμένων τὰς Ἀθηναίων γυναῖκας <sup>371</sup>,  
 ὑπὸ τούτων ἐξελασθέντες ἐκ Δήμνου οἴχοντο πλέοντες ἐς Λακεδαί-  
 μονα· ἰζόμενοι δὲ ἐν τῷ Τηῦγέτῳ πῦρ ἀνέκαιον <sup>372</sup>. Λακεδαιμόνιοι  
 δὲ ἰδόντες ἄγγελον ἔμπειρον, πεισόμενοι τίνες τε καὶ ὁκόθεν εἰσὶ ;  
 οἱ δὲ τῷ ἀγγέλῳ εἰρωτεύοντι ἔλεγον, ὥς εἶψαν μὲν Μινύαι, παῖδες  
 δὲ εἶεν τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀργοί πλεόντων ἡρώων προσχόντας δὲ τούτους  
 ἐς Δήμνον φυτεῦσαι σφεας. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀκηκοότες τὸν  
 λόγον τῆς γενεῆς τῶν Μινυέων, πέμψαντες τὸ δεύτερον εἰρώτεον  
 τί θέλοιντες ἠκοῖεν τε ἐς τὴν χώραν καὶ πῦρ αἰθοῖεν ; οἱ δὲ ἔφασαν,  
 ὑπὸ Πελασγῶν ἐκβληθέντες ἤκειν ἐς τοὺς πατέρας· (δικαιότατον  
 γὰρ εἶναι οὕτω τοῦτο γινέσθαι) δέεσθαι τε οἰκέειν ἅμα τοῦτοισι, <sup>Minyaeans  
 from Lem-  
 nos distrib-  
 uted among  
 the Lacedae-  
 monian  
 tribes.</sup>  
 μοῖράν τε τιμέων μετέχοντες καὶ τῆς γῆς ἀπολαχόντες. Λακεδαί-  
 μονίοισι δὲ ἔαδε δέεσθαι τοὺς Μινύας ἐπ' οἷσι θέλουσι αὐτοί·  
 μάλιστα δὲ ἐνὶ γῇ σφεας ὥστε ποιέειν ταῦτα τῶν Τυνδαριδέων ἢ  
 ναυτιλῆν ἐν τῇ Ἀργοί· δεξάμενοι δὲ τοὺς Μινύας, γῆς τε μετέδοσαν  
 καὶ ἐς φυλὰς διεδάσαντο· οἱ δὲ αὐτὰ καὶ μὲν γάμους ἔγρημαν, τὰς δὲ  
 ἐκ Δήμνου ἦγοντο ἐξέδοσαν ἄλλοισι. Χρόνου δὲ οὐ πολλοῦ διεξ- 146  
 ελθόντος, αὐτὰ καὶ οἱ Μινύαι ἐξύβρισαν, τῆς τε βασιλεῖας μετα-  
 τέοντες καὶ ἄλλα ποιεῖντες οὐκ ὅσια. τοῖσι ὦν Λακεδαιμόνιοισι  
 ἔδοξε αὐτοὺς ἀποκτείνειν· συλλαβόντες δὲ σφεας κατέβαλον ἐς  
 ἑρκτήν. (κτείνουσι δὲ τοὺς ἄν κτείνωσι Λακεδαιμόνιοι νυκτὸς, μετ'  
 ἡμέρην δὲ οὐδένα.) ἐπεὶ ὦν ἐμελλόν σφεας καταχρήσεσθαι, παραι-  
 τήσαντο αἱ γυναῖκες τῶν Μινυέων, εἶναι αἰσάται τε καὶ τῶν πρώ-  
 των Σπαρτιητέων θυγατέρες, ἐσελθεῖν τε ἐς τὴν ἑρκτήν καὶ ἐς  
 λόγους ἐλθεῖν ἐκάστη τῷ ἐωυτῆς ἀνδρὶ· οἱ δὲ σφεας παρήκαν  
 οὐδένα δόλον δοκέοντες ἐξ αὐτέων ἔσεσθαι· αἱ δὲ ἐπεὶ τε ἐσῆλθον,

<sup>370</sup> παῖδων παῖδες. This expression shows that in the arrangement of the local legends with a view to their combination in one body, the arrival of the Lemnian fugitives at Taygetum was necessarily placed two generations after the Argonautic expedition.

<sup>371</sup> τῶν ἐκ Βραυρῶνος ληϊσαμένων τὰς Ἀθηναίων γυναῖκας. This circumstance

is described at greater length (vi. 138), where the Pelasgians are asserted to be the same that were shortly before settled on the flanks of Mount Hymettus.

<sup>372</sup> πῦρ ἀνέκαιον. As the symbol of the Hephæstus-worship, brought with them from the volcanic island Lemnos. See vi. 140.

take sanctuary in Taygetum.

ποιεῖσι τοιάδε πᾶσαν τὴν εἶχον ἐσθήτα παραδούσαι τοῖσι ἀνδράσι αἰτᾷ τὴν τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἔλαβον· οἱ δὲ Μινῖαι ἐνδύντες τὴν γυναικὴν ἐσθήτα, ἅτε γυναῖκες ἐξήϊσαν ἔξω, ἐκφυγόντες δὲ τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ ἴζοντο αὐτὶς ἐς τὸ Τητύγετον.

147 Theras being about to quit Lacedæmon to found a colony, begs to take them with him.

Τὸν δὲ αὐτὸν τοῦτον χρόνον Θήρας ὁ Αἰτεσίωνος, τοῦ Τισαμενοῦ, τοῦ Θερασάνδρου, τοῦ Πολυνείκεος, ἔστειλλε<sup>373</sup> ἐς ἀποικίην ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος. ἦν δὲ ὁ Θήρας οὗτος, γένος ἑὸν Καδμείος, τῆς μητρὸς ἀδελφεὸς τοῖσι Ἀριστοδήμου παισὶ<sup>374</sup>, Εὐρυσθένει καὶ Προκλείῃ· ἐόντων δ' ἔτι τῶν παίδων τούτων νηπίων, ἐπιτροπαίην εἶχε ὁ Θήρας τὴν ἐν Σπάρτῃ βασιλιήν<sup>375</sup>. αὐξηθέντων δὲ τῶν ἀδελφιδέων καὶ παραλαβόντων τὴν ἀρχήν, οὕτω δὴ ὁ Θήρας δεινὸν ποιεύμενος ἄρχεσθαι ὑπ' ἄλλων ἐπεὶ τε ἐγεύσατο ἀρχῆς, οὐκ ἔφη μενεῖν ἐν τῇ Λακεδαίμονι, ἀλλ' ἀποπλεύσεσθαι ἐς τοὺς συγγενέας. ἦσαν δὲ ἐν τῇ νῦν Θήρῃ καλεομένη νήσῳ πρότερον δὲ Καλλίστῃ τῇ αὐτῇ ταύτῃ, ἀπόγονοι Μεμβλιάρεω<sup>376</sup> τοῦ Ποικίλεω ἀνδρὸς Φοίνικος<sup>376</sup>. Κάδμος γὰρ ὁ Ἀγῆνορος Εὐρώπῃν διζήμενος προσέσχε ἐς τὴν νῦν Θήρην καλεομένην προσχόντι δὲ εἶτε δὴ οἱ ἡ χώρα ἤρесе εἶτε καὶ ἄλλως ἠθέλησε ποιῆσαι τοῦτο<sup>377</sup>. καταλείπει γὰρ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ταύτῃ ἄλλους τε τῶν Φοινίκων καὶ δὴ καὶ τῶν

The island Thera was then called *Calliste*, and held by Phœnicians, who had been left there by Cadmus

<sup>373</sup> ἔστειλλε, "was fitting out." The full expression ἔστειλλε τὴν στρατὶν is used above (iii. 141), and στέλλειν στρατὸν in EURIPIDES (*Iphig.* *Am.* 661). In both cases are denoted the preparations made immediately before putting an army in motion.

<sup>374</sup> τῆς μητρὸς ἀδελφεὸς τοῖσι Ἀριστοδήμου παισὶ. This is a genuine Lacedæmonian tradition, and so is the genealogy of Theras. (See vi. 52.) His sister's name was Argeia. In their account of the conquest of Sparta by Aristodemus himself, and not by his children, the Lacedæmonians differed from "all the poetical accounts."

<sup>375</sup> ἐπιτροπαίην εἶχε τὴν βασιλιήν, "held the regal office as commissioner." See note 392 on iii. 142.

<sup>376</sup> Μεμβλιάρεω. S has Μεβλάρεω and ἑνδρες φοίνικες.

<sup>377</sup> εἶτε καὶ ἄλλως ἠθέλησε ποιῆσαι τοῦτο. A sufficient reason for a Phœnician settlement in Thera would be the extraordinary qualities of the *murex* found on the Peloponnesian, especially the Læconian, coast. (PLINY, *N. H.* ix. 36.)

The extent to which this traffic prevailed formerly is evinced by the circumstance, that at Hermione ΣΙΣΤΗΟΝ "had the good fortune to stumble over a vast heap of these shells, whose fish or animals had been employed for this purpose" (*esp.* *Walpole's Turkey*, i. p. 285). Some of these were identified as the *Murex Truncatus* of Linnæus. It seems not unlikely that the settlement alluded to was in fact for the purpose of dyeing, and that a faint tradition of this remains in the name Poecilas, the father of Membliaras, and in the profession of Corobius (§ 151). Possibly to the vicinity of this settlement the Lacedæmonians owed some of the brilliant accoutrements for their troops to which XENOPHON (*Agæsilas*, c. 2. 8) attributes so striking an effect; for the story told of the distinguished Spartan at the smithy (*ἐν θάναματι ἦν ὅτεον τὸ ποιούμενον*, i. 68), does not give a high idea of Lacedæmonian armourers; and still less can we suppose the art of dyeing practised where there were no *μέτοικοι*, and where the free population held every thing but war and hunting in supreme contempt.

ἐωντοῦ συγγενέων Μεμβλῆαρον<sup>378</sup>. οὗτοι ἐνέμοντο τὴν Καλλίστην eight generations before.  
καλεομένην ἐπὶ γενεάς, πρὶν ἢ Θήραν ἐλθεῖν ἐκ Λακεδαιμόνος, ὅκτω  
ἀνδρῶν. Ἐπὶ τούτους δὴ ὦν ὁ Θήρας, λαὸν ἔχων ἀπὸ τῶν 148  
φυλέων, ἔστειλε συνοικῆσθαι τούτοις, καὶ οὐδαμῶς ἐξελῶν αὐτοὺς  
ἀλλὰ κάρτα οἰκητιέμενος. ἐπεὶ τε δὲ καὶ οἱ Μινυαὶ ἐκδράντες ἐκ  
τῆς ἐρκτηῆς ἔζοντο ἐς τὸ Τητύγετον, τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων βουλευομέ-  
νων σφέας ἀπολλύναι, παραιτέται ὁ Θήρας ὅκως μῆτε φόνος  
γένηται, αὐτὸς τε ὑπέδεκετό σφεας ἐξάξειν ἐκ τῆς χώρας· συγχο-  
ρησάντων δὲ τῇ γνώμῃ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, τρισὶ τριηκοντέροις ἐς  
τοὺς Μεμβλιάρει<sup>379</sup> ἀπογόνους ἔπλωσε, οὔτι πάντας ἄγων τοὺς Theras goes  
Μινυάς, ἀλλ' ὀλίγους τινάς· οἱ γὰρ πλεῖνες αὐτῶν ἐτράποντο ἐς in three  
τοὺς Παρωρεάτας καὶ Καύκωνας, τούτους δ' ἐξέλασαντες<sup>380</sup> ἐκ few Miny-  
τῆς χώρας, σφέας αὐτοὺς ἐξ μοίρας διεῖλον<sup>381</sup>. καὶ ἔπειτα ἔκτισαν cians to Cal-  
πόλιας τάσδε ἐν αὐτοῖσι, Λέπρεον, Μάκιστον, Φρίξας, Πύργον, listo.  
Ἐπιον, Νούδιον<sup>382</sup>. (τούτων δὲ τὰς πλεῖνας ἐπ' ἐμέο Ἠλείοι The re-  
ἐπόρθησαν) τῇ δὲ νήσῳ ἐπὶ τοῦ οἰκιστέω Θήρα ἡ ἐπωνυμίη build six  
ἐγένετο. Ὁ δὲ παῖς οὐ γὰρ ἔφη<sup>383</sup> οἱ συμπλεύσεσθαι, τουγαρῶν towns in  
149 Paroreatis.

<sup>378</sup> προσχόντι δὲ εἶπε δὴ οἱ ἡ χώρα ἤρεσε εἶπε καὶ ἄλλως ἠθέλησε ποιῆσαι τοῦτο· καταλείπει γὰρ, κ.τ.λ. The irregularity of this construction has caused a good deal of comment; and Matthiae has attempted to explain it as if in its normal form it would have been προσχὼν δὲ, εἶπε δὴ οἱ . . . ποιῆσαι τοῦτο, καταλείπει ἐν τῇ νήσῳ, κ.τ.λ., and as if προσχὼν became προσχόντι by the "attraction" of the following dative case *οἱ*. But against this interpretation it is enough to say that it implies that Cadmus's wish to leave a settlement, 'on other grounds' than the attractive nature of the place, was first formed after he got to Thera. But as the sentence stands, the clause εἶπε καὶ ἄλλως ἠθέλησε ποιῆσαι τοῦτο is entirely disengaged from the operation of the word προσχόντι, and expresses generally a wish entertained by Cadmus to found a settlement in Thera, without any limitation whatever of the time when the wish was formed. The real difficulty in the sentence consists in the coupling of the clauses expressing the alternative hypotheses by εἶπε—εἶπε instead of ἢ—ἢ, but even this may be justified by the consideration that these particles are better calculated to suggest the idea that the reasons assigned are purely hypothetical, resting wholly on

the facts that the island was very beautiful, and that Cadmus did leave a settlement there.

<sup>379</sup> Μεμβλιάρει. S has the form Μεμβριαρέει, which is the one given by PINDAR (*Pyth.* iv. 88).

<sup>380</sup> Παρωρεάτας καὶ Καύκωνας, τούτους δ' ἐξέλασαντες. In the ethnographical outline given by the author in viii. 73, the descendants of these hybrid Lemnians are called Paroreatae. The meaning here probably is that they expelled the then existing population of the Parorea. (See STEPHANUS BYZANTINUS, *sub v.*) The site of the Caucones in Peloponnese appears to have been a matter of dispute with ancient chorographers; but ARISTOTLE considered that the most distinct traces of them were in the direction of Dyme, about Buprasia and "hollow" Elis (*ap. Strab.* viii. 3, p. 157). It is clear that they were either identical or had a very close affinity with the aboriginal race which retained possession of Arcadia.

<sup>381</sup> ἐξ μοίρας διεῖλον. See the note 435 on ii. 147.

<sup>382</sup> Ἐπιον, Νούδιον. One MS (S) has Ἐπειον, Νούθειον.

<sup>383</sup> οὐ γὰρ ἔφη. This expression is equivalent to *ὅς οὐκ ἔφη*, or rather the particle γὰρ attaches the notion of cau-

Theras leaves his son in Sparta, from whom the *Ægidae* are descended.

ἔφη αὐτὸν καταλείψειν διὲν ἐν λύκοισιν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἔπεος τούτου οὖνομα τῷ νεηίσκῳ τούτῳ Ὀϊόλυκος ἐγένετο· καὶ κως τὸ οὖνομα τοῦτο ἐπεκράτησε. Ὀϊόλυκου δὲ γίνεταί Διγενὲς, ἀπὸ τοῦ Διγενίδα καλεῦνται φυλὴ μεγάλη ἐν Σπάρτῃ. τοῖσι δὲ ἐν τῇ φυλῇ ταύτῃ ἀνδράσι οὐ γὰρ ὑπέμειναν τὰ τέκνα<sup>334</sup>, ἰδρύσαντο ἐκ θεοπροπίου Ἑρινύων τῶν Λατοῦ τε καὶ Οἰδιπόδεω ἱρόν καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ὑπέμεινε. τὸντο τοῦτο καὶ ἐν Θήρῃ τοῖσι ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων γεγονόσι<sup>335</sup>.

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Theræan continuation of the history.

Μέχρι μὲν νυν τούτου τοῦ λόγου Λακεδαιμόνιοι Θηραίοισι κατὰ ταῦτα λέγουσι· τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου μῦνοι Θηραῖοι ὥδε γενέσθαι λέγουσι<sup>336</sup>. Γρίνος ὁ Δισανίου, ἐὼν Θήρα τούτου ἀπόγονος καὶ

sality to the clause which it connects, and may be indifferently rendered by the English "for" or "since," or any other causative particle. Translate: "His son too, *as* he declined to sail with him, 'Then,' the father said, 'he would leave him behind, a sheep among wolves.'" Similarly below, "And *as* with the men of this tribe, their children did not live to grow up, they, in pursuance of an oracle, established a temple for the Erinyes of Læus and Œdipodæ."

<sup>334</sup> οὐ γὰρ ὑπέμειναν τὰ τέκνα. This calamity was conceived to have come upon the family as the result of the curse uttered by Theras under the feeling of deep irritation at the undutiful conduct of his child. The original idea of the Erinyes is the wrath of a person who has suffered deep wrong and gives vent to his feeling. The passion was regarded as becoming a separate existence, an evil demon (*Ἄρα*, *Ἄττῃ*, *Νέμεσις*, or *Ἑρινὺς*) pursuing the offending party as an avenging spirit. The subject is admirably developed by MÜLLER, *Preface to the Eumenides of Æschylus*. This particular story is apparently a tradition connected with the Œdipus worship at Sparta and Thera.

<sup>335</sup> τόντο τοῦτο καὶ ἐν Θήρῃ τοῖσι ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων γεγονόσι. This sentence is incomplete as it stands, and attempts have been made to conjecture the word requisite to complete it. Reiske and Schweighäuser acquiesce in the violent measure of interposing *συνέβη* after *τοῦτο*, from which the sense would result that in Thera the whole proceeding which had taken place at Lacedæmon was repeated, —the death of the children, the founding of the temple, and the cure of the evil. I cannot think that so curious a parallel

would be noticed so obscurely. For who are the persons described by the words τοῖσι ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων γεγονόσι, *in Thera*? They ought to be the descendants of *Ægidae*; but there is no notice whatever of any of these going to Thera. On the contrary, they (in the person of their ancestor) stay at Sparta, and bring a curse upon themselves for doing so.

If any verb is to be supplied, I should conjecture *ἦν* after *Θήρῃ*, which, while the MSS were uncial, might easily be omitted by a transcriber. But I really believe the sentence to be merely a marginal note expressed with the slovenliness as well as the ellipse which in such a case may be expected; and the meaning of the writer to have been that 'this same peculiarity (of the children not living to grow up) was observable at Thera among the descendants of these Minyæans.' This is a very conceivable thing. A small number of Lemnians (*δελίους τινάς*) separated from those about them by peculiar religious rites, and probably following from father to son the same occupation under the tutelary care of Hephestus, would be likely to marry only among one another, and, as the natural result, have unhealthy children.

<sup>336</sup> τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου μῦνοι Θηραῖοι ὥδε γενέσθαι λέγουσι. It must not be assumed because Herodotus says this, that *he got* the account *direct* from the Theraeans. What he states is that it is the genuine Theraean account of the case, as contradistinguished from the Lacedæmonian. But it does not at all follow that he did not derive it from another quarter, as for instance, such a one as a Samian merchant habitually trading with

Βασιλείων Θήρης τῆς νήσου, ἀπίκετο ἐς Δελφούς ἄγων ἀπὸ τῆς πόλιος ἐκατόμβην εἶποντο δὲ οἱ καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν πολιητέων καὶ δὴ καὶ Βάττος ὁ Πολυμνήστου, ἥν γένος Εὐθυμίδης<sup>327</sup> τῶν Μινυέων· χρωμένῳ δὲ τῷ Γρίνῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν Θηραίων περὶ ἄλλων χρᾶ ἡ Πυθίη κτιζέει ἐν Λιβύῃ πόλιν ὃ δὲ ἀμείβετο λέγων “ ἐγὼ μὲν, ὦναξ, πρεσβύτερός τε ἦδη εἰμὶ καὶ βαρὺς ἀείρεσθαι· σὺ δὲ τινα τῶνδε τῶν νεωτέρων κέλευε ταῦτα ποιεῖν.” ἅμα τε ἔλεγε ταῦτα καὶ ἐδείκνυε ἐς τὸν Βάττον. τότε μὲν τοσαῦτα. μετὰ δὲ, ἀπελθόντες ἀλογίην εἶχον τοῦ χρηστηρίου, οὔτε Λιβύην εἰδότες δκου γῆς εἴη<sup>328</sup> οὔτε τολμῶντες ἐς ἀφανὲς χρῆμα ἀποστέλλειν ἀποικίην. Ἐπτά δὲ ἐτέων μετὰ ταῦτα οὐκ ἔβη τὴν Θήρην<sup>329</sup>. ἐν τοῖσι τὰ δένδρεα πάντα σφί τὰ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ πλὴν ἐνὸς ἐξανάνθη· χρωμένοι δὲ τοῖσι Θηραίοισι προέφερε ἡ Πυθίη τὴν ἐς Λιβύην ἀποικίην. ἐπεὶ τε δὲ κακοῦ οὐδὲν ἦν σφί μῆχος, πέμπουσι ἐς Κρήτην ἀγγέλους<sup>330</sup> διζημένους εἰ τις Κρητῶν ἢ μετοίκων ἀπυγμένος εἴη ἐς Λιβύην; περιπλανώμενοι δὲ αὐτὴν οὔτοι ἀπίκοντο καὶ ἐς Ἰτανὸν πόλιν<sup>331</sup>. ἐν ταύτῃ δὲ συμμίσγουσι ἀνδρὶ πορφυρεῖ<sup>332</sup> τῷ οὐνομα ἔην Κορώβιος· ὃς ἔφη ὑπ’ ἀνέμων ἀπενειχθεὶς ἀπικέσθαι ἐς Λιβύην, καὶ Λιβύης ἐς Πλατέαν νήσον μισθῷ δὲ τοῦτον πεί-

The Delphian oracle orders Grinnus of Thera, in whose company was Battus, a Minyean, to found a colony in Libya, then unknown.

The order is neglected, and Thera

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is without rain for seven years. The Theraeans send to Crete to inquire if any one knows of Libya, and are directed to it by Corobius, a purple merchant.

Thera. See note 338 on i. 95, and note 396, below.

<sup>327</sup> Εὐθυμίδης. This is the reading of all the MSS but one (S), which has Εὐθυμίδης. Gaisford (following others) has adopted the reading Εὐθυμίδης from PINDAR (*Pyth.* iv. 465). But nothing can be more unsatisfactory than such a proceeding as this. It effectually masks the evidence yet remaining of the differences which existed in the several local accounts, and thus tends to confirm that erroneous opinion of their nature which in its turn suggests similar arbitrary changes. Herodotus is following a Theraean tradition, as he himself says; Pindar, in all probability, a Cyrenian one.

<sup>328</sup> οὔτε Λιβύην εἰδότες δκου γῆς εἴη. Herodotus here seems to be following an authority very different from the one he rests on in ii. 50, where see note 147.

<sup>329</sup> οὐκ ἔβη τὴν Θήρην. The ellipse is of ὁ θεός or ὁ Ζεὺς (see ii. 13; iii. 124. 5), and the accusative Θήρην is governed by the transitive verb βω, “to wet with rain,” of which the passive form appears above, § 50, and elsewhere.

<sup>330</sup> πέμπουσι εἰς Κρήτην ἀγγέλους. The

celebrity of the Cretans as bold navigators in early times gave rise to the proverb, Κρῆς ἄγροι· τὴν θάλατταν, applied to persons who pretended to simplicity being in reality remarkable for craft. But besides their general character, the position of Crete is such, that of all the Greeks they would necessarily become first acquainted with Libya. In the time of Strabo there were several direct lines of transit: one from Apollonias, the port of Cyrene, to the westernmost point of Crete (κρυὸς μέγιστος), which was a run of 1000 stades with a s. by w. wind (*Leuco-notus*); another from Chersonesus in Africa to Cyclus in Crete, 1500 stades with a s. wind; a third from Megas Limen to Chersonesus in Crete, 3000 stades. (STRABO, xvii. c. 3, pp. 497-9.) Crete is made by Strabo to be only a run of 700 stades from Thera (x. p. 386).

<sup>331</sup> ἐς Ἰτανὸν πόλιν. This city was perhaps a Phœnician settlement originally. Its eponymous founder was said to be a Phœnician. (STRAB. BYZ., vii. 6.)

<sup>332</sup> ἀνδρὶ πορφυρεῖ, “a merchant in purple dye.” See the note 377 on § 147.

They leave  
Corobius in  
the island  
Plataea, off  
the Libyan

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main.  
He is re-  
lieved by a  
Samian  
ship, which  
afterwards  
reaches Tar-  
tessus, then  
a virgin  
mart.

The owner  
from the  
tithe of his  
profits  
makes an  
offering in  
the *Heræum*  
at Samos.

σαντες ἴγουν ἐς Θήρην ἐκ δὲ Θήρης ἔπλεον κατάσκοποι ἄνδρες, τὰ πρῶτα οὐ πολλοὶ, κατηρησαμένου δὲ τοῦ Κορωβίου ἐς τὴν νήσον ταύτην δὴ τὴν Πλατέαν, τὸν μὲν Κορώβιον λείπουσι σιτία καταλιπόντες ὅσων δὴ μηνῶν<sup>393</sup>, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἔπλεον τὴν ταχίστην ἀπαγγελέοντες Θηραίοισι περὶ τῆς νήσου. Ἀποδημούντων δὲ τούτων πλέω χρόνον τοῦ συγκειμένου, τὸν Κορώβιον ἐπέλιπε τὰ πάντα· μετὰ δὲ, νηὺς Σαμὴ τῆς ναύκληρος ἦν Κωλαῖος, πλέουσα ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου ἀπηνείχθη ἐς τὴν Πλατέαν ταύτην πυθόμενοι δὲ οἱ Σάμιοι παρὰ τοῦ Κορωβίου τὸν πάντα λόγον, σιτία οἱ ἐνιαυτοῦ καταλείπουσι<sup>394</sup>. αὐτοὶ δὲ ἀναχθέντες ἐκ τῆς νήσου καὶ γλιχόμενοι Αἰγύπτου ἔπλεον ἀποφερόμενοι<sup>395</sup> ἀπηλιώτη ἀνέμῳ, καὶ, οὐ γὰρ ἀνίει<sup>396</sup> τὸ πνεῦμα, Ἡρακλέας στήλας διεκπερήσαντες ἀπίκοντο ἐς Ταρτησὸν, θελὶν πομπῇ χρεώμενοι. τὸ δὲ ἐμπόριον τοῦτο ἦν ἀκήρατον<sup>397</sup> τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ὥστε ἀπουοστήσαντες οὗτοι ὅπισα, μέγιστα δὴ Ἑλλήνων πάντων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἀτρεκλὴν ἴδμεν ἐκ φορτίων ἐκέρδησαν, μετὰ γε Σώστρατον τὸν Λαοδάμαντος, Αἰγυιήτην τοῦτ' γὰρ οὐκ οἶά τέ ἐστι ἐρίσαι ἄλλον. οἱ δὲ Σάμιοι τὴν δεκάτην τῶν ἐπικερδίων ἐξελόντες ἄξ' τάλαντα, ἐποίησαντο χαλκίῳ κρητήρος Ἀργολικοῦ τρόπον περίξ δὲ αὐτοῦ γρυπῶν κεφαλῶν πρόκροσσοί<sup>398</sup> εἰσι· καὶ ἀνέθηκαν ἐς τὸ Ἡραῖον<sup>399</sup>, ὑποστήσαντες

<sup>393</sup> ὅσων δὴ μηνῶν, "for so many months, whatever the number was." See the note 525 on i. 157.

<sup>394</sup> σιτία οἱ ἐνιαυτοῦ καταλείπουσι. It is remarkable that a Samian vessel bound to Egypt should be able to spare provisions for so large a space of time. If it had been on the return voyage, the circumstance would have been less extraordinary, for corn and salted fish was a cargo that might very easily have been taken in there. See DEMOSTHENES (c. *Dionysiodor.* p. 1285) and note 54 on ii. 15.

<sup>395</sup> ἔπλεον ἀποφερόμενοι ἀπηλιώτη ἀνέμῳ. This is a wind of all others the most unfavourable for the course from Plataea to Egypt. Perhaps we should put a stop after ἔπλεον, and read ἀποφερόμενοι δὲ ἀπ. ἀν. If the text is not corrupt some explanation like that suggested in note 398, below, seems necessary.

<sup>396</sup> ἀνίει. See note 318 on § 125, above.

<sup>397</sup> ἀκήρατον. This is scarcely compatible with what the author says (i. 163), that the Phocæans were the discoverers of

Tartessus; but I believe that he is here following the account of a Samian, and in the other passage some other authority,—possibly that of an earlier writer. But see the note 538 on i. 163.

<sup>398</sup> γρυπῶν κεφαλῶν πρόκροσσοι, "griffin heads standing out from the surface." See note on vii. 188, where all the MSS have the feminine form πρόκροσσαι, although here equally unanimous for the other.

<sup>399</sup> εἰς τὸ Ἡραῖον. It seems probable that to this offering was traditionally attached the story which Herodotus has just related. The name of the master of the Samian vessel would appear in such a case, for doubtless it was inscribed on the offering. But if the *redécouvertes* of the *Heræum* were the channel through which the narrative came to Herodotus, the circumstance of the vessel being outward or inward bound at the time of the incident might easily be mistaken by him. (See above, note 394.) Hence perhaps the difficulty of the course of the Samians may be explained. If they wished to return home, and on getting

αὐτῷ τρεῖς χαλκέους κολοσσούς ἐπταπύχθεας τοῖσι γούνασι ἐρη-  
 ρεισμένους. Κυρηναίοισι δὲ καὶ Θηραίοισι ἐς Σαμίους ἀπὸ τούτου  
 τοῦ ἔργου πρῶτα φίλαι μεγάλαι<sup>399</sup> συνεκρήθησαν. Οἱ δὲ Θηραῖοι,  
 ἐπεὶ τε τὸν Κορώβιον λιπόντες ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὴν Θήρην,  
 ἀπήγγελλον ὥς σφι εἴη νήσος ἐπὶ Λιβύῃ ἐκτισμένη. Θηραίοισι δὲ  
 ἔαδε ἀδελφεόν τε ἀπ' ἀδελφεοῦ πέμπειν πάλῳ λαχόντα, καὶ ἀπὸ  
 τῶν χώρων ἀπάντων ἐπτά ἑόντων ἄνδρας· εἶναι δὲ σφῶν καὶ  
 ἡγεμόνα καὶ βασιλέα Βάττον. οὕτω δὲ στέλλουσι δύο πεντηκον-  
 τέρους ἐς τὴν Πλατείαν.

Alliance  
between  
Thera, Sa-  
mos, and  
Cyrene.

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Battus sails  
to Plataea.

Ταῦτα δὲ Θηραῖοι λέγουσι· τὰ δ' ἐπίλοιπα τοῦ λόγου, συμφέ-  
 ρονται ἤδη Θηραῖοι Κυρηναίοισι. Κυρηναῖοι γὰρ<sup>400</sup> τὰ περὶ  
 Βάττον οὐδαμῶς ὁμολογέουσι· Θηραίοισι· λέγουσι γὰρ οὕτω· ἔστι  
 τῆς Κρήτης Ἀξός<sup>401</sup> πόλις ἐν τῇ ἐγένετο Ἐτέαρχος βασιλεύς· ὃς  
 ἐπὶ θυγατρὶ ἀμήτορι, τῇ οὖνομα ἦν Φρονίμη, ἐπὶ ταύτῃ ἔγχε  
 ἄλλην γυναῖκα· ἡ δὲ ἐπεσελθούσα ἐδικαίει εἶναι καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ  
 μητρυνὴ τῇ Φρονίμῃ, παρέχουσά τε κακὰ καὶ πᾶν ἐπ' αὐτῇ μηχαν-  
 νωμένη<sup>402</sup>. καὶ τέλος, μαχλοσύνην ἐπενείκασα<sup>403</sup> οἱ πείθει τὸν  
 ἄνδρα ταῦτα ἔχειν οὕτω· ὁ δὲ ἀναγνωσθεὶς ὑπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς ἔργον  
 οὐκ ὄσιον ἐμηχανᾶτο ἐπὶ τῇ θυγατρὶ. ἦν γὰρ δὴ Θεμίσων ἀνὴρ  
 Θηραῖος ἔμπορος ἐν τῇ Ἀξῷ· τοῦτον ὁ Ἐτέαρχος παραλαβὼν ἐπὶ  
 ξείνια ἐξορκοῖ, ἥ μὴν οἱ διηκονήσειν ὅ τι ἂν δεθῇ· ἐπεὶ τε δὲ ἐξόρ-  
 κωσε, ἀγαγὼν οἱ παραδίδοι τὴν ἑωυτοῦ θυγατέρα καὶ ταύτην ἐκέλευε

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Cyrenian  
account of  
the origin  
of Battus  
is very dif-  
ferent.

It makes  
him son of  
Polymnes-  
tus, a The-  
rean, and  
Phronime,  
a female  
from Arous  
in Crete.

out to sea found an east wind, they might very reasonably make sail, and, with a wind nearly on the beam, endeavour to shape their course for the westernmost point of Crete (Cape Krio) with the intention of afterwards running eastward under the shore. But if their desire had been to get to Egypt, they would never have made sail at all,—but have used their oars,—with however little success. If an east wind had been blowing while they were at Plataea, they would undoubtedly not have put to sea at all.

<sup>399</sup> φίλαι μεγάλαι. This friendship, on whatever occasion arising, was probably cemented by commercial interest. The Samians were by the aid of the Cyrenians enabled to get a share of the trade with the interior of Africa, (see ii. 32; iii. 26,) and also advanced somewhat nearer to the great object of Hellenic wishes—trade with Spain. (See the notes on i. 170 and v. 106.) On the other hand the Cyrenians found a ready market for

their *silphium*, and perhaps the Theraeans for purple-coloured robes. (See note 377 on § 147.) Amasis the Egyptian not improbably formed another party to this commercial league. See note 554 on li. 182.

<sup>400</sup> Κυρηναῖοι γάρ. See the notes 386 on § 150 and 424 on § 163.

<sup>401</sup> Ἀξός. Gaisford prints this on the authority of S and V, but several MSS have Ὀαξός, and that is the form under which STEPHANUS BYZANTINUS describes the place. In the Cretan dialect ἄξος signified *κηρυκῶδες τόπος*, and the O of the alternative form is possibly a representative of the digamma, the root being *ἄγω*.

<sup>402</sup> πᾶν ἐπ' αὐτῇ μηχανωμένη. Compare v. 62: πᾶν ἐπὶ τοῖσι Πεισιστρατιδῶσι μηχανώμενοι.

<sup>403</sup> ἐπενείκασα. Some of the MSS have the common form *ἐπενέγκουσα*, although in § 166 they all have *ἐπενείκας*.

- καταποντώσαι ἀπαγαγόντα· ὁ δὲ Θεμίσων περιημεκτίσας τῇ ἀπάτῃ τοῦ ὄρκου καὶ διαλυσάμενος τὴν ξεινίην, ἐποίηε τοιάδε παραλαβὼν τὴν παῖδα ἀπέπλεε· ὥς δὲ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ πελάγῃ, ἀποσιεύμενος τὴν ἐξόρκωσιν<sup>404</sup> τοῦ Ἑτεάρχου σχοινοίσι αἰτῆν διαδήσας κατήκε ἐς τὸ πέλαγος, ἀνασπάσας δὲ ἀπίκετο ἐς τὴν
- 155 Θήρην. Ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ τὴν Φρονίμην παραλαβὼν Πολύμνητος, ἐὼν τῶν Θηραίων ἀνὴρ δόκιμος, ἐπαλλακεύετο<sup>405</sup>. χρόνου δὲ περι-  
 ὶοντος ἐξεγένετο οἱ πᾶσι ἰσχυρόφωνος καὶ τραυλός, τῷ οὔνομα ἐτέθη Βάττος, ὥς Θηραῖοι τε καὶ Κυρηναῖοι λέγουσι· ὥς μέντοι ἐγὼ δοκέω, ἄλλο τι, Βάττος δὲ μετωνομάσθη ἐπεὶ τε ἐς Λιβύην ἀπίκετο, ἀπὸ τε τοῦ χρηστηρίου τοῦ γενομένου ἐν Δελφοῖσι αὐτῷ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς τιμῆς τὴν ἔσχε τὴν ἐπωνυμίην ποιούμενος· Λίβυες γὰρ βασί-  
 λέα Βάττον καλέουσι· καὶ τούτου εἵνεκα δοκέω<sup>406</sup> θεσπίζουσιν τὴν Πυθίην καλέσαι μιν Λιβυκὴ γλώσση, εἰδυῖαν ὥς βασιλεὺς ἔσται ἐν Λιβύῃ. ἐπεὶ τε γὰρ ἠνδρώθη οὗτος, ἦλθε ἐς Δελφοὺς περὶ τῆς φωνῆς· ἐπειρωτέοντι δὲ οἱ χρᾶ ἢ Πυθίῃ τάδε·

The word  
*Battus*  
 means  
 "prince"  
 in the  
 Libyan  
 language.

Βάττ', ἐπὶ φωνὴν ἦλθες· ἀναξ δέ σε φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων  
 ἐς Λιβύην πέμπει μηλοτρόφον οἰκιστῆρα<sup>407</sup>.

ὥσπερ εἰ εἴποι Ἑλλάδι γλώσση χρεωμένη· "ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐπὶ φωνὴν ἦλθες." ὁ δὲ ἀμείβετο τοῖσδε· "ὦ ἄναξ, ἐγὼ μὲν ἦλθον παρὰ σέ· χρησόμενος περὶ τῆς φωνῆς· σὺ δέ μοι ἄλλα ἀδύνατα χρᾶς κελεύων Λιβύην ἀποικίζεω· τέφ' δυνάμει; κοίῃ χειρί;"

<sup>404</sup> ἀποσιεύμενος τὴν ἐξόρκωσιν, "just saving the oath imposed on him." See below, § 203: λόγιόν τι ἀποσιεύμενοι, "just saving his obedience to a certain oracle."

<sup>405</sup> ἐπαλλακεύετο. It must not be supposed that Polymnestus necessarily entertained Phronime in the relation of a mistress (*ἑταῖρη*). The word *παλλαχὴ* would be employed to designate a wife by a morganatic marriage. It answers to the Latin *concubina* as well as *pelles*; and where a marriage was contracted between parties who were not citizens of the same state, it and not the word *γυνή* would be used to describe the wife. No doubt the term is susceptible of the other sense; but in this instance there can be little doubt that Battus was in fact the issue of a marriage of disparagement, such as those of which Phalantus and the Partheniae were the offspring at Lacedæmon, or those

between patricians and plebeians at Rome antecedently to the passing of the Licinian laws.

<sup>406</sup> καὶ τούτου εἵνεκα δοκέω. PAUSANIAS saw at Delphi a statue of Battus in a chariot, crowned by a figure impersonating Libya, the chariot being driven by another representing Cyrene; and to this the story was traditionally attached that Battus recovered his voice by the fright of suddenly coming on a lion in the neighbourhood of Cyrene (x. 15. 4). The statue was said to be the work of Amphion the son of Acæstor, a sculptor of Cnossus (whom SELLIE places about the beginning of the Peloponnesian war). If this statue had been at Delphi when Herodotus visited the place, it seems unlikely that he should have omitted to mention it and the story connected with it.

<sup>407</sup> οἰκιστῆρα. The manuscripts S and V have οἰκίζοντα.



ταῦτα λέγων οὐκ ἔπειθε ἄλλα οἱ χραῖν ὥς δὲ κατὰ ταῦτὰ ἐθέσπιζέ  
οἱ καὶ πρότερον, οἶχετο μεταξὺ ἀπολιπὼν ὁ Βάττος ἐς τὴν Θήρην.  
Μετὰ δὲ αὐτῷ τε τούτῳ καὶ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι Θηραίοισι συνεφέρετο 156  
παλγκότως<sup>408</sup>. ἀγνοεῦντες δὲ τὰς συμφορὰς οἱ Θηραῖοι, ἔπεμπον  
ἐς Δελφοὺς περὶ τῶν παρεόντων κακῶν ἡ δὲ Πυθίη σφί ἐχρησε  
συγκτίζουσι Βάττῳ Κυρήνην τῆς Λιβύης ἄμεινον πρήξειν. ἀπ-  
έστελλον μετὰ ταῦτα τὸν Βάττον οἱ Θηραῖοι δύο πεντηκοντέροισι·  
πλώσαντες δὲ ἐς τὴν Λιβύην οὗτοι, οὐ γὰρ εἶχον ὃ τι ποιέωσι  
ἄλλο, ὅπισω ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐς τὴν Θήρην οἱ δὲ Θηραῖοι κατα-  
γομένους ἔβαλλον καὶ οὐκ ἔων τῇ γῇ προσίσχαι, ἀλλ' ὅπισω  
πλώειν ἐκέλευον οἱ δὲ, ἀναγκαζόμενοι ὅπισω ἀπέπλων<sup>409</sup>. καὶ  
ἔκτισαν νῆσον ἐπὶ Λιβύῃ κειμένην τῇ οἰνομα, ὥς καὶ πρότερον  
εἰρέθη, ἐστὶ Πλατέα. λέγεται δὲ ἴση εἶναι ἡ νῆσος τῇ νῦν Κυρη-  
ναίων πόλι.

Ταύτην οἰκέοντες δύο ἔτεα, οὐδὲν γάρ σφί χρηστὸν συνεφέρετο<sup>410</sup>, 157  
ἔνα αὐτῶν καταλιπόντες οἱ λοιποὶ πάντες ἀπέπλεον ἐς Δελφοῦς·  
ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ χρηστήριον ἐχρέωντο, φάμενοι οἰκέειν τε τὴν  
Λιβύην καὶ οὐδὲν ἄμεινον πρήσσειν οἰκεῦντες ἡ δὲ Πυθίη σφί  
πρὸς ταῦτα χρᾶ τάδε·

Αἰ τὸ ἐμεῦ Λιβὴν μηλοτρόφον<sup>411</sup> οἶδας ἄμεινον  
μὴ λελθὼν ἐλθόντος, ἔγαν ἔγμαι σοφίην σευ.

Ἀκούσαντες δὲ τούτων οἱ ἀμφὶ τὸν Βάττον ἀπέπλων ὅπισω οὐ  
γὰρ δὴ σφας ἀπείε ὁ θεὸς τῆς ἀποικίης πρὶν δὴ ἀπίκωνται ἐς

<sup>408</sup> συνεφέρετο παλγκότως. The ellipse is probably of ὁ θεός. The word παλγκότος is especially applicable to a person whose irritation, after being apparently allayed, breaks out afresh. παλγκότα παθήματα are, in the technical phraseology of HIPPOCRATES, ailments which burst forth over and over again. Translate: "After this, a spiteful fortune came both to this man himself and to the rest of the Theraeans." The anger of the god is conceived of as an evil genius inseparable from the side of his victims: "neque de-cedit arata triverni et Post equitem sedet atra cura."

<sup>409</sup> ἀπέπλων. Here the majority of the MSS have ἀπέπλεον, which in the next section is the reading of all but one (S). On the other hand, in vi. 116, all

of them have περιέπλων. In viii. 5, 8 and V have ἀποπλέσσεσθαι, and the rest the common form.

<sup>410</sup> οὐδὲν σφί χρηστὸν συνεφέρετο, "nothing but ill-luck haunted them." The expression οὐδὲν χρηστὸν is an euphemism for πάντα πονηρὰ, the use of a word of ill omen being avoided as far as possible even in a narrative of a still existing settlement.

<sup>411</sup> Λιβὴν μηλοτρόφον. PLUTARCH (*Our Pythia*, &c., § 27, t. ii. p. 408) quoting this oracle, gives the Doric forms Λιβὴν μαλοτρόφον, but all the MSS here have the Ionic dialect, although in the oracle recited in § 169, they are equally unanimous in giving γὰρ ἀναδαιομένης. Ptolemy has also ἀρειον for ἄμεινον.

αὐτὴν τὴν Λιβύην<sup>412</sup>. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐς τὴν νῆσον καὶ ἀναλαβόν-  
τες τὸν ἔλιπον, ἔκτισαν αὐτῆς τῆς Λιβύης χώρον ἀντίον τῆς νήσου  
τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Ἀζύρις<sup>413</sup>, τὸν νάπαι τε κάλλισται ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα  
158 συγκληθῆναι καὶ ποταμὸς τὰ ἐπὶ θάτερα παραρρέει. Τοῦτον  
οἶκεον τὸν χώρον ἐξ ἔτεα· ἐβδόμῳ δὲ σφεας ἔτει παραιτησάμενοι  
οἱ Λίβυες, ὡς ἐς ἀμείνονα χώρον ἄξουσι, ἀνέγνωσαν ἐκλεπείν.  
ἦγον δὲ σφεας ἐνθεύτην οἱ Λίβυες ἀναστήσαντες πρὸς ἐσπέρην  
καὶ τὸν κάλλιστον τὸν χώρον ἵνα διεξιόντες οἱ Ἕλληνες μὴ ἴδωιν,  
συμμετρησάμενοι τὴν ὥρην τῆς ἡμέρης, νυκτὸς παρήγον· ὅστις δὲ  
τῷ χώρῳ τούτῳ οὐνομα Ἰρασσά· ἀγαγόντες δὲ σφεας ἐπὶ κρήνην  
λεγομένην εἶπαι Ἀπόλλωνος εἶπαι· ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, ἐνθαῦτα  
ὑμῶν ἐπιτήδεον οἰκέειν· ἐνθαῦτα γὰρ ὁ οὐρανὸς τέτρηται<sup>414</sup>.

159

Annals of  
Cyrene.  
The founder  
and his son  
Arceas  
reign for  
fifty-six  
years.  
A general  
immigration  
of Greeks

Ἐπὶ μὲν νυν Βάττω<sup>415</sup> τε τοῦ οἰκιστέα τῆς ζῆς, ἄρξαντος ἐπὶ  
τεσσεράκοντα ἔτεα, καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ Ἀρκεσίλειω, ἄρξαντος  
ἐκαίδεκα ἔτεα, οἶκεον οἱ Κυρηναῖοι, ὄντες τοσοῦτοι ὅσοι ἀρχὴν  
ἐς τὴν ἀποικίην ἐστάλησαν· ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ τρίτου Βάττω τοῦ Εὐδαί-  
μονος καλεομένου Ἕλληνας πάντας ὥρμησε χρήσασθαι ἢ Πυθίᾳ  
πλέειν συνοικήσοντας Κυρηναίοισι Λιβύην· ἐπεκαλέοντο γὰρ οἱ  
Κυρηναῖοι ἐπὶ γῆς ἀναδασμῷ· ἔχρησε δὲ ὧδε ἔχοντες

<sup>412</sup> οὐ γὰρ δὴ σφεας ἀπείη ὁ θεός, κ.τ.λ.  
See note 6 on i. 1.

<sup>413</sup> Ἀζύρις. CALLIMACHUS (*Hymn.*  
*Apoll.* 89) has the form Ἀζύρις.

<sup>414</sup> ἐνθαῦτα γὰρ ὁ οὐρανὸς τέτρηται.  
The plain of Cyrene lies remarkably in-  
sulated, being throughout backed by a  
range of high mountains lying n. and w.,  
from which spurs run out towards the sea.  
On the south side of the range rain seldom  
or never falls, and this contrast with the  
condition of the Cyrenian plain doubt-  
less produced the expression in the text.  
But still the climate, considered abso-  
lutely, was not an excessively moist one.  
THEOPHRASTUS (*De causis plantarum*,  
vi. 18. 3) even says of it, ἡ χώρα  
λεπτὴ καὶ ξηρὰ καὶ οὐκ ἄγαν θερμὴ·  
καθαρὸν τε γὰρ τῷ ἀέρι καὶ ἀνύδρῳ  
περιέχεται, — an expression which  
Schneider considers corrupt, but which is  
extremely appropriate if we suppose it to  
refer to the air of the circumjacent desert.

Valcknaer has proposed the conjecture  
βουρὸς for οὐρανὸς, considering the allusion  
to be to the excellent spring which the  
natives pointed out. There never was so

unfortunate an application of acuteness.  
The frequent fall of rain is perhaps the  
form of all others in which the peculiar  
favour of Providence would, by persons  
inhabiting the arid soil of Africa, be re-  
cognized as resting upon the land. Thus  
this feature is put prominently forward  
in *Deuteronomy* (xi. 11) as distinguishing  
Canaan from Egypt. The former is "a land  
of hills and valleys which drinketh water of  
the rain of heaven, a land which the Lord  
God careth for." And in xxviii. 12, the  
special blessing: "The Lord shall open  
unto thee his good treasure, the heaven  
to give the rain unto thy land in his se-  
son, and to bless all the work of thine  
hand," corresponds to the special curse  
(ver. 23): "Thy heaven that is above thy  
head shall be brass." The expression,  
"Behold, if the Lord would make win-  
dows in heaven" (2 *Kings* vii. 2) is ap-  
parently a proverbial phrase derived from  
the same idea as that expressed in the  
text.

<sup>415</sup> Βάττω. The MSS vary in this  
section between this form and Βάττω.  
In § 162 they all have Βάττω.

\*Οι δὲ κεν ἐς Λιβύην πολυήραρον ὄσηρον ἔλθῃ  
γῆς ἀναδαιόμενας, μετὰ οἱ ποκά φάμι μελήσειν.

under the  
third prince  
surnamed  
the Pros-  
perous.  
The native  
Libyans put  
themselves  
under the  
protection  
of *Apries*,  
who sends  
an army to  
their aid  
fruitlessly.

Συλληχθέντος δὲ ὀμίλου πολλοῦ ἐς τὴν Κυρήνην, περιταμνόμενοι  
γῆν πολλὴν ρί περίοικοι Λίβυες καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν τῷ οὐνομα  
ἦν Ἀδικράν, οἷα τῆς τε χώρας στερισκόμενοι καὶ περιῶβριζόμενοι  
ὑπὸ τῶν Κυρηναίων, πέμψαντες ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἔδοσαν σφέας αὐτοὺς  
Ἀπρίῃ τῷ Αἰγύπτου βασιλεῖ<sup>416</sup>. ὁ δὲ συλλέξας στρατὸν Αἰγυ-  
πτίων πολλὸν ἔπεμπε ἐπὶ τὴν Κυρήνην οἱ δὲ Κυρηναῖοι ἐστρα-  
τευσάμενοι ἐς Ἰρασα χώραν καὶ ἐπὶ κρήνην Θέστην, συνέβαλόν τε  
τοῖσι Αἰγυπτίοισι καὶ ἐνίκησαν τῇ συμβολῇ· ἅτε γὰρ οὐ πεπει-  
ρημένοι πρότερον οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι Ἑλλήνων, καὶ παραχρῆμα, καὶ  
διεφθάρησαν οὕτω ὥστε ὀλγοὶ τινὲς αὐτῶν ἀπενύσθησαν ἐς  
Αἴγυπτον. ἀντὶ τούτων Αἰγύπτιοι κατὰ ταῦτα<sup>417</sup> ἐπιμεμφόμενοι  
Ἀπρίῃ, ἀπέστησαν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ.

Τούτου δὲ τοῦ Βάττεω<sup>418</sup> γίνεταί πᾶσι Ἀρκεσίλειος<sup>160</sup> δὲ βασι-  
λεὺς· πρῶτα τοῖσι ἑαυτοῦ ἀδελφεοῖσι ἐστασίασε, ἐς δ' οὖν οὗτοι  
ἀπολιπόντες οἰχόντο ἐς ἄλλον χώραν τῆς Λιβύης, καὶ ἐπ' ἑαυτῶν  
βαλλόμενοι, ἔκτισαν πόλιν ταύτην ἣ τότε καὶ νῦν Βάρκη καλεῖται·  
κτιζόντες δ' ἅμα αὐτὴν ἀπιστᾷσι ἀπὸ τῶν Κυρηναίων τοὺς  
Λίβυας<sup>419</sup>. μετὰ δὲ, Ἀρκεσίλειος ἐς τοὺς ὑποδεξαμένους τε τῶν  
Λιβύων καὶ ὑποστάντας τοὺς αὐτοὺς τούτους, ἐστρατεύετο· οἱ δὲ  
Λίβυες δέοντες αὐτὸν, οἰχόντο φεύγοντες πρὸς τοὺς ἡλούς τῶν  
Λιβύων· ὁ δὲ Ἀρκεσίλειος εἴπετο φεύγουσι, ἐς οὗ ἐν Λεύκωνι τε  
τῆς Λιβύης ἐγένετο ἐπιδιώκων, καὶ ἔδοξε τοῖσι Λίβυσι ἐπιθέσθαι  
οἱ· συμβαλόντες δὲ ἐνίκησαν τοὺς Κυρηναίους τοσοῦτο, ὥστε ἑπτα-

Arcesilaus,  
son of Bat-  
tus the  
Prosperous,  
succeeds.

His bro-  
thers found  
Barca as a  
rival city.

He loses an  
army in an  
attack on  
the Liby-  
ans; and

<sup>416</sup> Ἀπρίῃ τῷ Αἰγύπτου βασιλεῖ. This is no doubt the place where Herodotus intended to fulfil the promise (made in ii. 161) of a more detailed account of the expedition of the Egyptian king against Cyrene. But it is not easy to conceive that the passage in the text is really the fulfilment of it, or any thing more than an outline of what was contemplated by the author when he was writing the second book.

<sup>417</sup> ἀντὶ τούτων Αἰγύπτιοι κατὰ ταῦτα. This is the reading retained by Gaisford, but it seems impossible to believe that it is not corrupt. It has been proposed to read κατὰ ταῦτά, and give it the sense of *antitica*; but if it could be used in this

sense—which I doubt, its proper place would be before the word ἀπέστησαν. The best solution I can offer of the difficulty is that ἀντὶ τούτων and κατὰ ταῦτα may be *alternative readings*, of which several instances have been pointed out in the notes.

<sup>418</sup> Βάττεω. Gaisford gives this reading from a single MS (S). The others all have the common form Βάττεω, although in both the instances in which the name appears in the last section, some of them have Βάττεω.

<sup>419</sup> κτιζόντες δ' ἅμα αὐτὴν ἀπιστᾷσι ἀπὸ τῶν Κυρηναίων τοὺς Λίβυας. See note 439, below.

is assassinated.

161

His widow revenges him. Battus the Lame succeeds.

A new constitution is given to the state by Demonaux of Mantinea.

162

Arceilaus his son attempts a counter revolution, and is expelled. His mother Pheretima flies to Salamis in Cyprus.

κισχιλλους ὀπλίτας Κυρηναίων ἐνθαῦτα πεσέειν. μετὰ δὲ τὸ τρῶμα τοῦτο Ἀρκεσίλειον μὲν κάμνοντά τε καὶ φάρμακον πεπωκότα ὁ ἀδελφεὸς Λέαρχος ἀποπνύγει· Λέαρχον δὲ ἡ γυνὴ ἡ Ἀρκεσίλειω δόλῳ κτείνει, τῇ οὖνομα ἦν Ἑρυζώ. Διεδέξατο δὲ τὴν βασιληίην τοῦ Ἀρκεσίλειω ὁ παῖς Βάττος, χωλὸς ἔων καὶ οὐκ ἀρτίπους. οἱ δὲ Κυρηναῖοι πρὸς τὴν καταλαβοῦσαν συμφορὴν ἔπεμπον εἰς Δελφοὺς ἐπειρησόμενους, ὅν τινα τρόπον καταστησάμενοι κάλλιστα ἀν οἰκέοιεν; ἡ δὲ Πυθίη ἐκέλευε ἐκ Μαντινέης τῆς Ἀρκάδων καταρτιστῆρα ἀγαγέσθαι. αἴτεον ὦν οἱ Κυρηναῖοι, καὶ οἱ Μαντινέες ἔδωσαν ἄνδρα τῶν ἀστῶν δοκιμώτατον, τῷ οὖνομα ἦν Δημόναξ. οὗτος ὦν ὠνὴρ ἀπικόμενος εἰς τὴν Κυρήνην καὶ μαθὼν ἕκαστα, τοῦτο μὲν τριφύλους ἐποίησέ σφεας, τῇδε διαθείς· Θηραίων μὲν γὰρ καὶ τῶν περιόικων μίαν μοῖραν ἐποίησε, ἄλλην δὲ Πελοποννησίων καὶ Κρητῶν, τρίτην δὲ νησιωτέων πάντων· τοῦτο δὲ τῷ βασιλεῖ Βάττῳ τεμένεια ἐξελὼν καὶ ἱρῶσύνας<sup>420</sup>, τὰ ἄλλα πάντα τὰ πρότερον εἶχον οἱ βασιλεῖς εἰς μέσον τῷ δήμῳ ἔθηκε.

Ἐπὶ μὲν δὴ τούτου τοῦ Βάττεω οὕτω διετέλλε ἔοντα, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ τούτου παιδὸς Ἀρκεσίλειω πολλὴ ταραχὴ περὶ τῶν τιμέων ἐγένετο. Ἀρκεσίλειος γὰρ ὁ Βάττου τε τοῦ χωλοῦ καὶ Φερετίμης οὐκ ἔφη ἀνέξεσθαι κατὰ τὰ ὁ Μαντινεὺς Δημόναξ ἔταξε, ἀλλὰ ἀπαίτεε τὰ τῶν προγόνων γέρεα. ἐνθεύτεν στασιάζων ἐσώσθη, καὶ ἔφυγε εἰς Σάμον· ἡ δὲ μήτηρ οἱ εἰς Σαλαμίνα τῆς Κύπρου ἔφυγε<sup>421</sup>. (τῆς δὲ Σαλαμίνας τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἐπεκράτεε Εὐέλθων<sup>422</sup>, ὃς τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖσι θυμητήριον, ἔδν ἀξιοθέητον, ἀνέθηκε,

<sup>420</sup> τεμένεια ἐξελὼν καὶ ἱρῶσύνας. There is some difficulty in deciding on the exact meaning of this phrase; but perhaps we shall be right in considering that what Demonaux did was to secure certain priestly functions to the house of the king, and to give it likewise the full control of a domain set apart for defraying the religious ceremonies. See the note 396 on iii. 143.

<sup>421</sup> ἡ δὲ μήτηρ οἱ εἰς Σαλαμίνα τῆς Κύπρου ἔφυγε. The use of the dative οἱ here is not superfluous. It seems to imply a concert between Pheretima and her son. She went in his interests. See note 318 on ii. 113.

<sup>422</sup> τῆς δὲ Σαλαμίνας τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἐπεκράτεε Εὐέλθων. The compound ἐπεκράτεε induces the belief that Salamis was an addition which Evelthon had made to his paternal dominions. The circumstance of his offering at Delphi being placed in the Corinthian treasury (which in reality was the treasury of the Cypselid dynasty, i. 14) suggests that he might have been mixed up with the commercial policy of that family. Perhaps the object of Pheretima was to show the advantages which it was in her son's power to bestow should he, by the aid of Evelthon, be restored to his sovereignty, while on the other hand her son addressed himself to a people who

τὸ ἐν τῷ Κορινθίων θησαυρῷ κέεται· ἀπικομένη δὲ παρὰ τοῦτον ἡ Φερετὶμη ἐδέετο στρατιῆς ἢ κατὰζει σφέας ἐς τὴν Κυρήνην· ὁ δὲ γε Εὐέλθων πᾶν μᾶλλον ἢ στρατιὴν οἱ ἐδίδον· ἢ δὲ λαμβάνουσα τὸ διδόμενον, καλὸν μὲν ἔφη καὶ τοῦτο εἶναι, κάλλιον δὲ ἐκείνο τὸ δοῦναι οἱ δεομένη στρατιήν· τοῦτο ἐπὶ παντὶ γὰρ τῷ διδομένῳ ἔλεγε <sup>423</sup>, τελευταῖον οἱ ἐξέπεμψε δῶρον ὁ Εὐέλθων ἄτρακτον χρύσειον καὶ ἡλακάτην, προσήν δὲ καὶ εἰριον εἰπάσης δὲ αὐτὴς τῆς Φερετὶμης τὸντοῦτο ἔπος, ὁ Εὐέλθων ἔφη τοιούτοις γυναῖκας δωρεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' οὐ στρατιήν.) Ὁ δὲ Ἀρκεσίλειος τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἔων ἐν Σάμῳ <sup>424</sup>, συνήγειρε πάντα ἄνδρα ἐπὶ γῆς ἀναδασμῷ. συλλεγομένου δὲ στρατοῦ πολλοῦ, ἐστάλη ἐς Δελφοὺς Ἀρκεσίλειος χρησόμενος τῷ χρηστηρίῳ περὶ κατόδου· ἢ δὲ Πυθίῃ οἱ χρᾶ τάδε· "ἐπὶ μὲν τέσσερας Βάττους καὶ Ἀρκεσίλειος τέσσερας, ὅκτῳ [ἀνδρῶν <sup>425</sup>] γενεὰς, διδοὶ ὑμῖν Λοξίης βασιλεύειν Κυρήνης· πλεον μέντοι τοῦτου οὐδὲ πειρᾶσθαι παραινεῖ. σὺ μέντοι ἥσυχος εἶναι κατελθὼν ἐς τὴν σεωντοῦ· ἦν δὲ τὴν κάμινον εὖρης πλέην ἀμφορέων, μὴ ἐξοπτήσης τοὺς ἀμφορέας, ἀλλ' ἀπόπεμπε κατ' οὖρον <sup>426</sup>. εἰ δὲ ἐξοπτήσεις τὴν κάμινον, μὴ ἐσέλθης ἐς τὴν ἀμφίρρυτον· εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἀποθανεῖ καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ ταῦρος ὁ καλλιστεύων <sup>427</sup>." Ταῦτα ἢ Πυθίῃ Ἀρκεσίλειος χρᾶ· ὁ δὲ, παραλαβὼν τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Σάμου κατήλθε ἐς τὴν Κυρήνην καὶ ἐπικρατήσας τῶν πρηγμάτων, τοῦ μαντήτου οὐκ ἐμέμνητο ἀλλὰ δίκας τοὺς ἀνιστασιώτας αἴττει τῆς ἐωντοῦ φυγῆς. τῶν δὲ οἱ μὲν τὸ παράπαν ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἀπαλλάσσοντο, τοὺς δὲ τινὰς χειρωσάμενος ὁ Ἀρκεσίλειος ἐς Κύπρον ἀπέστειλε ἐπὶ διαφθορῇ· τοὺτους μὲν νυν Κνίδιοι ἀπενειχθέντας

Anecdote of her at the court of Euelthon, the donor of a censor at Delphi.

163

Arceilaus levies an army of adventurers in Samos. The Delphian oracle counsels moderation in case of victory.

164

He pursues the opposite course, and destroys his enemies, some of whom are rescued by the Cnidians and sent to Thera.

knew how much they would lose if the traffic with Cyrene got into other hands. See the note 399, above.

<sup>423</sup> τοῦτο ἐπὶ παντὶ γὰρ τῷ διδομένῳ ἔλεγε. So two manuscripts (S, P). Gaisford with others has τοῦτο γὰρ ἐπὶ π. δ. ε., and places a full stop after the word ἔλεγε. But for the construction see note 383 upon § 149.

<sup>424</sup> τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἔων ἐν Σάμῳ. The occasion here referred to would undoubtedly cause the whole history of Cyrene to be brought to the common knowledge of the Samians. See notes 386 and 399, above.

<sup>425</sup> [ἀνδρῶν]. This word is omitted in

S and V. I am inclined to suspect that the whole clause ὅκτῳ ἀνδρῶν γενεὰς is an interpolation of two different dates, and that S and V exhibit it in its earliest form.

<sup>426</sup> κατ' οὖρον, "with all speed," literally "adown the wind." Compare ÆSCHYLUS (*Theb.* 696):—

ἴτω κατ' οὖρον κύμα Κικυτοῦ λαχὼν  
φοίβη στυγνὴν πᾶν τὸ λαῶν γένος.

<sup>427</sup> ταῦρος ὁ καλλιστεύων. This is probably a reference to Alazir, the father-in-law of Arceilaus, king of Barca, and as such described as the "vir gregis," the leading bull of the herd.

πρὸς τὴν σφετέρην ἐρρύσαντο, καὶ ἐς Θήρην ἀπέστειλαν<sup>420</sup>. ἐτέρους δέ τινας τῶν Κυρηναίων ἐς πύργον μέγαν Ἀγλωμάχου καταφυγόντας ἰδιωτικὸν, ὕλην περιμήσας ὁ Ἀρκεσίλεως ἐνέπρησε. μαθὼν δὲ ἐπ' ἐξεργασμένοις<sup>421</sup> τὸ μαντήριον ὄν τοῦτο, ὅτι μὴ ἢ Πυθίῃ οὐκ ἔα εὐρύντα ἐν τῇ καμίνῳ τοὺς ἀμφορέας ἐξοπτῆσαι, ἔργετο ἐκὼν τῆς τῶν Κυρηναίων πόλιος, δειμαίνων τε τῶν κεχρημένων θάνατον καὶ δοκέων ἀμφίρρυτον τὴν Κυρήνην εἶναι· εἶχε δὲ γυναῖκα συγγενέα ἑωυτοῦ, θυγατέρα δὲ τοῦ τῶν Βαρκαίων βασιλέως τῷ ὄντομα ἦν Ἀλαξίρ<sup>422</sup>. παρὰ τοῦτον ἀπικυέεται καὶ μιν Βαρκαῖοι τε ἄνδρες καὶ τῶν ἐκ Κυρήνης φυγάδων τινὲς καταμαθόντες ἀγοράζοντα, κτείνουσι· πρὸς δὲ καὶ τῶν πενθερῶν αὐτοῦ Ἀλαξίρα. Ἀρκεσίλεως μὲν νυν, εἴτε ἐκὼν εἴτε ἄκων, ἁμαρτῶν τοῦ χρησμοῦ ἐξέπλησε μοῖραν τὴν ἑωυτοῦ.

His death, together with his father-in-law *Alasir*.

165  
Pheretima flies to Egypt and claims the protection of *Alasir*.

Ἡ δὲ μήτηρ Φερετίμη, τέως μὲν ὁ Ἀρκεσίλεως ἐν τῇ Βάρκῃ διατῆτο ἐξεργασμένος ἑωυτῷ κακὸν<sup>423</sup>, ἡ δὲ εἶχε αὐτῇ τοῦ παιδὸς τὰ γέρεα ἐν Κυρήνῃ, καὶ τᾶλλα νεμομένη καὶ ἐν βουλῇ παρίζουσα ἐπεὶ τε δὲ ἔμαθε ἐν τῇ Βάρκῃ ἀποθανόντα οἱ τὸν παῖδα, φαίγουσα οἰχώκεε ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἦσαν γάρ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ Ἀρκεσίλεως εὐεργεσίαι<sup>424</sup> ἐς Καμβύσεια τὸν Κύρου πεπονημέναι· (αὗτος γὰρ ἦν ὁ Ἀρκεσίλεως ὃς Κυρήνην Καμβύσῃ ἔδωκε καὶ φόρον ἐτάξατο) ἀπικομένη

<sup>420</sup> ἐς Θήρην ἀπέστειλαν. From this place being selected, it seems likely that the prisoners were individuals belonging to the first of the three tribes of *Demonax*,—perhaps descendants of the original colonists.

<sup>421</sup> μαθὼν ἐπ' ἐξεργασμένοις. Compare JUVENAL (*Sat.* xiii. 237):

“—quid fas

Atque nefas, tandem incipiunt sentire peractis  
*Criminibus.*”

<sup>422</sup> θυγατέρα τοῦ τῶν Βαρκαίων βασιλέως τῷ ὄντομα ἦν Ἀλαξίρ. By the circumstance of the Barcan prince bearing this barbarous name, one may be inclined to suppose that the policy of the brothers of *Arcesilaus*'s grandfather, who built Barca, was to identify themselves as much as possible with the African population, and even adopt barbarian appellations. Perhaps *Alasir* is the equivalent of a Hellenic name in the native language. It is clear that *Alasir* was not a native chief,

from the circumstance that his daughter was a *συγγενής* of *Arcesilaus*.

<sup>423</sup> ἐξεργασμένος ἑωυτῷ κακὸν, i. e. by taking the step against which the oracle warned him,—εἰσελθὼν ἐς τὴν ἀμφίρρυτον.

<sup>424</sup> εὐεργεσίαι. This would be the mode most tolerable to Hellenic ears of expressing the payment of tribute to an oriental liege lord. The circumstances of the case are related in iii. 13, although in a very different form,—for with the narrator there the central feature of the story is obviously *Cambyses*'s largesse to the soldiery. But the substantial identity of the two accounts appears in the circumstance of the *Barcaeans* and *Cyrenians* being combined in iii. 13 (although it was only the *Cyrenian* offering which was so contemptuously treated), while again in the narrative here some connexion between the two states is evident, both from the marriage of *Arcesilaus* with *Alasir*'s daughter, and from the refuge found by the former in Barca.

δὲ ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἢ Φερεσίμη Ἀρυάνδεω ἱκέτις ἔξετο, τιμωρῆσαι  
 ἐωντῇ κελεύουσα· προϊσχομένη πρόφασιν, ὡς διὰ τὸν μηδισμὸν ὁ  
 παῖς οἱ τέθηκε.<sup>433</sup> Ὁ δὲ Ἀρυάνδης ἦν οὗτος τῆς Αἰγύπτου 166  
 ὑπαρχος ὑπὸ Καμβύσῳ κατεστεινός· δὲ ὑστέρω χρόνῳ τούτῳ  
 παρυσεύμενος<sup>434</sup> Δαρείῳ διεφθάρη. πυθόμενος γὰρ καὶ ἰδὼν Δα-  
 ρεῖον ἐπιθυμῶντα μνημόσυνον ἐωντοῦ λητέσθαι τοῦτο τὸ μὴ ἄλλα  
 εἶη βασιλεῖ κατεργασμένον<sup>435</sup>, ἐμμέετο τούτῳ ἐς οὐ ἔλαβε τὸν  
 μισθόν. Δαρείος μὲν γὰρ χρυσίου καθαράτατον ἀπεψήσας ἐς τὸ  
 δυνατώτατον, νόμισμα ἐκόψατο· Ἀρυάνδης δὲ ἄρχων Αἰγύπτου  
 ἀργύριον τῶντὸ τοῦτο ἐποίησεν καὶ νῦν ἐστὶ ἀργύριον καθαράτατον  
 τὸ Ἀρυαδικόν. μαθὼν δὲ Δαρείος μιν ταῦτα ποιεῖντα<sup>436</sup>, αἰτίην

Argandens's  
coinage.

<sup>433</sup> ἐς διὰ τὸν μηδισμὸν ὁ παῖς τέθηκε. It is very difficult, in the present paucity of information, to say how this profession could be made out. Possibly Cambyaes was considered as the representative of the line of Apries, whose grandson some Egyptian accounts made him (iii. 2). Compare also the statement of DION, quoted in the note 9 on iii. 3. Now Apries was the feudal lord of the native inhabitants, the periœci, of Cyrene (iv. 159); and on the other hand the connexion of Amasis with the Greeks (φιέλλαν γενόμενος, ii. 178), and especially with the Cyrenians was a very close one (ii. 181, 182). And if the return of Arceilaus was brought about in a great measure by sacrificing the interests or prejudices of the Hellenic element of the population in favour of the aborigines which formed a δῆμος there,—which several circumstances make not at all improbable,—he would transfer to his cause the political traditions of the party which originally called Apries in. (See the notes 419, 430, and 432.) His conduct therefore might be represented as a μηδισμός, inasmuch as he and Cambyaes would under such circumstances stand to each other in the relation of vassal and suzerain. At any rate there would be enough for a πρόσχημα, in order that Libya might be conquered. (See § 167.)

<sup>434</sup> παρυσεύμενος. The force of the preposition should not be overlooked—"indirectly putting himself on a footing with Darius." The assertion of sovereignty was contained in the fact of his issuing a coinage at all, but masked by the comparative meanness of the metal in which it was struck.

<sup>435</sup> τοῦτο τὸ μὴ ἄλλῃ εἶη βασιλεῖ κατε-

ργασμένον. This expression must be taken with an allowance of some kind or other. Perfectly pure gold from its softness would spoil a coinage; and if the circumstance of the coinage being gold at all was what constituted it a memorial, the minting silver could not be attempted with even the semblance of that excuse. Possibly the real novelty consisted in the fact that Darius was the first oriental sovereign who issued an independent coinage. The wealth of Croesus appears to have consisted of ingots (i. 50) and gold dust (vi. 125), although the Sardians boasted of being the first who coined money (i. 94). The passage containing the account of his largesse to the Delphians of two staters a-piece does not exist in the manuscripts 8 and V; and, supposing it to be genuine, it may very reasonably be an expression in terms of a later time of the sum which was really paid. But if the distinctive character of what Darius did was that it was the first oriental coinage, it must be put together with his cadastral system, and regarded as constituting one portion of a large financial measure which redeemed the Persian empire from the condition of an assemblage of barbarian hordes, and earned for its author the soubriquet of ὁ κάπηλος from his ignorant and ruffianly countrymen. See note on vii. 28.

<sup>436</sup> μαθὼν δὲ Δαρείος μιν ταῦτα ποιεῖντα. The precarious position of Darius for some time after his accession is shown by several circumstances, of which we here have one. The issuing the silver coinage was a symbol of the position which Aryandes hoped to occupy—one very similar to that of Oroctes in Asia. (See note 350)

167

He sends  
a force  
against  
Barca and  
Cyrene.

οἱ ἄλλην ἐπενείκας<sup>447</sup>, ὥς οἱ ἐπανίσταται<sup>448</sup>, ἀπέκτεινε. Τότε δὲ οὗτος ὁ Ἀρυνάδης κατοικτεῖρας Φερετίμην, διδοὶ αὐτῇ στρατὸν τὸν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἅπαντα<sup>449</sup>, καὶ τὸν πεζὸν καὶ τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατηγὸν δὲ τοῦ μὲν πεζοῦ Ἀμασιν ἀπέδεξε ἄνδρα Μαράφιον<sup>450</sup>, τοῦ δὲ ναυτικοῦ Βάδρην<sup>451</sup>, ἔοντα Πασαργάδην γένος. πρὶν δὲ ἡ ἀποστεῖλαι τὴν στρατιὴν, ὁ Ἀρυνάδης πέμψας ἐς τὴν Βάρκην κήρυκα, ἐπυνθάνετο τίς εἴη ὁ Ἀρκεσίλειον ἀποκτείνας; οἱ δὲ Βαρκαῖοι αὐτοὶ ὑποδεκέατο πάντες· πολλά τε γὰρ καὶ κακὰ πάσχειν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πυθόμενος δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Ἀρυνάδης, οὕτω δὴ τὴν στρατιὴν ἀπέστειλε ἅμα τῇ Φερετίμῃ. αὕτη μὲν νυν αἰτίη πρόσχημα τοῦ λόγου ἐγένετο· ἀπεπέμπετο δὲ ἡ στρατιή, ὥς ἐμοὶ δοκέειν, ἐπὶ Λιβύων καταστροφῇ· Λιβύων γὰρ δὴ ἔθνεα πολλὰ καὶ παντοῖά ἐστι· καὶ τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν ὀλίγα βασιλεὺς ἦν ὑπήκοα, τὰ δὲ πλεον ἐφρόντιζε Δαρεῖον οὐδέν.

168

Description  
of the Li-  
byan tribes.  
Next to the  
Egyptian  
frontier  
come the

Οἰκέουσι δὲ κατὰ τάδε Λίβυες<sup>452</sup>. ὑπ' Αἰγύπτου ἀρξάμενοι, πρῶτοι Ἀδурμαχίδαι Λιβύων κατοικηνται· οἱ νόμοισι μὲν τὰ πλεον Αἰγυπτίοισι χρέωνται, ἐσθίητα δὲ φορέουσι οἷον περ οἱ ἄλλοι Λίβυες· αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες αὐτῶν ψέλιον περὶ ἑκατέρῃ τῶν κυνῶν φορέουσι· χάλκεον τὰς κεφαλὰς δὲ κομῶσαι, τοὺς φθεῖρας ἐπεὰν

on iii. 127.) He had been appointed by Cambyses as Oroetes had been by Cyrus, and he wished to convert his tenure into an independent kingdom, owing a nominal allegiance to the king of Persia, as a duke of Burgundy in the twelfth century might to a king of France, or a pasha of Egypt to the Porte. It is observable that Darius keeps out of sight the delicate question of independent sovereignty. Probably at this time his own father-in-law was holding a similar position in Asia, and his plan for the subdivision of satrapies had not been got into work. (See notes 240 on iii. 88 and 390 on iii. 141.) But as soon as any charge was brought against him, Aryandes knew what was the real point at issue, and threw off the mask by an open revolt.

<sup>447</sup> ἐπενείκας. See note 403, above.

<sup>448</sup> ἐπανίσταται. The MSS vary between ἐπανιστάται, ἐπανιστάται, and ἐπανιστάται. Gaisford adopts the second of these readings. But Herodotus habitually uses the optative mood in such cases.

<sup>449</sup> τὸν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἅπαντα. See the next note.

<sup>450</sup> ἄνδρα Μαράφιον. The appointment

of an individual to the command of the whole land army, who was not a Pasargad, and consequently not closely connected with the reigning dynasty, is not to be overlooked with reference to the schemes noticed in the note 436. For the tribes of the Persians see i. 125.

<sup>451</sup> Βάδρην. The manuscript S has Μάρδην and V has Μάδρην. These forms are all etymologically equivalent with one another, and also with Βάρδης or Bartius and Smerdis. See note 83 on iii. 30. It is a curious circumstance that an individual of this name should be placed in a high office by Aryandes.

<sup>452</sup> Λίβυες. In the description of Libya which follows Herodotus appears to rest on the authority of merchants' stories, of which that in ii. 32 is a remarkable specimen. It seems to me not improbable that from here to the end of § 180, his information is gained from coasting navigators, while at § 181 he begins to depend upon the accounts brought by the caravan traders into Egypt. Hence the diversity apparent in some of the details may perhaps be accounted for. See for example note 456 on § 174.



λάβωσι τοὺς ἐωυτῆς ἐκάστη ἀντιδάκει καὶ οὕτω ῥίπτει· οὗτοι δὲ *Adyrmachidæ*.  
 μῦνοι Λιβύων τοῦτο ἐργάζονται· καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ μῦνοι τὰς παρ-  
 θένους μελλούσας συνοικέειν ἐπιδεικνύουσι· ἡ δὲ ἂν τῷ βασιλεῖ  
 ἄρεστή γένηται, ὑπὸ τούτου διαπαρθενεύεται. παρήκουσι δὲ οὗτοι  
 οἱ Ἀδурμαχίδαι ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου μέχρι λιμένος τῷ ὄνομα Πλυνός  
 ἐστι<sup>443</sup>. Τούτων δὲ ἔχονται Γιλγάμμαι, νεμόμενοι τὴν πρὸς 169  
 ἐσπέρην χώραν μέχρι Ἀφροδιτιάδος νήσου· ἐν δὲ τῷ μεταξύ τού-  
 του χώρῳ ἡ τε Πλατέα νήσος ἐπικέεται, τὴν ἔκτισαν Κυρηνάιοι·  
 καὶ ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ Μενελαῖος λιμὴν ἐστι<sup>444</sup>, καὶ Ἀζιρίς τὴν οἱ  
 Κυρηνάιοι οἰκεον· καὶ τὸ σίλφιον<sup>445</sup> ἄρχεται ἀπὸ τούτου παρήκει  
 δὲ ἀπὸ Πλατέης νήσου μέχρι τοῦ στόματος τῆς Σύρτιος τὸ σίλφιον.  
 νόμοισι δὲ χρέωνται οὗτοι παραπλησίοισι τοῖσι ἐτέροισι. Γιλ- 170  
 γαμμέων δὲ ἔχονται τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρης Ἀσβύσαι<sup>446</sup>. οὗτοι τὸ  
 ὑπὲρ Κυρήνης οἰκεῖουσι, ἐπὶ θάλασσαν δὲ οὐ κατήκουσι Ἀσβύσαι·  
 τὸ γὰρ παρὰ θάλασσαν Κυρηνάιοι νέμονται· τεθριπποβάται δὲ  
 οὐκ ἦκιστα, ἀλλὰ μάλιστα Λιβύων εἰσὶ νόμους δὲ τοὺς πλεῖνας  
 μιμέεσθαι ἐπιτηδεύουσι τοὺς Κυρηνάιων. Ἀσβυστέων δὲ ἔχονται 171  
 τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρης Αὐσχίσαι. οὗτοι ὑπὲρ Βάρκης οἰκεῖουσι, κατ-  
 ἥκοντες ἐπὶ θάλασσαν κατ' Εὐεσπερίδας<sup>447</sup>. Αὐσχισέων δὲ κατὰ  
 μέσον τῆς χώρας οἰκεῖουσι Κάβαλες<sup>448</sup>, ὀλίγον ἔθνος, κατήκοντες  
 ἐπὶ θάλασσαν κατὰ Ταύχειρα<sup>449</sup> πόλιν τῆς Βαρκαίης· νόμοισι δὲ

Next come  
the Gili-  
gammaæ.

Then the  
Asbytai,  
inland of  
Cyrene.

Then the  
Auschias,  
inland of  
Barca, in  
the midst  
of whom  
is a small

<sup>443</sup> μέχρι λιμένος τῷ ὀνόματι Πλυνός ἐστι. SCYLAX (p. 46) places the *Adyrmachidæ* entirely within the Egyptian boundary, which he makes to extend as far as *Apis* (a town in the immediate vicinity of Parætanium), of which Herodotus perhaps speaks above (ii. 8). Eastward he brings them as far as the Canobic branch of the Nile.

<sup>444</sup> Μενελαῖος λιμὴν. See note 336 on ii. 119.

<sup>445</sup> τὸ σίλφιον. The use of the article is to be observed. See note 490 on § 191, below. The Silphium was well known in its imported state. It was used, among other purposes, to sprinkle the fried Boeotian eels,—a dish held in the highest estimation. (ANTIPHANES *ap. Athenæum*, vii. p. 623. Compare ARISTOPHANES, *Av.* 1579.) The sale of it produced so much as to render the expression τὸ Βάρτου σίλφιον proverbial to denote unbounded wealth; and it appears on the coins of Cyrene, as being the staple pro-

duce of the place. For a description of the plant see PLINY (*N. H.* xix. 3), and for its medical uses (xxiii. 23). In the time of PLAUTUS, Capua was the great staple for it. (*Rud.* iii. 2. 16.)

<sup>446</sup> Ἀσβύσαι. Two of the MSS (M and K) have Ἀσύνται, and Ἀσύντειον for Ἀσβυστέων, below. Gaisford suggests that this variation may arise from the confusion of the contractions of *βυ* and *υν*, which are very similar.

<sup>447</sup> Εὐεσπερίδας. This place was founded under the auspices of the fourth Arcesilaus. (*Schol. ad Pind. Pyth.* v. 33.) It was subsequently called *Βερενίκη* after the queen of Ptolemy III., who beautified it. (STEPHANUS BYZANTINUS, v. *Βερενίκη*.)

<sup>448</sup> Κάβαλες. So Gaisford prints on the authority of the majority of MSS. Two however have *Βάκαλες*.

<sup>449</sup> Ταύχειρα. The site of this town is said to be still traceable in some ruins called *Takrah*, about ten hours' distance from Ptolemais.

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insulated tribe, the *Kabales*. Next the *Nasamones*, a widely extended tribe, shepherds, and carriers of dates from *Augila*.

τοῖσι αὐτοῖσι χρέωνται τοῖσι καὶ οἱ ὑπὲρ Κυρήνης. *Αὐσχισέων* δὲ τούτων τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρης ἔχονται *Νασαμώνες*, ἔθνος ἐὼν πολλόν· οἱ τὸ θέρος<sup>440</sup> καταλείποντες ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάσῃ τὰ πρόβατα, ἀναβαίνουσι ἐς *Αὔγिला* χώρον ὀπωριεύντες τοὺς φοίνικας· οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ καὶ ἀμφιλαφεές πεφύκασι, πάντες ἔοντες καρποφόροι· τοὺς δὲ ἀττελέβους<sup>441</sup> ἔπειαν θηρεύσωσι, αἰήναντες πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον καταλέουσι, καὶ ἔπειτα ἐπὶ γάλα ἐπιπάσσοντες πίνουσι· γυναῖκας δὲ νομίζοντες πολλὰς ἔχειν ἕκαστος, ἐπικούουν αὐτέων τὴν μίξιν ποιεῦνται<sup>442</sup>· τρόφιμ παραπλησίῳ τῷ καὶ *Μασσαγέται*· ἔπειαν σκίπωνα προστήσονται, μίσγονται· πρῶτον δὴ γαμέοντος *Νασαμώνος* ἀνδρὸς, νόμος ἐστὶ τὴν νύμφην νυκτὶ τῇ πρώτῃ διὰ πάντων διεξελθεῖν τῶν δαιτυμόνων μισγομένην· τῶν δὲ ὡς ἕκαστός οἱ μυχθῇ, διδοὶ δῶρον τὸ ἂν ἔχῃ φερόμενος ἐξ οἴκου· ὀρκίοισι δὲ καὶ μαντικῇ χρέωνται τοιγῆδε· ὁμνύουσι μὲν τοὺς παρὰ σφίσι ἄνδρας δικαιοτάτους καὶ ἀρίστους λεγομένους γενέσθαι, τούτους, τῶν τύμβων ἀπτόμενοι· μαντεύονται δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν προγόνων φοιτούντες τὰ σήματα, καὶ κατευξάμενοι ἐπικατακοιμῶνται<sup>443</sup>. τὸ δ' ἂν ἴδῃ

<sup>440</sup> τὸ θέρος. Some unnecessary difficulty as regards these words has been occasioned by the circumstance that the date harvest generally begins in October; and Larcher, to avoid it, proposes to read μετὰ τὸ θέρος. But there seems no occasion to resort to this alteration, or to the theory that the date harvest would in some years take place much earlier than in others. All that Herodotus says is, that during the *dry season* (to which the Hellenic expression *θέρος* is the nearest approach) the *Nasamones* left their flocks in the pastures on the northern coast, and went into the interior to secure the date harvest (whenever that may have taken place). They really were the carriers in the caravan traffic which took place between the coast and the interior. They appear to have had business at the Oasis of Ammon (ii. 32), and doubtless were carriers of salt, which forms so important an article of African trade. We may suppose them to leave the north just after the sheep shearing, and to re-appear again after the date harvest, having in the mean time been engaged in a course of traffic, the last results of which appeared at the ports on the coast in the shape of dates, or possibly of palm wine.

<sup>441</sup> τοὺς δὲ ἀττελέβους, "the wingless locusts."

<sup>442</sup> ἐπικούουν αὐτέων τὴν μίξιν ποιεῦνται. There is no reason whatever to suppose that these words involve a contradiction to what follows, and are an interpolation. The very instance of the *Massagetae* referred to disproves such a notion. MARCO POLO relates a similar practice to that of the *Nasamones* and *Massagetae* as existing among the tribes of central Asia and China. He says that it was sanctioned by the priests of their religion, and that the people considered a deviation from it as likely to bring barrenness on the country. Perhaps if it had a religious sanction, it was originally adopted by the priests as a first step towards bringing the people from a yet more degraded state, such as that attributed to the *Awes* and *Mechalyes* (§ 180, below). So far as the community extended to members of the *same* tribe, it would probably be interpreted on the principle ascribed by Herodotus to the *Agathyrsi*: *ἵνα κασίγνητοί τε ἀλλήλων ἔωσι, καὶ οἰκῆοι ἐόντες πάντες μήτε φθόρε μήτ' ἐχθεὶ χρέωνται ἐς ἀλλήλους* (§ 104, above).

<sup>443</sup> ἐπικατακοιμῶνται. This ritual is substantially the same as that which also

ἐν τῇ ὕψει ἐνύπνιον, τούτῳ χράται· πίστισι δὲ τοιησίδε χρέωνται·  
ἐκ τῆς χειρὸς διδοὶ πιεῖν, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκ τῆς τοῦ ἐτέρου πίνει <sup>444</sup>. ἦν  
δὲ μὴ ἔχουσι ὕγρον μηδὲν, οἱ δὲ τῆς χαμάθεν σποδοῦ λαβόντες  
λείχουσι.

Νασαμῶσι δὲ προσόμουροι εἰσι Ψύλλοι. οὗτοι ἐξαπολώλασι **173**  
τρόπῳ τοιῷδε· ὁ νότος σφι πνέων ἄνεμος τὰ ἔλντρα τῶν ὑδάτων <sup>445</sup> Next came  
ἐξήννη· ἡ δὲ χώρα σφι πᾶσα ἐντὸς εὐόσα τῆς Σύρτιος, ἦν ἀνδρὸς· the *Psylli*,  
οἱ δὲ, βουλευσάμενοι, κοινῇ λόγῳ ἐστρατεύοντο ἐπὶ τὸν νότον· an extinct  
(λέγω δὲ ταῦτα τὰ λέγουσι Δίβνες·) καὶ ἐπεὶ τε ἐγίνοντο ἐν τῇ Syrtis, whose terri-  
ψάμμῳ, πνεύσας ὁ νότος κατέχωσέ σφεας· ἐξαπολομένων δὲ τού- tory has  
των, ἔχουσι τὴν χώραν οἱ Νασαμῶνες. Τούτων δὲ κατύπερθε been occu-  
πρὸς νότον ἄνεμον, ἐν τῇ θηριώδει οἰκέουσι Γαράμαντες <sup>446</sup>. οἱ Inland of  
πάντα ἀνθρωπον φεύγουσι καὶ παντὸς ὁμιλίην καὶ οὔτε δπλον the Psylli  
ἐκτέαται ἀρήιον οὐδὲν οὔτε ἀμύνεσθαι ἐπιστέαται. Οὗτοι μὲν δὴ southwards  
κατύπερθε οἰκέουσι Νασαμῶνων· τὸ δὲ παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν come the  
ἔχονται τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρης Μάκαι· οἱ λόφους κείρονται, τὸ μὲν 175  
μέσσω τῶν τριχῶν ἀνιέντες αὔξεσθαι τὰ δὲ ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν κεί- <sup>447</sup> Along the  
ροντες ἐν χροῖ· ἐς δὲ τὸν πόλεμον στρουθῶν καταγαίων δорας· the coast west-  
φορέουσι προβλήματα. διὰ δὲ αὐτῶν Κίνυψ ποταμὸς <sup>448</sup> ρέων wards are  
ἐκ λόφου καλυμμένου Χαρίτων, ἐς θάλασσαν ἐκδιδού· ὁ δὲ λόφος the *Makæ*,  
the embou-

prevailed in the earliest historical times in Italy and Greece. See VIRGIL (*Æneid*. vii. 80—100) and the commentators thereon. See also note 164 on i. 52.

<sup>444</sup> ἐκ τῆς χειρὸς . . . πίνει. SHAW states that a relic of the habits of the Nasamones still survives in the marriage ceremony of the native Algerines, where the contracting parties plight their troth to each other merely by drinking out of each other's hands. (*Travels in Barbary*, p. 303.)

<sup>445</sup> τὰ ἔλντρα τῶν ὑδάτων, "the water-tanks." See note 625 on i. 185.

<sup>446</sup> Γαράμαντες. The description which follows of this tribe seems to accord rather with the timorous Troglodytæ (the *Tibboos*), whom, according to Herodotus in another passage (§ 183, below), the Garamantes hunt. Accordingly a factitious distinction has been attempted by Larcher between a tribe of *nomad* Garamantes (to whom he supposes the author to allude in the other passage) and another portion of the same nation having fixed habitations, which are meant here. Another solution

of the difficulty has been sought by reading Γαμφάσαντες here instead of Γαράμαντες, to which some colour is given by a passage in MELA (i. 8), and one in PLINY (*N. H.* v. 8. 8). But there is no variation in the MSS of Herodotus to supply the least support to this conjecture; and possibly a less violent explanation of the diversity of description is to be found in the conjecture that the authority here followed by Herodotus took the Garamantes for the Troglodyte Tibboos.

<sup>447</sup> στρουθῶν καταγαίων δорας. The Asiatic Ethiopians in the army of Xerxes are similarly represented as using the skins of cranes by way of defensive armour (vii. 70). Probably a covering of feathers was so contrived as to break the blow of a sharp instrument, a result achieved by the South Sea islanders with the same materials.

<sup>448</sup> Κίνυψ ποταμός. This is the site on which Dorieus the Spartan attempted to found a colony (v. 42). Its extreme productiveness above every other part of Libya is remarked (§ 198, below).

chure of the  
Cinyrae.

176

Conter-  
minous  
with the  
Mae are  
the Cin-  
danes.

177

Out of their  
territory  
runs a pro-  
montory in-  
habited by  
the Lotus-  
eaters.

178

Next to the  
Lotus-eat-  
ers come the  
Machlyes,  
as far as  
the river  
Triton and  
the lake  
Tritonis.

179

Legend of  
Jason con-  
nected with  
this lo-  
cality.

οὗτος ὁ Χαρίτων δασὺς ἰδησί ἐστι, εὐούσης τῆς ἄλλης τῆς προκατα-  
λεχθείσης Διβύης ψιλῆς· ἀπὸ θαλάσσης δὲ ἐς αὐτὸν στάδιοι δι-  
ηκόσιοι εἰσι. Μακῶν δὲ τούτων ἐχόμενοι Γῖνδανές εἰσι· τῶν αἰ-  
γυναῖκες περισφύρια δερμάτων πολλὰ ἐκάστη φορέει· κατὰ τοιούδε  
τι, ὡς λέγεται· κατ' ἄνδρα ἕκαστον μιχθέντα περισφύριον περι-  
δέεται· ἢ δ' ἂν πλείστα ἔχῃ, αὕτη ἀρίστη δέδοκται εἶναι ὡς ὑπὸ  
πλείστων ἀνδρῶν φιληθείσα. Ἀκτὴν δὲ προέχουσιν ἐς τὸν πόντον  
τούτων τῶν Γινδάνων νέμονται Λωτοφάγοι· οἱ τὸν καρπὸν μαΐων  
τοῦ λωτοῦ τρώγοντες ζῶουσι· ὁ δὲ τοῦ λωτοῦ καρπός<sup>439</sup> ἐστὶ  
μέγαθος ὅσον τε τῆς σχίνου· γλυκύτητα δὲ, τοῦ φοίνικος τῷ καρπῷ  
προσείκελος· ποιεῖνται δὲ ἐκ τοῦ καρποῦ τούτου οἱ Λωτοφάγοι καὶ  
οἶνον<sup>440</sup>.

Λωτοφάγων δὲ τὸ παρὰ θάλασσαν ἔχονται Μάχλυνες<sup>441</sup>, τῷ λωτῷ  
μὲν καὶ οὗτοι χρεώμενοι, ἀτὰρ ἡσσόν γε τῶν πρότερον λεχθέντων.  
κατήκουσι δὲ ἐπὶ ποταμὸν μέγαν, τῷ ὄνομα Τρίτων ἐστὶ· ἐκδιδά-  
δὲ οὗτος ἐς λίμνην μεγάλην Τριτωνίδα· ἐν δὲ αὐτῇ νῆσος ἔν, τῇ  
ὄνομα Φλά· ταύτην δὲ τὴν νῆσον Λακεδαιμονίοισι φασι λόγιον  
εἶναι κτίσαι.

Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ὁδε λόγος λεγόμενος· Ἰήσωνα, ἐπεὶ τε οἱ ἐξεργάσθη  
ὑπὸ τῷ Πηλῳ ἢ Ἀργῷ, ἐσθέμενον ἐς αὐτὴν ἄλλην τε ἑκατόμ-  
βην<sup>442</sup> καὶ δὴ καὶ τρίποδα χάλκεον, περιπλώειν Πελοπόννησον  
βουλόμενον ἐς Δελφοὺς ἀπικέσθαι· καὶ μιν, ὡς πλέοντα γενέσθαι  
κατὰ Μαλέην, ὑπολαβεῖν ἄνεμον βορρῇ καὶ ἀποφέρειν πρὸς τὴν  
Διβύην· πρὶν δὲ κατιδέσθαι γῆν, ἐν τοῖσι βράχεσι γενέσθαι λίμνης  
τῆς Τριτωνίδος· καὶ οἱ ἀπορέοντι τὴν ἐξαγωγὴν λόγος ἐστὶ φανῆναι  
Τρίτωνα, καὶ κελεύειν τὸν Ἰήσωνα ἐωντῷ δοῦναι τὸν τρίποδα  
φάμενον σφί καὶ τὸν πόρον δέξειν, καὶ ἀπήμονας ἀποστελέειν  
πειθομένον δὲ τοῦ Ἰήσονος, οὕτω δὴ τὸν τε διέκπλουον τῶν βρα-

<sup>439</sup> ὁ δὲ τοῦ λωτοῦ καρπός. See note 252 on ii. 96.

<sup>440</sup> καὶ οἶνον. According to POLYBIUS (*Fragm.* xii. 2), the lotus wine was produced by first steeping the fruit for some time in water, and then pressing it. It would not however keep for more than ten days; so that it could never have been exported.

<sup>441</sup> Μάχλυνες. It seems doubtful whether this is a genuine Libyan name, or has

a Greek root. In the latter case it would probably, like Troglodyte and Lotophagi, have a reference to the habits of the people who were called by it. See the latter part of § 180.

<sup>442</sup> ἑκατόμβην. By this name must be understood the aggregate offering to the deity, and not merely the cattle designed for sacrifice. The tripod made a part of it.

χέων δεικνύναι τὸν Τρίτωνά σφι, καὶ τὸν τρίποδα θεῖναι ἐν τῷ ἑωυτοῦ ἱρῷ ἐπιθεσπίσαντά τε τῷ τρίποδι, καὶ τοῖσι σὺν Ἱήσωνι σημήναντα τὸν πάντα λόγον, ὥς ἐπεὰν τὸν τρίποδα κομίσηται τῶν ἐκγόνων τις τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀργοὶ συμπλεόντων, τότε ἑκατὸν πόλιας οἰκῆσαι περὶ τὴν Τριτωνίδα λίμνην Ἑλληνίδας πᾶσαν εἶναι ἀν-  
 ὄγκην ταῦτα ἀκούσαντας τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους τῶν Λιβύων κρῖναι τὸν τρίποδα<sup>463</sup>.

Τούτων δὲ ἔχονται τῶν Μαχλίων Αὔσεις. οὗτοι δὲ καὶ οἱ 180  
 Μάχλυνες πέριξ τὴν Τριτωνίδα λίμνην οἰκεῖν τὸ μέσον δέ σφι  
 οὐρίζει ὁ Τρίτων καὶ οἱ μὲν Μάχλυνες τὰ ὀπίσω κομέουσι τῆς  
 κεφαλῆς, οἱ δὲ Αὔσεις τὰ ἔμπροσθε ὀρτῇ δὲ ἐνιαυσίῃ Ἀθηναίης  
 αἱ παρθένοι αὐτῶν δίχα διαστᾶσαι μάχονται πρὸς ἀλλήλας  
 λίθοισι τε καὶ ξύλοισι, τῇ αὐθυγενεὶ θεῷ λέγουσαι τὰ πάτρια  
 ἀποτελέειν, τὴν Ἀθηναίην καλέομεν τὰς δὲ ἀποθησκούσας τῶν  
 παρθένων ἐκ τῶν τρωμάτων<sup>464</sup> ψευδοπαρθένους καλέουσι· πρὶν δὲ  
 ἀνεῖναι αὐτὰς μάχεσθαι, τὰδε ποιέουσιν κοινῇ παρθένον τὴν καλλι-  
 στεύουσαν ἐκάστοτε κοσμήσαντες κυνὴ τε Κορινθίῃ καὶ πανοπλίῃ  
 Ἑλληνικῇ, καὶ ἐπ' ἄρμα ἀναβιβάσαντες, περιάγουσι τὴν λίμνην  
 κύκλῳ<sup>465</sup>. ὁτέοισι δὲ τὸ πάλαι ἐκόσμεον τὰς παρθένους, πρὶν ἢ

Conterminous with the  
 Machlyes  
 are the  
 Auses.

Their wor-  
 ship of  
 a native  
 deity corre-  
 sponding to  
 Athens, and  
 procession  
 in her ho-  
 nour.

<sup>463</sup> κρῖναι τὸν τρίποδα. The tripod (the symbol of the tutelary deity of the settlers, see note 493 on i. 144) is a most important feature in the legend, and appears in all the versions of it. The whole story is a fair specimen of the mythical way in which the history of colonization was described in early times. The later ages consolidated the poetic fictions of the earlier period into facts, and accounted for them on the principle which Euhemerus was noted for systematically carrying out. Thus APOLLONIUS RHODIUS makes the sacred tripod a return for the piece of earth, which in his narrative, as well as that of PINDAR (*Pyth.* iv. 22, *seqq.*), is the symbol by which Triton makes over the soil to the Hellenic settlers (iv. 1648). DIODORUS brings the matter down even closer to the level of daily experience. Triton, according to him, was the king of the country, who, on explaining to the Argonauts the difficulties of the coast, was rewarded by them with a brazen tripod, which in after times was to be actually seen, covered with hieroglyphics, at Berenice (iv. 56).

See, for further illustration of the way in which mythical stories were used by the ancients for the purpose of justifying actual policy, the notes on vi. 140.

<sup>464</sup> τρωμάτων. This form, which Gaisford adopts, rests on the authority of M, K, P, S, V, F, and α, the other MSS having τρωνμάτων or τρωμάτων. EUSTATHIUS (*ad Il.* v. 596) lays down the canon that where the diphthong *au* is changed into *ou* without crasis, the latter form is in Ionic a dissyllable. On this principle one ought to write *θάύμα* and *ἐωὐδον*, although the crasis which had taken place would justify *ἐμεωντοῦ* and *σεωντοῦ* (*ἐμέο αὐτοῦ* and *σέο αὐτοῦ*), *τάντῃ* (τὸ αὐτὸ) *ἐντὸς* (ὁ αὐτός), and *ἐντοί* (οἱ αὐτοί). But in this particular case *τρώμα* may be reasonably concluded a form directly derived from a present tense *τρώω*. And even if this were not the case, it seems very hazardous to be guided by the factitious rules of Alexandrine grammarians or their followers in the case of an author who writes so loosely as Herodotus.

<sup>465</sup> περιάγουσι τὴν λίμνην κύκλῳ. The existence of this practice may have sug-

σφι Ἑλληνας παροικισθῆναι, οὐκ ἔχω εἶπαι<sup>466</sup>. δοκέω δ' ὦν Αἰγυπτίοισι ὄπλοισι κοσμέσθαι αὐτάς· ἀπὸ γὰρ Αἰγύπτου καὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα καὶ τὸ κράνος φημὶ ἀπείχθαι ἐς τοὺς Ἑλληνας<sup>467</sup>. τὴν δὲ Ἀθηναίην φασὶ Ποσειδέωνος εἶναι θυγατέρα καὶ τῆς Τριτωνίδος λίμνης· καὶ μιν μεμφθεῖσάν τι τῷ πατρὶ, δοῦναι ἑαυτὴν τῷ Διὶ· τὸν δὲ Δία ἑαυτοῦ μιν ποιήσασθαι θυγατέρα. ταῦτα μὲν λέγουσι. μῆξιν δὲ ἐπικούων τῶν γυναικῶν ποιεῖνται, οὔτε συνοικέοντες κτηνηδὸν τε μισγόμενοι· ἐπεὶ δὲ γυναικὶ τὸ παιδίον ἀδρὸν γένηται, συμφοιτέουσι ἐς τὸντὸ οἱ ἄνδρες τρίτου μηνός, καὶ τῷ ἄν οἴκῃ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τὸ παιδίον, τοῦτον παῖς νομίζεται<sup>468</sup>.

181  
The inland  
parts of  
Libya.

Οὗτοι μὲν οἱ παραθαλάσσιοι τῶν Νομάδων Λιβύων εἰρέεσται· ὑπὲρ δὲ τούτων ἐς μεσόγαιαν ἡ θηριώδης ἐστὶ Λιβύη· ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς θηριώδεος ὄφρῃ ψάμμης<sup>469</sup> κατήκει, παρατείνουσα ἀπὸ Θηβέων τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἐπὶ Ἡρακλῆας στήλας· ἐν δὲ τῇ ὄφρῃ ταύτῃ μάλιστα διὰ δέκα ἡμερέων ὁδοῦ, ἀλός ἐστι τρύφεια κατὰ χόνδρους μεγάλους ἐν κολωνοῖσι· καὶ ἐν κορυφῇσι ἐκάστου τοῦ κολωνοῦ

gested to the friends of Pisistratus the demonstration described by Herodotus above, I. 60, where see note 201. It seems scarcely doubtful that this Athene is a war goddess, a kind of Enyo, Bellona, or Amazon, analogous to the Mother of Ares at Papremis, where on the day of the high festival there was "a passage of arms" not unlike the one described in the text. See II. 63.

<sup>466</sup> οὐκ ἔχω εἶπαι. This expression indicates that no positive knowledge respecting the practice reached back to an earlier time than that in which direct mercantile transactions between Hellas and Libya existed.

<sup>467</sup> ἀπὸ γὰρ Αἰγύπτου... Ἑλληνας. It is not easy to reconcile this statement with what is known of the Hellenic armour. Before the time of Psammithichus (as it would seem from the story in II. 162), the Hellenic casque and shield must have been unknown to the Egyptians. But they were long before familiar to the Greeks of Asia, as appears from the Homeric poems, and probably to the Carians (who formerly inhabited the islands) even at an earlier period. See THUCYDIDES I. 8. If they came from Egypt to the Greeks at all in early times, it was perhaps only as from a staple of manufactures fabricated by foreigners settled there. See notes

128, 129, and 134 on Book II. But the Egyptian priest in PLATO (*Timaeus*, p. 24) takes the same view as Herodotus.

<sup>468</sup> τοῦτον παῖς νομίζεται. The description of the tribes on the coast is continued in § 186, the intermediate five sections being taken up with an account of the tribes inland, apparently derived from information brought by the caravans into Egypt.

<sup>469</sup> ψάμμης. The form ψάμμη in place of the more common ψάμμος is defended by the use of ARISTOPHANES (*Lysistr.* 1260): ἦν γὰρ τῶνδ' οὐκ ἐλάσσους τῆς ψάμμης. It would almost seem however as if the expression was put in the mouth of the speaker in that passage as a Dorian peculiarity, and if so, its use here may be thought to indicate the source of the information. But elsewhere Herodotus uses the other form (I. 47; III. 26, 102; and even 182, below). And in this passage S and V have ψάμμος, as if in the sense of ψάμμινος, or as if a gloss of ὄφρῃ standing alone. Perhaps the last is the most probable supposition. For in § 182 all the MSS have τῆς ψάμμου, and it is scarcely conceivable that if Herodotus had advisedly used the feminine termination here, he would have changed it so soon in a part of the narrative closely cohering with this.

ἀνακοντίζει ἐκ μέσου τοῦ ἄλως ὕδωρ ψυχρόν καὶ γλυκύν περὶ δὲ αὐτὸ ἄνθρωποι οἰκέουσι ἔσχατοι πρὸς τῆς ἐρήμου, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς θηριώδεος. πρώτοι μὲν, ἀπὸ Θηβέων διὰ δέκα ἡμερέων ὁδοῦ<sup>470</sup>, *The Oasis of Ammon.*  
 Ἀμμώνιοι, ἔχοντες τὸ ἶρὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ Θηβαίους Διός· καὶ γὰρ τὸ ἐν Θήβησι, ὡς καὶ πρότερον εἴρηται μοι, κριοπρόσωπον τοῦ Διὸς τῶγαλμά ἐστι. τυγχάνει δὲ καὶ ἄλλο σφι ὕδωρ κρηναῖον ἔον τὸ τὸν μὲν ὄρθρον γίνεταί χλιαρόν<sup>471</sup>, ὠγορῆς δὲ πληθυσούσης ψυχρό- *Fountain of the sun, which is cold at mid-day, and boils at midnight.*  
 τερον· μεσαμβρίη τέ ἐστι, καὶ τὸ κάρτα γίνεταί ψυχρόν· τηνικαῦτα δὲ ἄρδουσι τοὺς κήπους· ἀποκλινομένης δὲ τῆς ἡμέρης ὑπέρκειται τοῦ ψυχροῦ, ἐς οὗ δύεταί τε ὁ ἥλιος καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ γίνεταί χλιαρόν<sup>472</sup>. ἐπὶ δὲ μᾶλλον ἰὼν ἐς τὸ θερμὸν ἐς μέσας νύκτας πελάζει· τηνικαῦτα δὲ ζέει ἀμβολάδην· παρέρχονται τε μέσαι νύκτες καὶ ψύχεται μέχρι ἐς ἡῶ· ἐπὶ κλησιν δὲ αὕτη ἡ κρήνη καλέεται Ἑλίου.

Μετὰ δὲ Ἀμμωνίους, διὰ τῆς ὀφρύης τῆς ψάμμου, δι' ἁλλέων 182  
 δέκα ἡμερέων ὁδοῦ, κολωνός τε ἄλός ἐστι ὁμοίος τῷ Ἀμμωνίῳ καὶ *Ten days from Am-*

<sup>470</sup> διὰ δέκα ἡμερέων ὁδοῦ. The real distance of Thebes from the Oasis of Ammon is nearly 400 geographical miles. Probably there is some confusion between it and the greater Oasis (*El Wak*) of which the author speaks in iii. 26, where see note 73. The Oasis of Ammon is situated lat. 29° 8' 50", long. 26° 20'. HERODOTUS indeed attempts to identify the distances given by Herodotus with those of existing caravan routes, by supposing a station left out between Thebes and the Oasis of Ammon, and another between Augila and the Garamantes. But his whole discussion (*African Nations*, chapter vi.) although ingenious, is based upon the assumption of much greater exactness in Herodotus's work than is compatible with the phenomena observable therein. That every station should consist of a hill of salt, and that from the summit of every hill a stream of fresh water should burst out, ought to have raised some suspicion of the accuracy of the narrative. The phenomena of the region are in fact such as to suggest the account in the text, but not to warrant it. There are large deposits of salt, and out of some fresh water springs rise, but the appearance in the great majority of cases is that of a field, not a hillock, of salt; and the water springing from the deposit is generally saline.

<sup>471</sup> τὸ τὸν μὲν ὄρθρον γίνεταί χλιαρόν.

For the accounts prevalent among the ancients with regard to this fountain see ARISTOTLE (*ap. Antigonum Carysium, De Mirabilibus*, § 144) and LUCRETIUS (vi. 849—874). The physical fact causing the general belief doubtless is the circumstance that while the temperature of the water coming from a considerable depth remained constant, that of the air would vary enormously; and by comparison with this the apparent temperature of the water would be such as described in the text. See a parallel case with regard to the effect of the sun in India (iii. 104, note 301).

<sup>472</sup> δύεταί τε ὁ ἥλιος καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ γίνεταί χλιαρόν, "as the sun sets, so does the water grow tepid." This mode of expression, in which the synchronism of two events is denoted by coupling the clauses expressing them by the particles τε—καί, is a favourite one with Herodotus, but peculiar to him. Thus, below, *παρέρχονται τε μέσαι νύκτες καὶ ψύχεται μέχρι ἐς ἡῶ*, "as midnight passes, so does the water grow colder even till dawn." § 199: *συγκεκόμεναι τε οἷτος ὁ μέσος καρπὸς καὶ ἐν τῇ κατωτέρᾳ τῆς γῆς πεπαίνεται*, "as this midland-grown crop is housed, the crop in the highlands is getting ripe." And above, § 135: *νύξ τε ἐγένετο καὶ Δαρείος ἐχράτο τῇ γυνάμει τῇδε*. v. 86: *τοὺς τε Ἀθηναίους ἀποβεβάναι . . . καὶ παρῆναι τοὺς Ἀργεῖους*.

mon is  
Augila.

183

Ten days  
from Augila  
are the  
Garamantes,  
thirty  
days' jour-  
ney from  
the Loto-  
phagi on  
the coast.

These Garamantes hunt the Troglodytae, a race which have a language like the scream of bats.

184

Ten days  
beyond the  
Garamantes  
are the

ὔδωρ· καὶ ἄνθρωποι περὶ αὐτὸν οἰκέουσι· τῇ δὲ χώρῃ τοῦτῃ οὖνομα Αὐγιλὰ ἐστὶ. (ἐς τοῦτον τὸν χώρον<sup>473</sup> οἱ Νασαμώνες ὀπωριεῦντες τοὺς φοίνικας φοιτέουσιν.) Ἀπὸ δὲ Αὐγίλων, διὰ δέκα ἡμερέων ἁλλέων ὁδοῦ, ἕτερος ἁλὸς κολωνὸς, καὶ ὔδωρ, καὶ φοίνικες καρποφόροι πολλοὶ, κατὰ περ καὶ ἐν τοῖσι ἐτέροισι· καὶ ἄνθρωποι οἰκέουσι ἐν αὐτῇ τοῖσι οὖνομα Γαράμαντές ἐστι, ἔθνος μέγα ἰσχυρῶς· οἱ ἐπὶ τὸν ἅλα γῆν ἐπιφορέοντες, οὕτω σπεύρουσι (συντομώτατον δ' ἐστὶ ἐς τοὺς Λατοφάγους, ἐκ τῶν τριήκοντα ἡμερέων ἐς αὐτοὺς ὁδὸς ἐστὶ.) ἐν τοῖσι καὶ οἱ ὀπισθονόμοι βίους γίνονται· ὀπισθονόμοι δὲ διὰ τὸδε εἰσὶ· τὰ κέρεα ἔχουσι κεκυφῶτα ἐς τὸ ἔμπροσθε· διὰ τοῦτο ὀπίσω ἀναχωρέοντες νέμονται· ἐς γὰρ τὸ ἔμπροσθε οὐκ οἶοι τέ εἰσι, προεμβαλλόντων ἐς τὴν γῆν τῶν κερέων ἄλλο δὲ οὐδὲν διαφέρουσι τῶν ἄλλων βοῶν ὅτι μὴ τοῦτο, καὶ τὸ δέρμα ἐς παχύτητά τε καὶ τρίψιν. οἱ Γαράμαντες δὲ οὗτοι<sup>474</sup> τοὺς Τρωγλοδύτας Αἰθίοπας θηρεύουσι τοῖσι τεθρίπποισι. οἱ γὰρ Τρωγλοδύται Αἰθίοπες πόδας τάχιστοι ἀνθρώπων πάντων εἰσὶ τῶν ἡμεῖς περὶ λόγους ἀποφερομένους ἀκούομεν· σιτέονται δὲ οἱ Τρωγλοδύται ὄφεις καὶ σαύρας, καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα τῶν ἐρπετῶν γλῶσσαν δὲ οὐδεμῇ ἄλλῃ παρομοίῃν νενομίκασι<sup>475</sup>, ἀλλὰ τετρίγασι<sup>476</sup> κατὰ περ αἱ νυκτερίδες.

Ἀπὸ δὲ Γαράμαντων δι' ἁλλέων δέκα ἡμερέων ὁδοῦ, ἄλλος ἁλὸς τε κολωνὸς καὶ ὔδωρ· καὶ ἄνθρωποι περὶ αὐτὸν οἰκέουσι, τοῖσι οὖνομά ἐστι Ἀτάραντες<sup>477</sup>. οἱ ἀνώνυμοι εἰσὶ μῦνοι ἀνθρώ-

<sup>473</sup> ἐς τοῦτον τὸν χώρον. Dates are produced in the Oasis of Ammon, but the quantity which grows at Augila is very much greater. Hence being the principal market of the article, the latter is especially mentioned. See above, § 172, note 450.

<sup>474</sup> οἱ Γαράμαντες δὲ οὗτοι. See above, note 456 on § 174.

<sup>475</sup> γλῶσσαν . . . νενομίκασι. See note 484 on i. 142.

<sup>476</sup> τετρίγασι. The Tibboos, the race living in the holes of the Tibesti mountains, still, as formerly, hunted for the purpose of making slaves of them, are said by the Augilians to have a language like the "whistling of birds." But this is the effect of almost any language which is entirely unintelligible upon the ear of an uneducated person. Thus Herodotus endeavours to explain the legend of the pigeon of Dodona, (ii. 57;) and Clytem-

nestra in ÆSCHYLUS compares the unknown foreign language of Cassandra to the voice of the swallow (*Agam.* 1050). See also ARISTOPHANES (*Birds*, 1681). An ingenious attempt has been made to show that the names of many of the tribes mentioned in the Homeric poems are derived from this supposed similarity of their languages to the notes of birds. See the *Cambridge Philological Museum*, vol. i. pp. 609—627.

<sup>477</sup> Ἀτάραντες. So Gaisford prints, and the commentators universally since the time of Salmasius have approved of the change. It is however a conjectural one from Ἀτλάντες, the reading of all the MSS. And it would seem that both PLINY and STEPHANUS BYZANTINUS found the reading Ἀτλάντες in their copies. HEEREN places the tribe in question in the territory of Tegyrry, the fron-



πων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν ἁλέσι μὲν γὰρ σφί ἐστὶ Ἀτάραντες οὖνομα, *Atarantes or Atlantes, who have no individual names.* ἐνὶ δὲ ἐκάστῳ αὐτῶν οὖνομα οὐδὲν κέεται. οὔτοι τῷ ἡλίῳ ὑπερβάλλοντι καταρέωνται, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις πάντα τὰ αἰσχροῦ λαιδορέονται, ὅτι σφείας καίων ἐπιτρίβει, αὐτοὺς τε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν. μετὰ δὲ, δι' ἁλλέων δέκα ἡμερέων ὁδοῦ<sup>178</sup>, ἄλλος κολωνὸς ἁλὸς καὶ ὕδωρ· καὶ ἄνθρωποι περὶ αὐτὸν οἰκεῖν οἰκεῖται δὲ τοῦ ἁλὸς τούτου οὖρος τῷ οὐνομά ἐστι Ἀτλας· ἐστὶ δὲ στεινὸν καὶ κυκλοτερές πάντη ὑψηλὸν δὲ οὕτω δὴ τι λέγεται, ὥς τὰς κορυφὰς αὐτοῦ οὐκ οἶα τε εἶναι ἰδέσθαι· οὐδέποτε γὰρ αὐτὰς ἀπολείπειν νέφεα, οὔτε θέρεος οὔτε χειμῶνος· τούτο τὸν κίονα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ λέγουσι οἱ ἐπιχώριοι εἶναι· ἐπὶ τούτου τοῦ οὐρεος οἱ ἄνθρωποι οὔτοι ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐγένοντο· καλέονται γὰρ δὴ Ἀτλαντες· λέγονται δὲ οὔτε ἐμψυχον οὐδὲν σιτέεσθαι οὔτε ἐνύπνια ὄραν.

Μέχρι μὲν δὴ τῶν Ἀτλάντων τούτων, ἔχω τὰ οὐνόματα τῶν ἐν 185  
τῇ ὀφρῇ κατοικημένων καταλέξει· τὸ δ' ἀπὸ τούτων, οὐκέτι διηκεῖ *Beyond this the desert extends to the pillars of Heracles, and even further.* δ' ὦν ἡ ὀφρὴ μέχρι Ἡρακλεῶν στηλέων, καὶ τὸ ἔξω τούτων *But all that the author knows is the existence of a remarkable* ἐστὶ δὲ ἁλὸς τε μέταλλον ἐν αὐτῇ διὰ δέκα ἡμερέων ὁδοῦ<sup>179</sup>, καὶ ἄνθρωποι οἰκεῖν οἰκεῖται τὰ δὲ οἰκία τούτοις πᾶσι ἐκ τῶν ἁλίων *Further.* χόνδρων οἰκοδομέσθαι<sup>180</sup>. ταῦτα γὰρ ἤδη τῆς Λιβύης ἀνομβρά ἐστι· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἡδυνέατο μένειν οἱ τοίχοι ἐόντες ἅλιοι, εἰ ἔει. ὁ δὲ ἅλς αὐτόθι καὶ λευκὸς καὶ πορφύρεος τὸ εἶδος ὀρύσσεται. ὑπὲρ δὲ

tier town of Fezzan, the halting-places for the caravans from the south. Here the Arabic language ceases and the Bornou begins. The Bornouese are said by LEO AFRICANUS (quoted by Heeren) to have no proper names strictly speaking, but to be called by nicknames derived from some accidental quality. But Herodotus does not seem to mean this, which is in fact the origin of the great majority of surnames in all languages; but that they have no individual names at all, and are a mere herd of men. It is plain that his information is in the highest degree vague; and it is worse than useless to attempt to disguise this by arbitrary emendations and strained explanations.

<sup>178</sup> ὁδοῦ. This word is omitted from the manuscripts M, K, P, S, V.

<sup>179</sup> διὰ δέκα ἡμερέων ὁδοῦ. This ten days' march would probably, in the views of Herodotus, have to be reckoned from the Atlantes, of whom he has just spoken. Heeren attempts to fix the site at the salt

mines of *Tegaza*, spoken of by LEO AFRICANUS, about twenty days' journey from *Timbuctoo*, on the caravan road to Morocco.

<sup>180</sup> ἐκ τῶν ἁλίων χόνδρων οἰκοδομέσθαι. STRABO relates that *Gerrha*, a city built by Chaldean exiles on the coast of the Persian gulf, was constructed of salt, and that when the surface scaled off by the excessive heat of the sun, the inhabitants were accustomed to repair the mischief by sprinkling it with water (xvi. c. 3, p. 382). The houses of *Tegaza* are described by IAN BATUTA as built of rock salt and covered with camels' hides. The mountain *Had-Deffa*, which consists of the purest rock salt, at the eastern extremity of the *Lake of Marks* (the ancient *Tritonia*), is said by modern travellers to be as hard as stone, quite different from pit salt, and to be of a red hue, although the salt which is detached by dew loses this colour and becomes white.

salt mine  
ten days  
off.

τῆς ὀφρύης ταύτης, τὸ πρὸς νότον καὶ μεσόγαίαν τῆς Διβύης, ἐρήμος καὶ ἄνδρος καὶ ἄθηρος καὶ ἄνομβρος καὶ ἄξυλός ἐστι ἡ χώρα· καὶ ἱκμάδος ἐστὶ ἐν αὐτῇ οὐδέν.

186

West of the  
lake Tri-  
tonis the  
tribes of  
the coast  
are not  
nomads.

Οὕτω μὲν μέχρι τῆς Τριτωνίδος λίμνης <sup>441</sup> ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου νομάδες εἰσὶ κρεοφάγοι τε καὶ γαλακτοπόται Αἴβυες καὶ θηλέων τε βοῶν οὐ τι γενομένοι, διότι περ οὐδὲ Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ ὅς οὐ τρέφοντες βοῶν μὲν νυν θηλέων οὐδ' αἱ Κυρηναίων γυναῖκες <sup>442</sup> δικαιοῦσι πατέεσθαι, διὰ τὴν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ Ἴσιον, ἀλλὰ καὶ νηστείας αὐτῇ καὶ ὀρτὰς ἐπιτελέουσι· αἱ δὲ τῶν Βαρκαίων γυναῖκες οὐδὲ ἰῶν πρὸς

187

These  
are very  
healthy,  
and attri-  
bute it to  
the practice  
of cauter-  
izing parts  
of the head  
when young.

τῇσι βουσί γέονται ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτω ἔχει. Τὸ δὲ πρὸς ἐσπέρῃς τῆς Τριτωνίδος λίμνης οὐκέτι νομάδες εἰσὶ Αἴβυες <sup>443</sup>, οὐδὲ νόμοισι τοῖσι αὐτοῖσι χρεώμενοι, οὐδὲ κατὰ τὰ παῖδια ποιεῖντες οἷόν τι καὶ οἱ νομάδες ἐθάσιν ποικίειν· οἱ γὰρ δὴ τῶν Διβύων νομάδες, (εἰ μὲν πάντες, οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως τοῦτο εἶπαι,) ποιεῖσι δὲ αὐτῶν συγχροὶ τοιαύδε τῶν παιδίων τῶν σφετέρων, ἐπεὰν τετραέτεα γένηται, οἷσπῃ προβάτων καίουσιν τὰς ἐν τῇσι κορυφήσι φλέβας· μετ' ἐξέτεροι δὲ αὐτῶν, τὰς ἐν τοῖσι κροτάφοισιν· τοῦδε εἵνεκα, ὥς μὴ σφεας ἐς τὸν πάντα χρόνον καταρρέον φλέγμα ἐκ τῆς κεφαλῆς δηλῆται. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο σφεας λέγουσι εἶναι ὑγιηροτάτους <sup>444</sup>. εἰσὶ γὰρ ὥς ἀληθέως οἱ Αἴβυες ἀνθρώπων πάντων ὑγιηρότατοι, τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν· εἰ μὲν διὰ τοῦτο, οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως εἶπαι, ὑγιηρότατοι δ' ὦν εἰσὶ· ἦν δὲ καίουσιν τὰ παῖδια σπασμός ἐπιγένηται, ἐξείρηται

They cure  
convulsions  
by goats'  
urine.

<sup>441</sup> οὕτω μὲν μέχρι τῆς Τριτωνίδος λίμνης. Here is resumed the account of the tribes on the coast of the Mediterranean Sea which had been broken off with § 180, the intervening five sections being derived from a different class of authorities. See above, note 442 on § 168. It seems not impossible that the mine of rock salt which is described in the last section is an union of accounts of two distinct places, the red rock Had-Deffa and the pits at Bilma.

<sup>442</sup> αἱ Κυρηναίων γυναῖκες. It was quite to be expected that there should be a mixture of race between the early Hellenic settlers and the aborigines whom they found; and that it actually took place appears from the genealogy of Telesicrates (PINDAR, *Pyth.* ix. 109) and from CALLIMACHUS (*Hymn. Apoll.* 85, 87).

<sup>443</sup> οὐκέτι νομάδες εἰσὶ Αἴβυες. It has been thought that this expression is an inaccurate one, from the circumstance of

the *Auses*, a tribe on the west of Lake Tritonis (§ 180), being included among the nomad Libyans (§ 181). But the inaccuracy, such as it is, seems rather to lie in the including such tribes as the *Auses* and *Machlyes* among nomads. They appear by the description to be entirely confined to the shore of the lake, and the deity whom they worship is termed *ασίγερης*, an expression quite inapplicable in the case of a tribe without a local habitation. But all that Herodotus seems to say amounts to stating that the country east of the Lake Tritonis is the region of the nomad races, and that when you pass it you no longer find them. Neither the *Kabales* (§ 171) nor the *Lotus-eaters* (§ 177) appear to be a nomad race in the strict sense of the term.

<sup>444</sup> ὑγιηροτάτους. See note 198 on ii. 77.

σφι ἄκος· τράγου οὖρον σπείσαντες<sup>485</sup> ῥύονται σφρα· λέγω δὲ τὰ  
 λέγουσι αὐτοὶ Λίβυες. Θυσίαι δὲ τοῖσι νομάσι εἰσὶ αἶδε· ἐπεὰν 188  
 τοῦ ὧτος ἀπάρξωνται τοῦ κτήνεος, ῥιπτέουσιν ὑπὲρ τὸν δόμον·  
 τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσαντες, ἀποστρέφουσι τὸν αὐχένα αὐτοῦ. θύουσι  
 δὲ ἡλίῳ καὶ σελήνῃ μούνουσι. τούτοις μὲν νυν πάντες Λίβυες  
 θύουσι· ἀτὰρ οἱ περὶ τὴν Τριτωνίδα λίμνην νέμονται τῇ Ἀθηναίῃ  
 μάλιστα, μετὰ δὲ, τῷ Τρίτῳ καὶ τῷ Ποσειδῶνι. Τὴν δὲ ἄρα 189  
 ἐσθήτα καὶ τὰς αἰγίδας τῶν ἀγαλμάτων τῆς Ἀθηναίης ἐκ τῶν  
 Λιβυσσέων ἐποίησαντο οἱ Ἕλληνες· πλὴν γὰρ ἢ ὅτι σκυτίνη ἢ  
 ἐσθῆς τῶν Λιβυσσέων ἐστὶ, καὶ οἱ θύσανοι οἱ ἐκ τῶν αἰγίδων  
 αὐτῇσι οὐκ ὀφίεσιν εἰσι<sup>486</sup>, ἀλλὰ ἱμάντινοι· τὰ δὲ ἄλλα πάντα κατὰ  
 τῶντ' ἔσταλται· καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ οὖνομα κατηγορεῖ<sup>487</sup>, ὅτι ἐκ Λιβύης  
 ἦκει ἡ στολή τῶν Παλλαδίων· αἰγέας γὰρ περιβάλλονται ψιλὰς  
 περὶ τὴν ἐσθήτα θυσανωτάς αἱ Λιβυσσαι, κεχριμένας ἐρευθεδάνῃ<sup>488</sup>.  
 ἐκ δὲ τῶν αἰγέων τουτέων αἰγίδας οἱ Ἕλληνες μετωνόμασαν· δοκεῖ  
 δ' ἐμοὶ γε καὶ ἡ ὀλοληγὴ ἐν ἱοῖσι ἐνθαῦτα πρῶτον γενέσθαι· κάρτα 190  
 γὰρ ταύτῃ χρέωνται αἱ Λιβυσσαι, καὶ χρέωνται καλῶς. καὶ τέσ-  
 σερας ἵππους συζευγνύναι παρὰ Λιβύων οἱ Ἕλληνες μεμαθήκασιν. Libya.

The mode of sacrifice used by the nomads.

The garb of Athens is that of the Libyan women in the neighbourhood of Tritonia, who wear tippets of red goat-skins fringed.

The four-horsed chariot also came from Libya.

<sup>485</sup> τράγου οὖρον σπείσαντες. The restorative effect would no doubt arise from the ammonia with which the urine is strongly impregnated.

<sup>486</sup> θύσανοι . . . οὐκ ὀφίεσιν εἰσι. The development of the fringe of the *ægis* into snakes was due to the progress of art, and preceded the time of Herodotus by a very little. In the oldest monument of Hellenic pictorial art, the Panathenaic vase discovered by Mr. Burgon, the fringe still remains.

<sup>487</sup> καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ οὖνομα κατηγορεῖ. The name *αἰγλή* is unquestionably a purely Hellenic word; so that if the peculiar garb of Athens and its name (*αἰγίς*) were imported simultaneously into Hellas, and both derived from the Libyan women, it cannot be supposed that these were a pure native population. Now both the *αἰγίς* and the *ὀλοληγὴ* are in the Homeric poems found as part and parcel of the garb and ritual of Athens;—which decisively shows their familiarity in Asiatic Greece long before the settlement of Battus at Cyrene. Nevertheless the garb of Athens being the same as the common dress of the Libyan women seems on the other hand a certain evidence

that such a representation of the deity must be of Libyan origin,—or, at least, could not possibly have been brought into Libya from a country where the costume was different. And as soon as ever it became a sacred garb, a sacredness would also attach to its name, and the two, if exported, would be exported together. The combination of these varied *data* must be very arbitrary; but as one hypothesis, I should be inclined to suggest that the Libyans found by Battus were the descendants of *very early* settlers (perhaps *Carian* islanders) who had become incorporated with the aboriginal Africans (perhaps *Berbers*), had adopted the *native* *ægis*-bearing deity, and super-added to her costume the casque and shield. (See note 467 on § 180, above.) If these settlements happened before the time represented by the reign of Minos, there would be room left for the exportation of Athens with her whole costume and ritual to Asiatic Greece before the composition of the Homeric poems.

<sup>488</sup> κεχριμένας ἐρευθεδάνῃ. These red-dened goat-skins are perhaps represented by the red morocco leather of the present day.

**190** Θάπτονσι δὲ τοὺς ἀποθνήσκοντας οἱ νομάδες κατὰπερ οἱ Ἕλληνες, πλὴν Νασαμώνων οὗτοι δὲ κατημένους θάπτονσι, φυλάσσοντας, ἔπειδ' ἀπὴν τὴν ψυχὴν, ὅπως μιν κατίσουσι, μηδὲ ὑπτιος ἀποθανέεται. οἰκήματα δὲ σύμπηκτα ἐξ ἀνθηρίκων ἐνεκμένων περὶ σχοίνους ἐστὶ, καὶ ταῦτα περιφορητά· νόμοισι μὲν τοιοῦτοισι οὗτοι χρέωνται.

The nomad mode of sepulture.

Their portable huts.

**191** Τὸ δὲ πρὸς ἐσπέρης τοῦ Τρίτωνος ποταμοῦ, Λυσέων ἔχονται ἀροτήρες ἤδη Λίβυες, καὶ οἰκίας νομίζοντες ἐκτῆσθαι τοῖσι οὐνομα κέεται Μάξυες· οἱ τὰ ἐπίδεξιά τῶν κεφαλῶν κομόωσι, τὰ δ' ἐπαρστερὰ κείρουσι· τὸ δὲ σῶμα χρίονται μίλτῳ· φασὶ δὲ οὗτοι εἶναι τῶν ἐκ Τροίης ἀνδρῶν. ἡ δὲ χώρα<sup>489</sup> αὕτη τε καὶ ἡ λοιπὴ τῆς Λιβύης ἡ πρὸς ἐσπέρην, πολλὰ θηριωδεστέρα τε καὶ δασυτέρα ἐστὶ τῆς τῶν νομάδων χώρας· ἡ μὲν γὰρ δὴ πρὸς τὴν ἡὼ τῆς Λιβύης, τὴν οἱ νομάδες νέμονται, ἔστι ταπεινὴ τε καὶ ψαμμιάδης, μέχρι τοῦ Τρίτωνος ποταμοῦ· ἡ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρης, ἡ τῶν ἀροτήρων, ὀρεινὴ τε κάρτα καὶ δασέα καὶ θηριώδης· καὶ γὰρ οἱ ὄφεις οἱ ὑπερμεγάρους καὶ οἱ λέοντες κατὰ τούτους εἰσὶ, καὶ οἱ ἐλέφαντές τε καὶ ἄρκτοι<sup>490</sup>, καὶ ἀσπίδες τε καὶ ὄνοι οἱ τὰ κέρα<sup>491</sup> ἔχοντες· καὶ οἱ κυνοκέφαλοι, καὶ οἱ ἀκέφαλοι<sup>492</sup> οἱ ἐν τοῖσι στήθεσι τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἔχοντες, (ὡς δὴ λέγονται γε ὑπὸ Λιβύων,) καὶ οἱ ἄγριοι ἄνδρες, καὶ γυναῖκες ἄγριαι, καὶ ἄλλα πλείθει πολλὰ θηρία.

**192** ἀκατάφυστα<sup>493</sup>. Κατὰ τοὺς Νομάδας δέ ἐστι τούτων οὐδέν, ἀλλ'

West of the river Triton are the agricultural Libyans. The *Maxyes*.

Monsters found in the country.

<sup>489</sup> ἡ δὲ χώρα, κ.τ.λ. This part of Africa, answering to the pashalik of Tunis, was a part of the domain or under the influence of Carthage; and the exclusive policy of that country doubtless contributed to exaggerate the formidable character of the animals which inhabited the region. The soldiers of Regulus were very reluctant to follow him into a country about which such terrible stories were current. (See the next note.)

<sup>490</sup> οἱ ὄφεις . . . . ἄρκτοι. The use of the article is to be remarked. "The serpents and the lions," i.e. which we hear such stories of. So again οἱ κυνοκέφαλοι and οἱ ἀκέφαλοι. See notes 206, 222, and 232 on Book ii., and note 445, above. No elephants are found now in this region, although they seem to have existed in the time of Pompey. See PLUTARCH. *Pomp.* § 12.

<sup>491</sup> οἱ τὰ κέρα. One manuscript (c) omits οἱ τὰ. The animal described is per-

haps the *nylghau*, unless it be merely taken from a picture. Such a representation is to be found in the *Monuments Egyptiens*, pl. 84.

<sup>492</sup> καὶ οἱ ἀκέφαλοι. That the author intends a human race by these seems likely from his using the term *στάθες*, which could hardly be applied to any other. They have doubtless only a traditional existence. PLINY (v. 8) terms them *Blennyæ*, and SIR JOHN MANDEVILLE, who calls them "folk of fowle stature and of cursed kynde, that have no heddes, and here eyen ben in here scholdres," puts them in "an ile toward the south" (p. 203). Possibly the origin of the fiction is some symbolical representation. Pliny (l. c.) speaks also of some *Himantopodes*, which seem to be a fiction arising out of the symbolical representations of *Abrahas*. See *Monuments Egyptiens*, pl. 86.

<sup>493</sup> ἀκατάφυστα. The manuscripts δ,

ἄλλα τοιάδε· πύγαργοι<sup>496</sup>, καὶ ζορκάδες, καὶ βουβάλιες, καὶ ὄνοι, Animals found among the nomad tribes.  
οὐκ οἱ τὰ κέρα ἔχοντες ἀλλὰ ἄλλοι ἅπτοιοι· οὐ γὰρ δὴ πίνουσι·  
καὶ ὄρνες, τῶν τὰ κέρα τοῖσι φοῖνιξι οἱ πῆχες ποιεῖνται<sup>495</sup>.  
μέγαθος δὲ τὸ θηρίον τοῦτο κατὰ βοῦν ἐστὶ καὶ βασσάρια<sup>497</sup>, καὶ  
ῥαιναί, καὶ ὕστριχες, καὶ κριοὶ ἄγριοι, καὶ δίκτυες<sup>498</sup>, καὶ θῶες, καὶ  
πάνθηρες, καὶ βόρνες, καὶ κροκόδειλοι ὅσον τε τριπῆχες χερσαῖοι,  
τῇσι σαύρησι ἐμφερέστατοι· καὶ στρουθοὶ κατάγαιοι, καὶ ὄφεις  
σμικροὶ κέρας ἐν ἑκάστος ἔχοντες. ταῦτά τε δὴ αὐτόθι ἐστὶ θηρία,  
καὶ ἅπερ τῇ ἄλλῃ, πλὴν ἐλάφου τε καὶ ὕδ' ἀγρίου ἐλαφος δὲ καὶ  
ὕδ' ἀγρίου ἐν Λιβύῃ πάμπαν οὐκ ἔστι<sup>497</sup>. μῶν δὲ γένεα τριξὰ  
αὐτόθι ἐστὶ· οἱ μὲν δίποδες καλέονται<sup>499</sup>, οἱ δὲ ζεγέριες<sup>498</sup>. (τὸ δὲ  
ὄνομα τοῦτο ἐστὶ μὲν Λιβυκόν, δύναται δὲ κατὰ Ἑλλάδα γλῶσ-  
σαν βουνοί) οἱ δὲ ἐχίνες. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ γαλαὶ ἐν τῷ σιλφίῳ γινώ-  
μεναι, τῇσι Ταρτησσίησι ὁμοιόταται. τσαῦτα μὲν νυν θηρία ἢ  
τῶν Νομάδων Λιβύων γῇ ἔχει, ὅσον ἡμεῖς ἱστοροῦντες ἐπὶ μακρό-  
τατον οἶοι τε ἐγενόμεθα ἐξικέσθαι.

d have ἀκατάφαστα. Bekker reads κα-  
τάφαστα, D'Orville ἐκατάφαστα.

<sup>496</sup> πύγαργοι, possibly "bisons." The animal is spoken of in *Deuteronomy* (xiv. 5). The ζορκάδες (for which S has δορκέες and V δορκάδες) and βουβάλιες are two species of antelope, and the same may be said of the ὄρνος,—an animal which ARISTOTLE calls ὄρνος and PLINY oryx.

<sup>495</sup> τῶν τὰ κέρα . . ποιεῖνται, "whose horns are made into the frames for the Phœnician lutes." See ATHENÆUS, xiv. p. 63. The construction of the sentence is the same as that of viii. 27: ἡ δὲ δεκάτη ἐγένετο τῶν χρημάτων ἐκ ταύτης τῆς μάχης οἱ μεγάλοι ἀνδριάντες οἱ περὶ τὸν τρίποδα συνεστῶτες.

<sup>497</sup> βασσάρια, "foxes." The *Etymologicum Magnum* says: λέγεται βάσσαρος ἢ ἀλάττη ἐκ Κυρηναίων. If the word be a local one, we may conjecture that here the author is following (mediately or immediately) a Cyrenian authority.

<sup>498</sup> δίκτυες. What these animals are it is impossible to say, as no other author mentions them. The Lacedæmonians gave the name δίκτυς to the 'kite' (HESYCHIUS), but it seems impossible that any bird should be interposed among a list of beasts.

<sup>497</sup> ὕδ' ἀγρίου . . . οὐκ ἔστι. Herodotus in this statement is followed by ARISTOTLE (*Hist. Animal.* viii. 28). But SHAW

says that wild hogs abound, and are in fact the chief food of the lion. In Socrates (lat. 13°, long. 6°) CLAPPERTON found them, but Herodotus is here apparently confining himself to the north of Africa. Perhaps the origin of the assertion is, that while in Greece the deer and boar comprised the whole of the nobler kind of game, in Africa they constituted a very small part in comparison with the enormous flocks of antelopes of different kinds.

<sup>499</sup> οἱ μὲν δίποδες καλέονται. These animals are doubtless the *jerboa*, which, although a quadruped, uses its forelegs very little, but, like the kangaroo, skips and sits upon its hind legs. It is probably the creature mentioned in ISAIAH (lxvi. 17), which our translators render by the word 'mouse.'

<sup>498</sup> οἱ δὲ ζεγέριες. BOCHART (quoted by Larcher, *ad loc.*) derives this word from the Punic word *ziger*, which is said to mean a kind of turnip. If the plural *zigeri* meant "bulbs," it would not be far off the signification of *bouvol*. Bochart wished to change *bouvol* into *bouvoloi*, but it seems doubtful whether *bouvol* is not really an adjective, the masculine of the feminine *bouvolis*, which is used by ÆSCHYLUS (*Suppl.* 117. 128). The pair of forms would be analogous to *δρῦνός* and *δρῦνός*, *χρυσῶτος* and *χρυσῶτις*.

193 Μαξίων δὲ Λιβίων Ζαΐηκες<sup>500</sup> ἔχονται, τοῖσι αἱ γυναῖκες

194 ἡνωχεῦσι τὰ ἄρματα ἐς τὸν πόλεμον. Τούτων δὲ Γύζαντες<sup>501</sup>  
*Zameces, Gyantes.* ἔχονται, ἐν τοῖσι μέλι μὲν πολλὸν μέλισσαι κατεργάζονται, πολλὰ

195 δ' ἐτι πλέον λέγεται δημιουργοὺς ἄνδρας ποιεῖν<sup>502</sup>. μιλτοῦνται δ'  
 ὦν πάντες οὔτοι, καὶ πιθηκοφαγέουσι· οἱ δὲ σφι ἄφθονοι ὅσοι ἐν  
 τοῖσι οὔρεσι γίνονται. Κατὰ τούτους<sup>503</sup> δὲ λέγουσι Καρχηδόνιοι  
 κέεσθαι νῆσον τῇ οὔνομα εἶναι Κύραυνιν, μήκος μὲν διηκοσίῳ  
 σταδίων πλάτος δὲ στενὴν, διαβατὸν ἐκ τῆς ἡπείρου, ἐλαέων τε  
 μεστήν καὶ ἀμπέλων· λίμνην δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ εἶναι, ἐκ τῆς αἱ παρθένου  
 τῶν ἐπιχωρίων πτεροῖσι ὀρνίθων κεχριμένοισι πίσση ἐκ τῆς ἰλῆος  
 ψήγμα ἀναφέρουσι χρυσοῦ. ταῦτα εἰ μὲν ἐστὶ ἀληθὲς οὐκ οἶδα,  
 τὰ δὲ λέγεται γράφω· εἴη δ' ἂν πᾶν ὅκου καὶ ἐν Ζακύνθῳ ἐκ  
 λίμνης καὶ ὕδατος πίσσαν ἀναφερομένην αὐτὸς ἐγὼ ὤρεον. εἰσὶ  
 μὲν καὶ πλεῖνες αἱ λίμναι αὐτόθι, ἡ δὲ ὦν μεγίστη αὐτέων ἐβδο-  
 μήκοντα ποδῶν πάντη βάθος δὲ διόργγιός ἐστι· ἐς ταύτην κοντὸν  
 κατιεῖσι ἐπ' ἄκρῳ μυρσίην προσδήσαντες, καὶ ἔπειτα ἀναφέρουσι  
 τῇ μυρσίῃ πίσσαν, ὁδὴν μὲν ἔχουσιν ἀσφάλτου τὰ δ' ἄλλα τῆς  
 Πιερικῆς πίσσης ἀμείνω<sup>504</sup>. ἐσχέουσι δὲ ἐς λάκκον ὀρωρυγμένον  
 ἀγχοῦ τῆς λίμνης· ἐπεὰν δὲ ἀθροίσωσι συκὴν, οὕτω ἐς τοὺς  
 ἀμφορέας ἐκ τοῦ λάκκου καταχέουσι· ὃ τι δ' ἂν ἐσπέσῃ ἐς τὴν  
 λίμνην, ὑπὸ γῆν ἰὸν ἀναφαίνεται ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ· ἡ δὲ ἀπέχει ὥς  
 τέσσερα στάδια ἀπὸ τῆς λίμνης<sup>505</sup>. οὕτω ὦν καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς νήσου  
 τῆς ἐπὶ Λιβύῃ κειμένης οἰκότα ἐστὶ ἀληθινή<sup>506</sup>.

<sup>500</sup> Ζαΐηκες. The manuscripts S and V have Ζάβυκες. Perhaps both the β and υ are merely dialectal varieties of the same sound, which may be that expressed in the early Greek by the digamma.

<sup>501</sup> Γύζαντες. This is the reading of the majority of MSS, but some have Ζύζαντες. Another form Βύζαντες had the authority of other writers. STEPHANUS BYZANTINUS (sub v.) says: Λίβυες περὶ Καρχηδόνα τῆς Λιβύης· ἔθνος, ἀφ' οὗ ἡ πόλις Βυζάντιον, καὶ Βυζάντιοι οἱ ἐν Λιβύῃ· παρ' Ἡροδότῃ δὲ κακῶς διὰ τοῦ γ Γύζαντες.

<sup>502</sup> πολλὰ δὲ ἐτι πλέον δημιουργοὺς ἄνδρας ποιεῖν. See note on vii. 31.

<sup>503</sup> κατὰ τούτους, "abreast of these." See note 195 on ii. 75, and note 45 on iii. 14.

<sup>504</sup> τῆς Πιερικῆς πίσσης ἀμείνω. Herodotus's authority probably merely judged

from appearance. The substance really possesses a corrosive quality, which renders it unfit to be applied to cordage, although mixed with other pitch it does for paying the outside of boats. The Pierian pitch with which Herodotus compares the produce of the Zante tar springs is spoken of by PLINY (N. H. xiv. 21) as having the same repute in Greece as the pitch from Mount Ida enjoyed in Asia. The Zante tar can scarcely have been an important article of commerce, as its present yield is no more than about twenty barrels annually. It became however sufficiently well known for PLINY to compare it with the Babylonian and contrast it with the Judean (xxxv. 15).

<sup>505</sup> ἀπέχει ὥς τέσσερα στάδια ἀπὸ τῆς λίμνης. The exactness of the eye-witness is manifest from this expression, although the face of the locality is changed. The

195 Island Cyraenae, where the Carthaginians say gold is obtained from the mud of a pool. Tar springs of Zacynthus.

Λέγουσι δὲ καὶ τὰδε Καρχηδόνιοι εἶναι τῆς Λιβύης χώρον τε 196  
καὶ ἀνθρώπους ἔξω Ἑρακληῶν στηλέων κατοικημένους, ἐς τοὺς Carthagi-  
ἐπεὰν ἀπικνῶνται καὶ ἐξέλωνται τὰ φορτία, θέντες αὐτὰ ἐπεξῆς count of the  
παρὰ τὴν κυματωγὴν, ἐσβάντες ἐς τὰ πλοῖα τύφειν καπνὸν τοὺς of barter  
δ' ἐπιχωρίους ἰδομένους τὸν καπνὸν ἵεναι ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ with the  
ἔπειτα ἀντὶ τῶν φορτίων χρυσὸν τιθέναι, καὶ ἐξαναχωρεῖν πρόσω natives be-  
ἀπὸ τῶν φορτίων τοὺς δὲ Καρχηδονίους ἐκβάντας σκέπτεσθαι beyond the  
καὶ ἦν μὲν φαίνεται σφι ἄξιος ὁ χρυσὸς τῶν φορτίων, ἀπελόμενοι pillars of  
ἀπαλλάσσονται, ἦν δὲ μὴ ἄξιος, ἐσβάντες ὀπίσω ἐς τὰ πλοῖα Heracles.  
κατέαται· οἱ δὲ προσελθόντες ἄλλον πρὸς ὧν ἔθηκαν χρυσὸν, ἐς οὐ  
ἂν πείθωσι· ἀδικεῖν δὲ οὐδετέρους<sup>507</sup>. οὔτε γὰρ αὐτοὺς τοῦ χρυσοῦ  
ἄπτεσθαι πρὶν ἂν σφι ἀπισωθῇ τῇ ἀξίᾳ τῶν φορτίων, οὔτ' ἐκείνους  
τῶν φορτίων ἄπτεσθαι πρότερον ἢ αὐτοὶ τὸ χρυσοῖον λάβωσι.

Οὗτοι μὲν εἰσι τοὺς ἡμεῖς ἔχομεν Λιβύων ὀνομάσαι· καὶ τούτων 197  
οἱ πολλοὶ βασιλέως τοῦ Μήδων οὔτε τι νῦν οὔτε τότε ἐφρόντιζον In Libya  
οὐδέν· τόσον δὲ ἔτι ἔχω εἰπεῖν περὶ τῆς χώρας ταύτης, ὅτι τέσσερα are two na-  
ἔθνεα νέμεται αὐτὴν καὶ οὐ πλέω τούτων, ὅσον ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν καὶ τὰ tive and two  
μὲν δύο αὐτόχθονα τῶν ἐθνῶν, τὰ δὲ δύο οὐ. Λίβυες μὲν καὶ foreign  
Αἰθίοπες αὐτόχθονες, οἱ μὲν τὰ πρὸς βορρῶν οἱ δὲ τὰ πρὸς νότον races.  
τῆς Λιβύης οἰκέοντες· Φοῖνικες δὲ καὶ Ἑλληνες ἐπηλυδες. Δοκεῖ 198

tar springs were visited by HAWKINS in 1795, and a full description of them is given in *Walpole's Turkey*, vol. ii. At the s.e. extremity of the island a morass of an oval form and about one-fourth of a mile long is formed by a narrow bar of shingle which has been thrown up by the sea, and intercepts the water which would otherwise run out. There are two springs from which the tar is taken,—the most productive being that which is farthest from the sea, and to which Herodotus here alludes. It now rises in the peat moss, in which a hole is cut for the purpose of procuring the tar, which, gradually oozing out from the surface of the earth, settles at the bottom of the hole. In calm weather the bitumen is observed to rise from the bottom of the sea in several parts of the adjoining bay; and there can be no doubt that it was this circumstance which led to the notion that substances thrown into the hole appear in the sea.

<sup>506</sup> οὕτω δὲν . . . οἰκόντα ἐστὶ ἀληθῆ. It seems strange that the existence of any

single tar spring should have had such weight with the writer as to render the Carthaginian story credible to him, unless he had been ignorant of the existence of others. Yet he describes (vi. 119) some springs, of the same kind but even more remarkable, and alludes to others (i. 179). Perhaps however the passage in the sixth book is an addition by an ancient editor. See note on *οἱ καὶ μέχρι ἐμὸ* . . . . . ἀρχαίην γλώσσῃ.

<sup>507</sup> ἀδικεῖν δὲ οὐδετέρους. All modern travellers confirm the credibility of this story, by showing its coincidence with the practice of the present day in the traffic between the different races of Africa. There being no intercourse between them except on the arrival of the caravans, and the use of money being unknown, trade must of necessity be a barter, and business be conducted by signs. SHAW gives an account of this kind of transaction between the western Moors and the Nigritians, and LYON of the same between some tribes in Soudan and the traders from Fes.

Remarkable  
fertility of  
the *Cyrena*.

199

Succession  
of crops at  
*Cyrene*,

where the  
harvest  
lasts four  
months.

200

The army  
sent by  
Aryandes  
besieges  
*Barca* for  
nine  
months,

δέ μοι οὐδ' ἀρετὴν εἶναι τις ἢ Λιβύῃ σπουδαίη<sup>508</sup>, ὥστε ἡ Ἀσίῃ ἢ  
Εὐρώπῃ παραβληθῆναι, πλὴν Κίνυπος μούνης· τὸ γὰρ δὴ αὐτὸ  
οὐνομα ἢ γῆ τῇ ποταμῷ ἔχει· αὕτη δὲ ὁμοίῃ τῇ ἀρίστῃ γεῖν  
Δήμητρος καρπὸν ἐκφέρειν, οὐδὲ οἶκε οὐδὲν τῇ ἄλλῃ Λιβύῃ  
μελάνγαίος τε γάρ ἐστι, καὶ ἔπυδρος πίδαξι· καὶ οὔτε αὐχμοῦ  
φροντίζουσα οὐδὲν, οὔτε θμβρον πλέω πιούσα δεδήληται· ὕεται γὰρ  
δὴ ταῦτα τῆς Λιβύης· τῶν δὲ ἐκφορίων τοῦ καρποῦ ταῦτά μέτρα  
τῇ Βαβυλωνίῃ<sup>509</sup> γῆ κατίσταται· ἀγαθὴ δὲ γῆ καὶ τὴν Εὐεσπερί-  
ται νέμονται· ἐπ' ἑκατοστὰ γὰρ, ἔπειδ' αὕτη ἐωυτῆς ἀριστα ἐνείκη,  
ἐκφέρει· ἢ δὲ ἐν τῇ Κίνυπι, ἐπὶ τριησούσια· Ἐχει δὲ καὶ ἡ Κυρη-  
ναίη χώρα, ἐούσα ὑψηλοτάτη ταύτης τῆς Λιβύης τὴν οἱ Νομάδες  
νέμονται, τρεῖς ὥρας ἐν ἐωυτῇ ἀξίας θώματος· πρῶτα μὲν γὰρ τὰ  
παραθαλάσσια τῶν καρπῶν ὀργᾷ ἀμᾶσθαι τε καὶ τρυγᾶσθαι· τῶν  
τῶν δὲ συγκεκομισμένων, τῶν ὑπερθαλασσιδίων χώρων τὰ μέσσα  
ὀργᾷ συγκομίζεσθαι, τὰ βουνοὺς καλέουσι<sup>510</sup>· συγκεκόμισται τε  
οὗτος ὁ μέσος καρπὸς καὶ ὁ ἐν τῇ κατυπερτάτῃ τῆς γῆς πεπαίνεται  
τε καὶ ὀργᾷ· ὥστε ἐκπέποται τε καὶ καταβέβρωται ὁ πρῶτος καρ-  
πὸς, καὶ ὁ τελευταῖος συμπαραγίνεται· οὕτω ἐκ' ὀκτὼ μῆνας  
Κυρηναίους ὁπώρη ἐπέχει· ταῦτα μὲν νυν ἐπιτοσοῦτον εἰρήσθω.

Οἱ δὲ Φερετίμης τιμωροὶ Πέρσαι ἐπεὶ τε ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου στα-  
λάντες ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀρυνδῶ ἀπίκατο ἐς τὴν Βάρκην, ἐπολιόρκεον  
τὴν πόλιν ἐπαγγελλόμενοι ἐκδιδόναι τοὺς αἰτίους τοῦ φόνου τοῦ  
Ἀρκεσίλειω· τῶν δὲ πᾶν γὰρ ἦν τὸ πλῆθος μεταίτιον<sup>511</sup>, οὐκ  
ἐδέκοντο τοὺς λόγους, ἐνθαῦτα δὲ ἐπολιόρκεον τὴν Βάρκην ἐπὶ  
μῆνας ἐννέα, ὀρύσσοντές τε ὀρύγματα ὑπόγαια<sup>512</sup> φέροντα ἐς τὸ  
τεῖχος καὶ προσβολὰς καρτερὰς ποιούμενοι· τὰ μὲν νυν ὀρύγματα  
ἀνὴρ χαλκεὺς ἀνεῦρε ἐπιχάλκω ἀσπίδι, ὧδε ἐπιφρασθεῖς περι-

<sup>508</sup> οὐδ' ἀρετὴν εἶναι τις ἢ Λιβύῃ σπου-  
δαίη. One manuscript (S) has οὐδ' ἀρετὴ  
εἶναι τις ἐν Λιβύῃ σπουδαίη. But the  
text is supported by the unanimous con-  
sent of every other.

<sup>509</sup> ταῦτά μέτρα τῇ Βαβυλωνίῃ. See i.  
193.

<sup>510</sup> τὰ βουνοὺς καλέουσι. On the mean-  
ing and probable derivation of this word,  
see *Excursus*.

<sup>511</sup> τῶν δὲ πᾶν γὰρ ἦν τὸ πλῆθος μεταί-  
τιον, "but as of them the whole popula-  
tion was conjointly guilty." For the con-  
struction see note 383 on § 149, above.

<sup>512</sup> ὀρύσσοντές τε ὀρύγματα ὑπόγαια.  
The practice of mining as an important  
part of siege operations was probably in-  
herited by the Persians from the Medes,  
and by these from the yet more scientific  
Babylonians and Assyrians. In the Nine-  
veh sculptures the operation is continually  
represented. It appears to have struck  
the Greeks (whose scientific strategies  
perhaps may be considered to date from  
the time of Alexander's expedition) very  
forcibly in the time of Herodotus. See v.  
116, and vi. 18.



φέρων αὐτὴν ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχεος προσίσχε πρὸς τὸ δάπεδον τῆς πόλιος· τὰ μὲν δὴ ἄλλα ἔσκε κωφὰ πρὸς ἃ προσίσχε, κατὰ δὲ τὰ ὀρουσόμενα ἤχεσκε ὁ χαλκὸς τῆς ἀσπίδος· ἀντορύσσοντες δ' ἂν <sup>113</sup> ταύτῃ οἱ Βαρκαῖοι ἔκτεινον τῶν Περσέων τοὺς γεωρυχέοντας. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ οὕτω ἐξευρέθη· τὰς δὲ προσβολὰς ἀπεκρούοντο οἱ Βαρκαῖοι. Χρόνον δὲ δὴ πολλὸν τριβομένων, καὶ πιπτόντων ἀμφοτέρων πολλῶν καὶ οὐκ ἦσσαν τῶν Περσέων, Ἀμασις ὁ στρατηγὸς τοῦ πεζοῦ μηχανάται τοιάδε μαθὼν τοὺς Βαρκαίους, ὥς κατὰ μὲν τὸ ἰσχυρὸν οὐκ αἰρετοὶ εἶεν δόλῳ δὲ αἰρετοὶ, ποιέει τοιάδε· νυκτὸς τάφρον <sup>114</sup> ὀρύξας εὐρέην, ἐπέτεινε ξύλα ἀσθενέα ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς· κατύπερθε δὲ ἐπιπολῆς τῶν ξύλων χοῦν γῆς ἐπεφόρησε, ποιέων τῇ ἄλλῃ γῇ ἰσόπεδον· ἅμα ἡμέρῃ δὲ ἐς λόγους προεκαλέετο τοὺς Βαρκαίους· οἱ δὲ ἀσπαστῶς ὑπήκουσαν, ἐς ὃ σφί ἔαδε ὁμολογίῃ χρήσασθαι· τὴν δὲ ὁμολογίην ἐποιεῖντο τοιήνδε τινα, ἐπὶ τῆς κρυπτῆς τάφρου τάμνοντες ὄρκια· ἔς τ' ἂν ἡ γῇ αὕτη οὕτω ἔχῃ, μένειν τὸ ὄρκιον κατὰ χώραν, καὶ Βαρκαίους τε ὑποτελέειν φάναι ἄξιον βασιλεῖ καὶ Πέρσας μηδὲν ἄλλο νεοχμοῖν κατὰ Βαρκαίους <sup>115</sup>. μετὰ δὲ τὸ ὄρκιον, Βαρκαῖοι μὲν πιστεύσαντες τοῖτοισι αὐτοὶ τε ἐξήϊσαν ἐκ τοῦ ἄσπετος καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἔων παρίεναι ἐς τὸ τεῖχος τὸν βουλόμενον, τὰς πύλας πάσας ἀνοίξαντες· οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι καταρρήξαντες τὴν κρυπτὴν γέφυραν ἔθεον ἔσω ἐς τὸ τεῖχος. κατέρρηξαν δὲ τοῦδε εἵνεκα τὴν ἐποίησαν γέφυραν, ἵνα ἐμπεδορκόειεν ταμόντες τοῖσι Βαρκαίοισι χρόνον μένειν αἰεὶ τὸ ὄρκιον ὅσον ἂν ἡ γῇ μένῃ κατὰ τὰ τότε εἶχε· καταρρήξαι δὲ οὐκέτι ἔμενε τὸ ὄρκιον κατὰ χώραν.

and is baffled.

201  
Amasis attempts a stratagem, and by treachery occupies the town.

Τοὺς μὲν νυν αἰτιωτάτους τῶν Βαρκαίων ἡ Φερετίμη, ἐπεὶ τε οἱ <sup>202</sup> ἐκ τῶν Περσέων παρεδόθησαν, ἀνεσκολόπισε κύκλῳ τοῦ τείχεος, Φερετίμη's cruel revenge.  
τῶν δὲ σφί γυναικῶν τοὺς μαζοὺς <sup>116</sup> ἀποταμοῦσα περιέστίξε καὶ

<sup>113</sup> ἂν. This particle is to be taken with ἔκτεινον. Translate: "and the Barcaeans would countermine in this region and kill those of the Persians who were working the sap."

<sup>114</sup> τάφρον. Three MSS and Suidas (v. τάφρος) give the form τάφρην, which in § 28, above, is the reading of all the MSS.

<sup>115</sup> κατὰ Βαρκαίους. Gaisford reads κατὰ Βαρκαίων. But a large number of MSS have the reading in the text, and in v. 19, the expression μηδὲν νεοχμῶσαι

κατ' ἄνδρας τούτους rests on the authority of nearly all.

<sup>116</sup> τοὺς μαζοὺς. The grammarians confine this form to the breast of the male, but the distinction appears to be a factitious refinement of the Alexandrines. In ii. 85, above, and ix. 112, below, the greater part of the MSS have the form μαζοὺς, and here only one (V) has μαστός. Yet in iii. 133, and v. 18, there is an unanimous consent for the form μαστός.

τούτοις τὸ τεῖχος· τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς τῶν Βαρκαίων λήην ἐκέλευσε θέσθαι τοὺς Πέρσας, πλὴν ὅσοι αὐτῶν ἦσαν Βαττιάδαι τε καὶ τοῦ φύνου οὐ μεταίτιοι· τούτοις δὲ τὴν πόλιν ἐπέτρεψε ἡ Φερετὶμη.

203

The Persians carry off the bulk of these Barcæans into slavery.

They make an attempt on Cyrene, but fail. A panic fear falls on them.

Τοὺς ὧν δὴ λοιποὺς τῶν Βαρκαίων οἱ Πέρσαι ἀνδραποδισάμενοι ἀπήγεσαν ὀπίσω καὶ ἐπεὶ τε ἐπὶ τῇ Κυρηναίων πόλει ἐπέστησαν, οἱ Κυρηναῖοι λόγιόν τι ἀποσιεύμενοι<sup>517</sup> διεξῆκαν αὐτοὺς διὰ τοῦ ἄστεος· διεξιούσης δὲ τῆς στρατιῆς, Βάδρης<sup>518</sup> μὲν ὁ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατοῦ στρατηγὸς ἐκέλευε αἰρέειν τὴν πόλιν, Ἀμασις δὲ ὁ τοῦ πεζοῦ οὐκ ἔα· ἐπὶ Βάρκην γὰρ ἀποσταλῆναι μούνην Ἑλληνίδα πόλιν ἐς δὲ διεξελθούσι καὶ ἰζομένοισι ἐπὶ Διὸς Λυκαίου ὄχθον μετεμέλησέ σφι οὐ σχοῦσι τὴν Κυρήνην, καὶ ἐπειρώντο τὸ δεύτερον παρίεναι ἐς αὐτήν· οἱ δὲ Κυρηναῖοι οὐ περιώρεον. τοῖσι δὲ Πέρσῃσι, οὐδενὸς μαχομένου, φόβος ἐνέπεσε<sup>519</sup>. ἀποδραμόντες τε ὅσον ἐξήκοντα στάδια, ἕζοντο· ἰδρυθέντι δὲ τῷ στρατοσπέδῳ ταύτῃ ἦλθε παρὰ Ἀρυάνδῳ ἄγγελος ἀποκαλέων αὐτοὺς· οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι Κυρηναίων δεσθέντες ἐπόδια σφι δοῦναι ἔτυχον, λαβόντες δὲ ταῦτα ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον· παραλαβόντες δὲ τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν αὐτοὺς Λίβυνες, τῆς τε ἐσθῆτος εἵνεκα καὶ τῆς σκευῆς τοὺς ὑπολειπομένους αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπελκομένους<sup>520</sup> ἐφόνεον, ἐς δὲ ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἀπικέατο. Οὗτος ὁ Περσέων στρατὸς τῆς Λιβύης ἐκαστάτῳ ἐς Εὐεσπερίδας ἦλθε. τοὺς δὲ ἡνδραποδίσαντο τῶν Βαρκαίων, τούτους δὲ ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἀνασπαστοὺς ἐποίησαν παρὰ βασιλέα· βασιλεὺς δὲ σφι Δαρεῖος ἔδωκε τῆς Βακτρὴς χώρας κόμην ἐγκατοικῆσαι. οἱ δὲ τῇ κόμῃ ταύτῃ οὖνομα ἔθεντο Βάρκην, ἥπερ ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦν οἰκευμένη ἐν τῇ γῇ τῇ Βακτρῇ<sup>521</sup>.

On their retreat home all stragglers are cut off by the natives.

204

tives.

Οὗτος ὁ Περσέων στρατὸς τῆς Λιβύης ἐκαστάτῳ ἐς Εὐεσπερίδας ἦλθε. τοὺς δὲ ἡνδραποδίσαντο τῶν Βαρκαίων, τούτους δὲ ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἀνασπαστοὺς ἐποίησαν παρὰ βασιλέα· βασιλεὺς δὲ σφι Δαρεῖος ἔδωκε τῆς Βακτρὴς χώρας κόμην ἐγκατοικῆσαι. οἱ δὲ τῇ κόμῃ ταύτῃ οὖνομα ἔθεντο Βάρκην, ἥπερ ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦν οἰκευμένη ἐν τῇ γῇ τῇ Βακτρῇ<sup>521</sup>.

205

Darius settles the Barcæans in Bactria.

Οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ ἡ Φερετὶμη εὐ τὴν ζῶν κατέπλεξε ὥς γὰρ δὴ τάχιστα ἐκ τῆς Λιβύης τισαμένη τοὺς Βαρκαίους ἀπενύστησε ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον, ἀπέθανε κακῶς· ζῶσα γὰρ εὐλέων ἐξέξεσε<sup>522</sup>. ὥς

<sup>517</sup> ἀποσιεύμενοι. See note 404 on § 154, above.

<sup>518</sup> Βάδρης. The manuscript S has Μάνδρης, but all the others Βάδης, which Gaisford retains. But see the note 441 on § 167.

<sup>519</sup> φόβος ἐνέπεσε. There can be no doubt that the Ζεὺς Λυκαῖος is identical with Pan, the especial deity of Arcadia, as VIRGIL calls him (*Bucol.* x. 26).

<sup>520</sup> ἐπελκομένους. Not primarily "crippled" or "fainting," but "dragged on by

others," like the led camels described in iii. 105. No doubt such would be men fainting under wounds or fatigue; but this idea does not reside in the word ἐπέλκεσθαι, but is an inference from the circumstances of the case.

<sup>521</sup> ἐν τῇ γῇ τῇ Βακτρῇ. See note on vi. 9.

<sup>522</sup> ARISTOTLE (*Hist. Anim.* v. 25, ed. SCHNEIDER) mentions Alcman the poet, and Pherecydes of Syros the historian, as instances of persons dying of this dis-

ἄρα ἀνθρώποισι αἱ λίην ἰσχυραὶ τιμωρίαι πρὸς θεῶν ἐπίφθονοι Pheretime comes to a  
 γίνονται. ἡ μὲν δὲ Φερετίμης τῆς Βάττω<sup>523</sup> τοιαύτη τε καὶ bad end.  
 τοσαύτη τιμωρὴ ἐγένετο ἐς Βαρκαίους.

case, but does not mention Pheretime. Familiar instances in later times are Sulla, Antiochus Epiphanes, Herod, Galerius, and Philip II. of Spain.

<sup>523</sup> τῆς Βάττω. The manuscripts S, K, F, have Βαρκαίους. Pheretime was the wife of a Battus (as appears from § 162), but there is nothing in Herodotus (except

this passage may be taken as such) to show whose *daughter* she was. But as confessedly Βάρτος is the Libyan name for a chieftain, it seems far from impossible that she was represented as the *daughter* of a Battus or Battæus, and that the appellative was mistaken for a proper name.

## EXCURSUS ON IV. 199.

Τῶν ὑπερθαλασσιδίων χώρων τὰ μέσα ὁργᾶ συγκομίζεσθαι, τὰ βουνοὺς καλέουσι.

FROM this passage it appears that in the region of Cyrene the term *βουνοὶ* was locally given to a particular part of the country, viz. that which was at a medium elevation between the coast, and the high chain which ran e. and w. and formed the southern boundary of the district.

Herodotus undoubtedly speaks of the word as if not a familiar one to the inhabitants of Hellas, although in common use at Cyrene. From other sources we learn that it was often found in the *Syracusan* poetry (PHRYNICHUS, p. 156). In later times, it and its derivatives are found at *Alexandria* (See the LXX in *Genesis* xxxi. 46. *Exodus* xvii. 9. *Numbers* xxiii. 9. *Deuteronomy* xxxiii. 15. *Joshua* v. 3. *Ruth* ii. 14. 16). This, from the known commercial intercourse between *Alexandria* and the parts of *Libya* about *Cyrene*, may be accounted for equally well on the hypothesis that the word was an importation into *Egypt* from *Cyrene*, being originally *African*, and on that of its existence in the *Macedonian* dialect, and therefore in the *Hellenic* language in its early state.

After the growth of the *κουνὴ διάλεκτος* of literature, the foreign character of the word appears to have worn off. Thus POLYBIUS has *βουνώδης*, DIODORUS SICULUS *βουνοειδής*, STRABO and PAUSANIAS *βουνός*. But this was not the case before the time of the Ptolemies. PHILEMON, the comic poet, ridiculed the word as a foreign one (*ap. Eustath. in Il. λ'. 831, 832*) in one of his plays; and although it is

perhaps impossible to give a *certain* interpretation to the obscure passage of ÆSCHYLUS (*Suppl.* 116),

ἰλέομαι μὲν Ἀπρία βοῦνιν  
καρβάνα δ' αὖδ' αὖ  
εὐακοῖς,

yet it is plain that Ἀπρία βοῦνιν there, and γὰ βοῦνιν (776), are phrases unfamiliar to the ear of an Athenian. Accordingly it has been supposed that the word βοῦνός was a native African word, adopted by the Cyrenian settlers, transported in the course of commercial intercourse to Sicily, and brought by Æschylus from thence to Athens, on his return from his sojourn in the island.

But another theory seems at least equally plausible, viz. that the word is Pelasgian, that is to say, belonging to the very earliest stage of the Greek language, and that instead of being brought *from* Africa, it was taken *thither*, and also to Syracuse, from Hellas Proper; that in a time antecedent to the colonization of Cyrene, it was common in Peloponnese, but that it there became obsolete, or at least archaic and peculiar to religious offices, while at the same time it was retained in ordinary language in the colony<sup>1</sup>.

That, if a Hellenic word at all, it belonged to the earliest stage of the language, seems to follow from the circumstance that the Cyrenian colonists were not a homogeneous population, being partly from Crete, partly from Thera, and partly Minyans from Laconia and Elis (HEROD. iv. 145—161). If used by all of them, it cannot have been a provincialism, but must have formed a part of their common inherited vocabulary. Therefore, on this hypothesis, we may expect to find its etymological equivalents in the other dialects of the same family. Following this clue, there do seem to be grounds for the belief that a root βῶν, βοῦν, or βόν, signified in the early language of which these are off-shoots, "the Earth," or, to speak more exactly, "a mountain." From this fundamental conception, it is only natural that two classes of words should be derived, the one inheriting the sensuous, the other the religious portion of the original notion: the former conveying always a notion of *elevation* or *convexity*, the latter, one of *sanctity*, arising from the sacred character of

<sup>1</sup> Compare note 52 on ii. 14, and that on v. 45, παρὰ τὸν ξηρὸν Κρόσσον.

the earth as an object of worship in the ancient elemental religions<sup>1</sup>.

Instances of the former class are the following. 1. The Gaelic "Ben" (Armorican "Pen"), signifying "a mountain." This root shows itself in the mediæval Latin "Benna," which, according to DUCANGE, was a Gallic term for a car (perhaps rather, like *currus*, the elevated seat in a car). It is also traceable in the English "bench" (boenchen?), "bank," and the French "banc." 2. The word "bon" preserved in the mediæval Latin "bonna," which, according to DUCANGE, means "a boundary mound," and remains in the English "bound."<sup>2</sup> 3. The German "Buehne," signifying an elevation of planks, a stage or dais. 4. The Greek *βουβών* (where the first syllable is a prefix, as in *βούπαις*, *βουκαῖος*, &c.), which was used as early as the time of HIPPOCRATES in its modern medical sense. 5. *βουνός*, which HESYCHIUS says the *Cyprians* used in the sense of *στίβας*, "a heap of litter." 6. *βουνοί βουμοί*, HESYCH., a sense of the word which seems archaic, as in the early rituals altars were mounds of earth.

The following instances seem referable to the latter class.

1. HERE *βουναία* is a name under which an elemental deity, apparently identical with the Earth or Hecate, was worshipped at *Corinth*. See the note on v. 92, ἐς τὸ Ἡραῖον. That this surname was not derived from the locality of the temple, as being on the top of a *βουνός*, but was the ancient name of the goddess, seems probable from the circumstance, that in PAUSANIAS's time a mythical *Bonus*, son of *Hermes*, was put forward as the eponymous founder, although the word *βουνός* in the sense of "a hill" had by that time become common. Also the temple stood together with one of a *Demeter*, to whom therefore the epithet, if merely expressing locality, would have been equally applicable.

<sup>1</sup> These, it should be remembered, regarded every distinct form in which the natural forces developed themselves, as a separate divinity. Thus the mountain was divine, no less than the forest, and the spring: and superstition accordingly produced its *Oreads* as well as its *Dryads* and its *Naiads*. It seems not unlikely that the relation of Ζεὺς Δαδωναῖος to the *Dryads*, and of *Oceanus* to the *Naiads*, is paralleled by that of a *Bouvaia* to the *Oreads*.

<sup>2</sup> This word seems to have been sometimes pronounced *bôn*. In Hertfordshire I have found the expression "bone-plate" (i. e. *bound-platte*), used to signify a space left as a boundary between two parishes. *Bon* would be related to *Ben*, as *bonus* to *bene*, an adverb which implies a form *benus* or *boenus*.

2. The same deity, under the same name slightly modified, appears also in the old Latin rituals. The Roman antiquaries doubted whether the month of *May* was so called from *Maius*—(the *Deus Maius* of Tusculum, a deity identical with Jupiter)—from *Maia* the wife of *Vulcan*, or from *Maia* the mother of *Hermes*. But *Cornelius Labeo* asserted that the *Maia* to whom the *Flamen Vulcanalis* sacrificed on the kalends of *May* was nothing else than *the Earth*. She was conjoined with *Mercury* (as the *Here Bunæa* of *Corinth* was with *Hermes* through the mythical *Bunus*) in the ritual which was assigned to her; the victim sacrificed was a pregnant sow; and the ceremonies were of a secret nature. In the Pontifical Books she was invoked (*indigetabatur*) under the names of *Bona Dea*, *Ops*, *Fauna*, and *Fatus* (*MACROBIUS, Saturnal. i. c. 12*). *Macrobius* adds: “Sunt qui dicant hanc deam potentiam habere *Junonis*, ideoque sceptrum regale in sinistrâ manu ei additum. Eandem alii *Proserpinam* credunt, . . . . . alii *χθονίαν Ἑκάτην* . . . . *Bæoti* *Semelam* credunt . . . . *Quidam Medeam* putant.” The decided identity of this deity with the *Here Bunæa* of *Corinth*, and of both with the *Earth*, makes it a probable supposition that both *Bona* and *Bunæa* are merely dialectal variations of the same word<sup>4</sup>, which if so must have been *Pelasgian*. The religious formula, “*Quod bonum faustumque sit*,” derives its origin (I believe) from the ritual of this deity.

3. In the *Scandinavian* and *Anglo-Saxon* dialects, there are, according to *GRIMM (Deutsche Mythologie, p. 20)*, a whole groupe of words signifying “*prayer*.” Old *Norwegian* *bôn*, *Swedish* and *Danish* *boen*, *Anglo-Saxon* *bén*; from whence came *bénsian* (*supplicare*), *English* *boon* (which in *Chaucer* and *Robert of Gloucester* is *bone*). These all appear to me to be connected with the root of *Bunæa*.

4. The word *Penas*<sup>5</sup>, which *DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS* mentions as having been inscribed on the figures of the *Dioscuri*, that he saw in a part of *Rome* called “*Sub Olivis*” seems to be merely equivalent to *θεός*. The *Penates* in the *adytum* at *Lavinium* were

<sup>4</sup> The difference in quantity between ‘*bünus*’ and *βουνός* is no argument against this view. It is justified by many similar diversities, e.g. *βραχίων* and ‘*brachium*.’

<sup>5</sup> He says the word was *DENAS*, but *Scaliger* considers it certain that he mistook the ancient *ρ* for a *ν*.

two heralds' staves (one of iron and one of brass) and a vase of Trojan pottery (*Antiqq.* i. 67).

5. The English word *bon-fire* (anciently *bone-fire*) is perhaps best explained by considering it to mean "bene-ominatus ignis," and to have had originally a religious (probably lustral) significance, like the Palilia at Rome, the St. John's Fire of Germany, and the ritual alluded to in *Deuteronomy* (xviii. 10) and 2 *Kings* (xvi. 3). On the latter passage THEODORET remarks: εἶδον γὰρ ἐν τισι πόλεσιν ἅπαξ τοῦ ἔτους ἐν ταῖς πλατείαις ἀπομέναν πυρὰς, καὶ ταύτας τινὰς ὑπερ-λομένους . . . . . τὰ δὲ γε βρέφη παρὰ τῶν μητέρων παραφερόμενα διὰ τῆς φλογός· εἰδόκει δὲ τοῦτο ἀποτροπιασμός εἶναι καὶ κάθαρσις. (*Opp.* i. 362, ed. Paris.) But the connexion of *lustral fire* with *Earth-worship* is in Greece at least as ancient as the time of the Homeric Hymn, in which the legend of the fiery purgation of Demophoon by Demeter appears (vv. 230, seqq.); and in Italy the same early connexion is indicated by the fact of the Flamen *Vulcanalis* sacrificing to the *Earth*, under the name of Maia or Bona Dea, as observed above.

END OF VOL. I.



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